

PAPERS
ON
INDIAN REFORM:

SANITARY, MATERIAL, SOCIAL, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

COMPILED
BY
J. MURDOCH, LL.D.

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!"

Raja Sir T. Madhava Row, K.C.S.I.

MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY.

1889.

NOTE.

THE following "Papers" were issued separately. They are collected into a volume for ready reference. Other subjects will (D. V.) follow. J. M.

37246

SLON 054712

CONTENTS.

1. ON DECISION OF CHARACTER AND MORAL COURAGE.
2. SANITARY REFORM.
3. IS INDIA BECOMING POORER OR RICHER ? WITH REMEDIES FOR THE EXISTING POVERTY.
4. DEBT AND THE RIGHT USE OF MONEY.
5. THE WOMEN OF INDIA AND WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THEM.
6. CASTE.
7. POPULAR HINDUISM.
8. PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.
9. VEDIC HINDUISM.
10. THE BRAHMA SAMAJ AND OTHER MODERN ECLECTIC SYSTEMS OF RELIGION IN INDIA.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

FOSTER'S ESSAY

ON

DECISION OF CHARACTER

WITH

SOME REMARKS

ON

MORAL COURAGE.

FIRST EDITION, 3,000 COPIES.



MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY,

1887.

PRINTED AT THE S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY, MADRAS.

PREFACE.

A proposed Series of PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM is fitly commenced by one on *Decision of Character*, as without some measure of this quality any movement of the kind is impossible. Foster's celebrated Essay on the subject seemed well adapted to the purpose in view. It was written in the form of letters, and included in his Essays, published in 1805, which have been remarkably popular in England, especially among the more thoughtful of the community. Sir James Mackintosh says that they showed their author to be "one of the most profound and eloquent writers that England has produced." Another good authority expresses the following opinion: "His thinking is rugged, massive and original; and at times, when his great imagination rouses itself from sleep, a splendour of illustration breaks over his pages that strikes the reader both by its beauty and its suggestiveness."

To assist junior readers, brief summaries have been prefixed to the Letters, and a few brief explanations have been added. Three notes in the original can easily be distinguished.

Some remarks have been appended, showing the need of Moral Courage in India, and the source from which it can be derived. It is on the latter point that Foster's Essay chiefly needs amplification. The sequel consists mainly of a series of extracts from good writers, European and Indian, with some connecting links.

J. MURDOCH.

CONTENTS.

LETTER I.

Examples of Want of Decision : its Evils. Advantages of Decision... P

LETTER II.

Decision of Character partly dependent upon the Constitution of the Body. Characteristics of Decision : First Element, Complete Confidence in one's own Judgment.

LETTER III.

Second Element of Decision, a Strenuous Will. Illustrations : Revenge, Recovery of Inheritance, Benevolence.

LETTER IV.

Third Element, Courage, Ability to bear Censure, Ridicule, Suffering. Examples : Pizarro, Luther. A Combination of the Principles necessary. Illustrations : Lady Macbeth, Richard III., Cromwell.

LETTER V.

Evil Effects of Decision of Character, if misdirected. Care needed. Dangers to be guarded against. Frederick of Prussia. ...

LETTER VI.

Circumstances adapted to confirm Decision of Character : Opposition, Desertion, Success, Association with Inferiors. Possibility of attaining some measure of Decision of Character. Requisites : Clear Knowledge, Conclusive Thinking, Taking a Decided Step, A Noble Object, The Approval of Conscience.

MORAL COURAGE.

Its Need in India and the Source from which it is to be derived...

ON DECISION OF CHARACTER.*

LETTER I.

[Examples of Want of Decision; its Evils. Advantages of Decision.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE have several times talked of this bold quality, and acknowledged its great importance. Without it, a human being, with powers at best but feeble and surrounded by innumerable things tending to perplex, to divert, and to frustrate their operations, is indeed a pitiable atom, the sport of divers and casual impulses. It is a poor and disgraceful thing, not to be able to reply, with some degree of certainty, to the simple questions, What will you be? What will you do?

A little acquaintance with mankind will supply numberless illustrations of the importance of this qualification. You will often see a person anxiously hesitating a long time between different, or opposite determinations, though impatient of the pain of such a state, and ashamed of the debility. A faint impulse of preference alternates toward the one, and toward the other; and the mind, while thus held in a trembling balance, is vexed that it cannot get some new thought, or feeling, or motive; that it has not more sense, more resolution, more of any thing that would save it from envying even the decisive instinct of brutes. It wishes that any circumstance might happen, or any person might appear, that could deliver it from the miserable suspense.

In many instances, when a determination is adopted, it is frustrated by this temperament. A man, for example, resolves on a journey to-morrow, which he is not under an absolute necessity to undertake, but the inducements appear, this evening, so strong, that he does not think it possible he can hesitate in the morning. In the morning, however, these inducements have unaccountably lost much of their force. Like the sun that is rising at the same time, they appear dim through a mist; and the sky lowers, or he fancies that it does, and almost wishes to see darker clouds than there actually are; recollections of toils and fatigues ill repaid in past expeditions rise and pass into anticipation; and he lingers, uncertain, till an advanced hour determines the question for him, by the certainty that it is now too late to go.

* The quality of making up one's mind quickly and clearly upon any difficult point.

Perhaps a man has conclusive reasons for wishing to remove to another place of residence. But when he is going to take the first actual step towards executing his purpose, he is met by a new train of ideas, presenting the possible and magnifying the unquestionable disadvantages and uncertainties of a new situation ; awakening the natural reluctance to quit a place to which habit has accommodated his feelings, and which has grown *warm* to him, (if I may so express it,) by his having been in it so long ; giving a new impulse to his affection for the friends whom he must leave ; and so detaining him still lingering, long after his judgment may have dictated to him to be gone.

A man may think of some desirable alteration in his plan of life ; perhaps in the arrangements of his family, or in the mode of his intercourse with society.—Would it be a good thing ? He thinks it would be a good thing. It certainly would be a very good thing. He wishes it were done. He will attempt it *almost* immediately. The following day, he doubts whether it would be quite prudent. Many things are to be considered. May there not be in the change some evil of which he is not aware ? Is this a proper time ? What will people say ?—And thus, though he does not formally renounce his purpose, he shrinks out of it, with an irksome wish that he could be fully satisfied of the propriety of renouncing it. Perhaps he wishes that the thought had never occurred to him, since it has diminished his self-complacency, without promoting his virtue. But next week, his conviction of the wisdom and advantage of such a reform comes again with great force. Then, Is it so practicable as I was at first willing to imagine ? Why not ? Other men have done much greater things ; a resolute mind may brave and accomplish every thing ; difficulty is a stimulus and a triumph to a strong spirit ; “the joys of conquest are the joys of man.” What need I care for people’s opinion ? It shall be done.—He makes the first attempt. But some unexpected obstacle presents itself ; he feels the awkwardness of attempting an unaccustomed manner of acting ; the questions or the ridicule of his friends disconcert him ; his ardour abates and expires. He again begins to question, whether it be wise, whether it be necessary, whether it be possible ; and at last surrenders his purpose to be perhaps resumed when the same feelings return, and to be in the same manner again relinquished.

While animated by some magnanimous sentiments which he has heard or read, or while musing on some great example, a man may conceive the design, and partly sketch the plan, of a generous enterprise ; and his imagination revels in the felicity, to others and himself, that would follow from its accomplishment. The splendid representation always centres in himself as the hero who is to realize it.

In a moment of remitted excitement, a faint whisper from within

may doubtfully ask, Is this more than a dream ; or am I really destined to achieve such an enterprise ? Destined !—and why are not this conviction of its excellence, this conscious duty of performing the noblest things that are possible, and this passionate ardour, enough to constitute a destiny ?—He feels indignant that there should be a failing part of his nature to defraud the nobler, and cast him below the ideal model and the actual examples which he is admiring ; and this feeling assists him to resolve, that he will undertake this enterprise, that he certainly will, though the Alps or the Ocean lie between him and the object. Again, his ardour slackens ; distrustful of himself, he wishes to know how the design would appear to other minds ; and when he speaks of it to his associates, one of them wonders, another laughs, and another frowns. His pride, while with them, attempts a manful defence ; but his resolution gradually crumbles down toward their level ; he becomes in a little while ashamed to entertain a visionary project, which therefore, like a rejected friend, desists from intruding on him or following him, except at lingering distance ; and he subsides, at last, into what he labours to believe a man too rational for the schemes of ill-calculating enthusiasm. And it were strange if the effort to make out this favourable estimate of himself did not succeed, while it is so much more pleasant to attribute one's defect of enterprise to wisdom, which on maturer thought disapproves it, than to imbecility which shrinks from it.

A person of undecisive character wonders how all the embarrassments in the world happened to meet exactly in *his* way, to place him just in that one situation for which he is peculiarly unadapted, but in which he is also willing to think no other man could have acted with facility or confidence. Incapable of setting up a firm purpose on the basis of things as they are, he is often employed in vain speculations on some different supposable state of things, which would have saved him from all this perplexity and irresolution. He thinks what a determined course he could have pursued, if his talents, his health, his age, had been different ; if he had been acquainted with some one person sooner ; if his friends were, in this or the other point, different from what they are ; or if fortune had showered her favours on him. And he gives himself as much license to complain, as if all these advantages had been among the rights of his nativity, but refused, by a malignant or capricious fate, to his life. Thus he is occupied—instead of marking with a vigilant eye, and seizing with a strong hand, all the possibilities of his actual situation.

A man without decision can never be said to belong to himself ; since, if he dared to assert that he did, the puny force of some cause, about as powerful, you would have supposed, as a spider, may make a seizure of the hapless boaster the very next moment, and

contemptuously exhibit the futility of the determinations by which he was to have proved the independence of his understanding and his will. He belongs to whatever can make capture of him; and one thing after another vindicates its right to him, by arresting him, while he is trying to go on; as twigs and chips, floating near the edge of a river, are intercepted by every weed, and whirled in every little eddy. Having concluded on a design, he may pledge himself to accomplish it—if the hundred diversities of feeling which may come within the week, will let him. His character precluding all foresight of his conduct, he may sit and wonder what form and direction his views and actions are destined to take to-morrow; as a farmer has often to acknowledge that next day's proceedings are at the disposal of its winds and clouds.

This man's notions and determinations always depend very much on other human beings; and what chance for consistency and stability, while the persons with whom he may converse, or transact, are so various? This very evening, he may talk with a man whose sentiments will melt away the present form and outline of his purposes, however firm and defined he may have fancied them to be. A succession of persons whose faculties were stronger than his own, might, in spite of his irresolute re-action, take him and dispose of him as they pleased. Such infirmity of spirit practically confesses him made for subjection, and he passes, like a slave, from owner to owner. Sometimes indeed it happens, that a person so constituted falls into the train, and under the permanent ascendancy, of some one stronger mind, which thus becomes through life the oracle and guide, and gives the inferior a steady will and plan. This, when the governing spirit is wise and virtuous, is a fortunate relief to the feeling, and an advantage gained to the utility, of the subordinate, and as it were, appended mind.

The regulation of every man's plan must greatly depend on the course of events, which come in an order not to be foreseen or prevented. But in accommodating the plans of conduct to the train of events, the difference between two men may be no less than that, in the one instance, the man is subservient to the events, and in the other, the events are made subservient to the man. Some men seem to have been taken along by a succession of events, and, as it were, handed forward in helpless passiveness from one to another; having no determined principle in their own characters, by which they could constrain those events to serve a design formed antecedently to them, or apparently in defiance of them. The events seized them as a neutral material, not they the events. Others, advancing through life with an internal invincible determination, have seemed to make the train of circumstances, whatever they were, conduce as much to their chief design as if they had, by some directing interposition, been brought about on purpose.

It is wonderful how even the casualties of life seem to bow to a spirit that will not bow to them, and yield to subserve a design which they may, in their first apparent tendency, threaten to frustrate.

You may have known such examples, though they are comparatively not numerous. You may have seen a man of this vigorous character in a state of indecision concerning some affair in which it was necessary for him to determine, because it was necessary for him to act. But in this case, his manner would assure you that he would not remain long undecided ; you would wonder if you found him still balancing and hesitating the next day. If he explained his thoughts, you would perceive that their clear process, evidently at each effort gaining something toward the result, must certainly reach it ere long. The deliberation of such a mind is a very different thing from the fluctuation of one whose second thinking only upsets the first, and whose third confounds both. To *know how* to obtain a determination, is one of the first requisites and indications of a rationally decisive character.

When the decision was arrived at, and a plan of action approved, you would feel an assurance that something would absolutely be done. It is characteristic of such a mind, to think for effect ; and the pleasure of escaping from temporary doubt gives an additional impulse to the force with which it is carried into action. The man will not re-examine his conclusions with endless repetition, and he will not be delayed long by consulting other persons, after he had ceased to consult himself. He cannot bear to sit still among unexecuted decisions and unattempted projects. We wait to hear of his achievements, and are confident we shall not wait long. The possibility or the means may not be obvious to us, but we know that every thing will be attempted, and that a spirit of such determined will is like a river, which, in whatever manner it is obstructed, will make its way somewhere. It must have cost Cæsar many anxious hours of deliberation, before he decided to pass the Rubicon* ; but it is probable he suffered but few to elapse between the decision and the execution. And any one of his friends, who should have been apprised of his determination, and understood his character, would have smiled contemptuously to hear it insinuated that though Cæsar had resolved, Cæsar would not dare ; or that though he might cross the Rubicon, whose opposite bank presented to him no hostile legions, he might come to other rivers, which he would not cross ; or that either rivers, or any other obstacle, would deter him from prosecuting his determination from this ominous commencement to its very last consequence.

One signal advantage possessed by a mind of this character is,

* The Rubicon was a river in Central Italy, forming the southern boundary of the province under Julius Cæsar. By crossing it, he virtually declared war against the Republic. To "cross the Rubicon" is to take a step that cannot be recalled.

that its passions are not wasted. The whole measure of passion of which any one, with important transactions before him, is capable, is not more than enough to supply interest and energy for the required practical exertions; and therefore as little as possible of this costly flame should be expended in a way that does not augment the force of action. But nothing can less contribute or be more destructive to vigour of action, than protracted anxious fluctuation, through resolutions adopted, rejected, resumed, suspended; while yet nothing causes a greater expense of feeling. The heart is fretted and exhausted by being subjected to an alternation of contrary excitements, with the ultimate mortifying consciousness of their contributing to no end. The long-wavering deliberation, whether to perform some bold action of difficult virtue, has often cost more to feeling than the action itself, or a series of such actions, would have cost; with the great disadvantage too of not being relieved by any of that invigoration which the man in action finds in the activity itself, that spirit created to renovate the energy which the action is expending. When the passions are not consumed among dubious musings and abortive resolutions, their utmost value and use can be secured by throwing all their animating force into effective operation.

Another advantage of this character, is, that it exempts from a great deal of interference and obstructive annoyance, which an irresolute man may be almost sure to encounter. Weakness, in every form, tempts arrogance; and a man may be allowed to wish for a kind of character with which stupidity and impertinence may not make so free. When a firm decisive spirit is recognised, it is curious to see how the space clears around a man, and leaves him room and freedom. The disposition to interrogate, dictate, or banter, preserves a respectful and politic distance, judging it not unwise to keep the peace with a person of so much energy. A conviction that he understands and that he wills with extraordinary force, silences the conceit that intended to perplex or instruct him, and intimidates the malice that was disposed to attack him. There is a feeling, as in respect to Fate, that the decrees of so inflexible a spirit *must* be right, or that, at least, they *will* be accomplished.

But not only will he secure the freedom of acting for himself, he will obtain also by degrees the coincidence of those in whose company he is to transact the business of life. If the manners of such a man be free from arrogance, and he can qualify his firmness with a moderate degree of insinuation; and if his measures have partly lost the appearance of being the dictates of his will, under the wider and softer sanction of some experience that they are reasonable; both competition and fear will be laid to sleep, and his will may acquire an unresisted ascendancy over many who will be pleased to fall into the mechanism of a system, which they find makes them more suc-

cessful and happy than they could have been amidst the anxiety of adjusting plans and expedients of their own, and the consequences of often adjusting them ill. I have known several parents, both fathers and mothers, whose management of their families has answered this description; and has displayed a striking example of the facile complacency with which a number of persons, of different ages and dispositions, will yield to the decisions of a firm mind, acting on an equitable and enlightened system.

The last resource of this character, is, hard inflexible pertinacity, on which it may be allowed to rest its strength after finding it can be effectual in none of its milder forms. I remember admiring an instance of this kind, in a firm, sagacious and estimable old man, whom I well knew and who has long been dead. Being on a jury, in a trial of life and death, he was satisfied of the innocence of the prisoner; the other eleven were of the opposite opinion. But he was resolved the man should not be condemned; and as the first effort for preventing it, very properly made application to the *minds* of his associates, spending several hours in labouring to convince them. But he found he made no impression, while he was exhausting the strength which it was necessary to reserve for another mode of operation. He then calmly told them that it should now be a trial who could endure confinement and famine the longest, and that they might be quite assured he would sooner die than release them at the expense of the prisoner's life. In this situation they spent about twenty-four hours; when at length all acceded to his verdict of acquittal.

It is not necessary to amplify on the indispensable importance of this quality, in order to the accomplishment of any thing eminently good. We instantly see, that every path to signal excellence is so obstructed and beset, that none but a spirit so qualified can pass. But it is time to examine what are the elements of that mental constitution which is displayed in the character in question.

LETTER II.

[Decision of Character partly dependent upon the Constitution of the Body.

. Characteristics of Decision: I. Complete Confidence in one's own Judgment.]

PERHAPS the best mode would be, to bring into our thoughts, in succession, the most remarkable examples of this character that we have known in real life, or that we have read of in history or even in fiction; and attentively to observe, in their conversations, manners, and actions, what principles appear to produce, or to constitute, this commanding distinction. You will easily pursue this investigation yourself. I lately made a partial attempt, and shall offer you a number of suggestions.

As a previous observation, it is beyond all doubt that very much depends on the constitution of the body. It would be for physiologists to explain, if it were explicable, the *manner* in which corporeal organization affects the mind; I only assume it as a fact, that there is in the material construction of some persons, much more than of others, some quality which augments, if it do not create, both the stability of their resolution, and the energy of their active tendencies. There is something that, like the ligatures which one class of the Olympic combatants* bound on their hands and wrists, braces round, if I may so describe it, and compresses the powers of the mind, giving them a steady forcible spring and reaction, which they would presently lose if they could be transferred into a constitution of soft, yielding, treacherous debility. The action of strong character seems to demand something firm in its material basis, as massive engines require, for their weight and for their working, to be fixed on a solid foundation. Accordingly I believe it would be found, that a majority of the persons most remarkable for decisive character, have possessed great constitutional physical firmness. I do not mean an exemption from disease and pain, nor any certain measure of mechanical strength, but a tone of vigour, the opposite to lassitude, and adapted to great exertion and endurance. This is clearly evinced in respect to many of them, by the prodigious labours and deprivations which they have borne in prosecuting their designs. The physical nature has seemed a proud ally of the moral one, and with a hardness that would never shrink, has sustained the energy that could never remit.

A view of the disparities between the different races of animals inferior to man, will show the effect of organization on disposition. Compare, for instance, a lion with the common beasts of our fields, many of them larger in bulk of animated substance. What a vast superiority of courage, and impetuous and determined action; which difference we attribute to some great dissimilarity of modification in the composition of the animated material. Now it is probable that a difference somewhat analogous subsists between some human beings and others in point of what we may call mere physical constitution; and that this is no small part of the cause of the striking inequalities in respect to decisive character. A man who excels in the power of decision has probably more of the physical quality of a lion in his composition than other men.

It is observable that women in general have less inflexibility of character than men; and though many moral influences contribute to this difference, the principal cause may probably be something less firm in the corporeal constitution. Now that physical quality, whatever it is, from the smaller measure of which in the constitu-

* The Olympic Games were the most celebrated among the ancient Greeks. They were held on the plain of Olympia in the south of Greece.

tion of the frame, women have less firmness than men, may be possessed by one man more than by men in general in a greater degree of difference than that by which men in general exceed women.

If there have been found some resolute spirits powerfully asserting themselves in feeble vehicles, it is so much the better; since this would authorize a hope, that if all the other grand requisites can be combined, they may form a strong character, in spite of an unadapted constitution. And on the other hand, no constitutional hardness will form the true character, without those superior properties; though it may produce that false and contemptible kind of decision which we term *obstinacy*; a stubbornness of temper, which can assign no reasons but mere will, for a constancy which acts in the nature of dead weight rather than of strength; resembling less the reaction of a powerful spring than the gravitation of a big stone.

The first prominent mental characteristic of the person whom I describe, is, a complete confidence in his own judgment. It will perhaps be said, that this is not so uncommon a qualification. I however think it is uncommon. It is indeed obvious enough, that almost all men have a flattering estimate of their own understanding, and that as long as this understanding has no harder task than to form opinions which are not to be tried in action, they have a most self-complacent assurance of being right. This assurance extends to the judgments which they pass on the proceedings of others. But let them be brought into the necessity of adopting actual measures in an untried situation, where, unassisted by any previous example or practice, they are reduced to depend on the bare resources of judgment alone, and you will see in many cases, this confidence of opinion vanish away. The mind seems all at once placed in a misty vacuity, where it reaches round on all sides, but can find nothing to take hold of. Or if not lost in vacuity, it is overwhelmed in confusion; and feels as if its faculties were annihilated in the attempt to think of schemes and calculations among the possibilities, chances, and hazards which overspread a wide untrodden field; and this conscious imbecility becomes severe distress, when it is believed that consequences, of serious or unknown good or evil, are depending on the decisions which are to be formed amidst so much uncertainty. The thought painfully recurs at each step and turn, I may by chance be right, but it is fully as probably I am wrong. It is like the case of a rustic walking in London, who, having no certain direction through the vast confusion of streets to the place where he wishes to be, advances, and hesitates, and turns, and inquires, and becomes, at each corner, still more inextricably perplexed.* A man in this situation feels he shall be very unfortu-

* "Why does not the man call a hackney-coach?" a gay reader, I am aware, will say of the person so bemazed in the great town. So he might, certainly; (that

nate if he cannot accomplish more than he can understand.—Is not this frequently, when brought to the practical test, the state of a mind not disposed in general to undervalue its own judgment?

In cases where judgment is not so completely bewildered, you will yet perceive a great practical distrust of it. A man has perhaps advanced a considerable way towards a decision, but then lingers at a small distance from it, till necessity, with a stronger hand than conviction, impels him upon it. He cannot see the whole length of the question, and suspects the part beyond his sight to be the most important, for the most essential point and stress of it may be there. He fears that certain possible consequences, if they should follow, would cause him to reproach himself for his present determination. He wonders how this or the other person would have acted in the same circumstances; eagerly catches at any thing like a respectable precedent; would be perfectly willing to forego the pride of setting an example, for the safety of following one; and looks anxiously round to know what each person may think on the subject; while the various and opposite opinions to which he listens, perhaps only serve to confound his perception of the track of thought by which he had hoped to reach his conclusion. Even when that conclusion is obtained, there are not many minds that might not be brought a few degrees back into dubious hesitation, by a man of respected understanding saying, in a confident tone, Your plan is injudicious; your selection is unfortunate; the event will disappoint you.

It cannot be supposed that I am maintaining such an absurdity as that a man's complete reliance on his own judgment is a proof of its strength and rectitude. Intense stupidity may be in this point the rival of clear-sighted wisdom. I had once some knowledge of a person whom no mortal could have surpassed, not Cromwell* or Strafford,† in confidence in his own judgment and consequent inflexibility of conduct; while at the same time his successive schemes were ill-judged to a degree that made his disappointments ridiculous still more than pitiable. He was not an example of that *simple* obstinacy which I have mentioned before; for he considered his measures, and did not want for reasons which seriously satisfied himself of their being most judicious. This confidence of opinion may be possessed by a person in whom it will be contemptible or mischievous; but its proper place is in a very different character, and without it there can be no dignified actors in human affairs.

If, after it is seen how foolish this confidence appears as a feature in a weak character, it be inquired what, in a rightfully

is, if he know where to find one;) and the gay reader and I have only to deplore that there is no parallel convenience for the assistance of perplexed understandings.

* Oliver Cromwell, "Lord Protector" of England who died in 1658.

† The Earl of Strafford, executed in 1641, for trying to make Charles I. absolute.

decisive person's manner of thinking it is that authorizes him in this firm assurance that his view of the concerns before him is comprehensive and accurate; he may, in answer, justify his confidence on such grounds as these: that he is conscious that objects are presented to his mind with an exceedingly distinct and perspicuous aspect, not like the shapes of moon-light, or like Ossian's* ghosts, dim forms of uncircumscribed shade; that he sees the different parts of the subject in an arranged order, not in unconnected fragments: that in each deliberation the main object keeps its clear pre-eminence, and he perceives the bearings which the subordinate and conducive ones have on it; that perhaps several trains of thought, drawn from different points, lead him to the same conclusion; and that he finds his judgment does not vary in servility to the moods of his feelings.

It may be presumed that a high degree of this character is not attained without a considerable measure of that kind of certainty, with respect to the relations of things, which can be acquired only from experience and observation. A very protracted course of time, however, may not be indispensable for this discipline. An extreme vigilance in the exercise of observation, and a strong and strongly exerted power of generalizing on experience, may have made a comparatively short time enough to supply a large share of the wisdom derivable from these sources; so that a man may long before he is old be rich in the benefits of experience, and therefore may have all the decision of judgment legitimately founded on that accomplishment. This knowledge from experience he will be able to apply in a direct and immediate manner, and without refining it into general principles, to some situations of affairs, so as to anticipate the consequences of certain actions in those situations by as plain a reason, and as confidently, as the kind of fruit to be produced by a given kind of tree. Thus far the facts of his experience will serve him as precedents; cases of such near resemblance to those in which he is now to act as to afford him a rule by the most immediate inference. At the next step, he will be able to apply this knowledge, now converted into general principles, to a multitude of cases bearing but a partial resemblance to any thing he has actually witnessed. And then, in looking forward to the possible occurrence of altogether new combinations of circumstances, he can trust to the resources which he is persuaded his intellect will open to him, or is humbly confident, if he be a devout man, that the Supreme Intelligence will not suffer to be wanting to him, when the occasion arrives. In proportion as his views include, at all events, more certainties than those of other men, he is with good reason less fearful of contingencies. And if, in the course of executing his design, un-

* An Irish or Scottish warrior-poet, who is said to have lived in the 3rd century A.D. His history is very uncertain.

expected disastrous events should befall, but which are not owing to any thing wrong in the plan and principles of that design, but to foreign causes ; it will be characteristic of a strong mind to attribute these events discriminatively to their own causes, and not to the *plan*, which, therefore, instead of being disliked and relinquished, will be still as much approved as before, and the man will proceed calmly to the sequel of it without any change of arrangement ;— unless indeed these sinister events should be of such consequence as to alter the whole state of things to which the plan was correctly adapted, and so create a necessity to form an entirely new one, adapted to that altered state.

Though he do not absolutely despise the understandings of other men, he will perceive their dimensions as compared with his own, which will preserve its independence through every communication and encounter. It is however a part of this very independence, that he will hold himself free to alter his opinion, if the information which may be communicated to him shall bring sufficient reason. And as no one is so sensible of the importance of a complete acquaintance with a subject as the man who is always endeavouring to think conclusively, he will listen with the utmost attention to the *information*, which may sometimes be received from persons for whose *judgment* he has no great respect. The information which they may afford him is not at all the less valuable for the circumstance, that his practical inferences from it may be quite different from theirs. If they will only give him an accurate account of facts, he does not care how indifferently they may reason on them. Counsel will in general have only so much weight with him as it supplies knowledge which may assist his judgment ; he will yield nothing to it implicitly as authority, except when it comes from persons of approved and eminent wisdom ; but he may hear it with more candour and good temper, from being conscious of this independence of his judgment, than the man who is afraid lest the first person that begins to persuade him, should baffle his determination. He feels it entirely a work of his own to deliberate and to resolve, amidst all the advice which may be attempting to control him. If, with an assurance of his intellect being of the highest order, he also holds a commanding station, he will feel it gratuitous to consult with any one, excepting merely to receive statements of facts. This appears to be exemplified in the man,* who has lately shown the nations of Europe how large a portion of the world may, when Heaven permits, be at the mercy of the solitary workings of an individual mind.

The strongest trial of this determination of judgment is in those cases of urgency where something must immediately be done, and

* Napoleon Bonaparte. The Essay was published in 1805, when Napoleon was at the height of his power.

the alternative of right or wrong is of important consequence ; as in the duty of a medical man, treating a patient whose situation at once requires a daring practice, and puts it in painful doubt what to dare. A still stronger illustration is the case of a general who is compelled, in the very instant, to make dispositions on which the event of a battle, the lives of thousands of his men, or perhaps almost the fate of a nation, may depend. He may even be placed in a dilemma which appears equally dreadful on both sides. Such a predicament is described in Denon's account of one of the sanguinary conflicts between the French and Mamelukes,* as having for a while held in the most distressing hesitation General Desaix, though a prompt and intrepid commander.

LETTER III.

[The Second Element of Decision, a Strenuous Will. Illustrations : Revenge, Recovery of Inheritance, Benevolence.]

THIS indispensable basis, confidence of opinion, is however not enough to constitute the character in question. For many persons, who have been conscious and proud of a much stronger grasp of thought than ordinary men, and have held the most decided opinions on important things to be done, have yet exhibited, in the listlessness or inconstancy of their actions, a contrast and a disgrace to the operations of their understandings. For want of some cogent feeling impelling them to carry every internal decision into action, they have been still left where they were ; and a dignified judgment has been seen in the hapless plight of having no effective forces to execute its decrees.

It is evident then, (and I perceive I have partly anticipated this article in the first letter,) that another essential principle of the character is, a total incapability of surrendering to indifference or delay the serious determinations of the mind. A strenuous *will* must accompany the conclusions of thought, and constantly incite the utmost efforts to give them a practical result. The intellect must be invested, if I may so describe it, with a glowing atmosphere of passion, under the influence of which the cold dictates of reason take fire, and spring into active powers.

Revert once more in your thoughts to the persons most remarkably distinguished by this quality. You will perceive, that instead of allowing themselves to sit down delighted after the labour of successful thinking, as if they had completed some great thing, they regard this labour but as a circumstance of preparation, and the conclusions resulting from it as of no more value, (till going into

* The former Egyptian cavalry, defeated by Desaix in 1799. Denon, a French writer, gives an account of the battle.

27746

effect,) than the entombed lamps of the Rosicrucians.* They are not disposed to be content in a region of mere ideas, while they ought to be advancing into the field of corresponding realities; they retire to that region sometimes, as ambitious adventurers anciently went to Delphi,† to consult, but not to reside. You will therefore find them almost uniformly in determined pursuit of some object, on which they fix a keen and steady look, never losing sight of it while they follow it through the confused multitude of other things.

A person actuated by such a spirit seems by his manner to say, Do you think that I would not disdain to adopt a purpose which I would not devote my utmost force to effect; or that having thus devoted my exertions, I will intermit or withdraw them, through indolence, debility, or caprice; or that I will surrender my object to any interference except the uncontrollable dispensations of Providence? No, I am linked to my determination with iron bands; it clings to me as if a part of my destiny; and if its frustration be, on the contrary, doomed a part of that destiny, it is doomed so only through calamity or death.

This display of systematic energy seems to indicate a constitution of mind in which the passions are commensurate with the intellectual part, and at the same time hold an inseparable correspondence with it, like the faithful sympathy of the tides with the phases of the moon. There is such an equality and connexion, that subjects of the decisions of judgment become proportionally and of course the objects of passion. When the judgment decides with a very strong preference, that same strength of preference, actuating also the passions, devotes them with energy to the object, as long as it is thus approved; and this will produce such a conduct as I have described. When therefore a firm, self-confiding, and unaltering judgment fails to make a decisive character, it is evident either that the passions in that mind are too languid to be capable of a strong and unremitting excitement, which defect makes an indolent or irresolute man; or that they perversely sometimes coincide with judgment and sometimes clash with it, which makes an inconsistent or versatile man.

There is no man so irresolute as not to act with determination in many single cases, where the motive is powerful and simple, and where there is no need of plan and perseverance; but this gives no claim to the term *character*, which expresses the habitual tenour of a man's active being. The character may be displayed in the successive unconnected undertakings, which are each of limited extent,

* Members of a secret society in the 17th century. They pretended to have found out everburning lamps. They were said to be kept in a tomb, and when any person tried to get in, a man in armour struck them out.

† A place in Greece, where the priestesses of the god Apollo, in ancient times, were supposed to answer questions.

and end with the attainment of their particular objects. But it is seen in its most commanding aspect in those grand schemes of action, which have no necessary point of conclusion, which continue on through successive years, and extend even to that dark period when the agent himself is withdrawn from human sight.

I have repeatedly, in conversation, remarked to you the effect of what has been called a Ruling Passion. When its object is noble, and an enlightened understanding regulates its movements, it appears to me a great felicity ; but whether its object be noble or not, it infallibly creates, where it exists in great force, that active ardent constancy, which I describe as a capital feature of the decisive character. The Subject of such a commanding passion wonders, if indeed he were at leisure to wonder, at the persons who pretend to attach importance to an object which they make none but the most languid efforts to secure. The utmost powers of the man are constrained into the service of the favourite Cause by this passion, which sweeps away, as it advances, all the trivial objections and little opposing motives, and seems almost to open a way through impossibilities. This spirit comes on him in the morning as soon as he recovers his consciousness, and commands and impels him through the day, with a power from which he could not emancipate himself if he would. When the force of habit is added, the determination becomes invincible, and seems to assume rank with the great laws of nature, making it nearly as certain that such a man will persist in his course as that in the morning the sun will rise.

A persisting untameable efficacy of soul gives a seductive and pernicious dignity even to a character which every moral principle forbids us to approve. Often in the narrations of history and fiction, an agent of the most dreadful designs compels a sentiment of deep respect for the unconquerable mind displayed in their execution. While we shudder at his activity, we say with regret, mingled with an admiration which borders on partiality, What a noble being this would have been, if goodness had been his destiny ! The partiality is evinced in the very selection of terms, by which we show that we are tempted to refer his atrocity rather to his destiny than to his choice. I wonder whether an emotion like this, have not been experienced by each reader of *Paradise Lost*, relative to the Leader* of the infernal spirits ; a proof, if such were the fact, of some insinuation of evil into the magnificent creation of the poet. In some of the high examples of ambition (the ambition which is a vice), we almost revere the force of mind which impelled them forward through the longest series of action, superior to doubt and fluctuation, and disdainful of ease, of pleasures, of opposition, and of danger. We bend in homage before the ambitious spirit which reached the

* Satan, in Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

true sublime in the reply of Pompey* to his friends, who dissuaded him from hazarding his life on a tempestuous sea in order to be at Rome on an important occasion: "It is necessary for me to go, it is not necessary for me to live."

Revenge has produced wonderful examples of this unremitting constancy to a purpose. Zanga is a well-supported illustration. And you may have read of a real instance of a Spaniard, who, being injured by another inhabitant of the same town, resolved to destroy him; the other was apprised of this, and removed with the utmost secrecy, as he thought, to another town at a considerable distance, where however he had not been more than a day or two, before he found that his enemy also was there. He removed in the same manner to several parts of the kingdom, remote from each other; but in every place quickly perceived that his deadly pursuer was near him. At last he went to South America, where he had enjoyed his security but a very short time, before his relentless pursuer came up with him, and accomplished his purpose.

You may recollect the mention in one of our conversations, of a young man who wasted in two or three years a large patrimony, in profligate revels with a number of worthless associates calling themselves his friends, till his last means were exhausted, when they of course treated him with neglect or contempt. Reduced to absolute want, he one day went out of the house with an intention to put an end to his life; but wandering awhile almost unconsciously, he came to the brow of an eminence which overlooked what were lately his estates. Here he sat down, and remained fixed in thought a number of hours, at the end of which he sprang from the ground with a vehement exulting emotion. He had formed his resolution, which was that all these estates should be his again; he had formed his plan too, which he instantly began to execute. He walked hastily forward, determined to seize the very first opportunity, of however humble a kind, to gain any money, though it were ever so despicable a trifle, and resolved absolutely not to spend, if he could help it, a farthing of whatever he might obtain. The first thing that drew his attention was a heap of coals shot out of carts on the pavement before a house. He offered himself to shovel or wheel them into the place where they were to be laid, and was employed. He received a few pence for the labour; and then, in pursuance of the saving part of his plan, requested some small gratuity of meat and drink, which was given him. He then looked out for the next thing that might chance to offer; and went, with indefatigable industry, through a succession of servile employments, in different places, of longer and shorter duration, still scrupulously avoiding, as far as possible, the expense of a penny. He promptly seized every opportunity which could advance his design, without

*The great rival of Julius Cæsar, murdered 48 B.C., when landing in Egypt.

regarding the meanness of occupation or appearance. By this method he had gained, after a considerable time, money enough to purchase, in order to sell again, a few cattle, of which he had taken pains to understand the value. He speedily but cautiously turned his first gains into second advantages; retained without a single deviation, his extreme parsimony; and thus advanced by degrees into larger transactions and incipient wealth. I did not hear, or have forgotten the continued course of his life; but the final result was, that he more than recovered his lost possessions, and died an inveterate miser, worth 60,000*l*. I have always recollected this as a signal instance, though in an unfortunate and ignoble direction, of decisive character, and of the extraordinary *effect*, which, according to general laws, belongs to the strongest form of such a character.

But not less decision has been displayed by men of virtue. In this distinction no man ever exceeded, or ever will exceed, for instance, the late illustrious Howard.*

• The energy of his determination was so great, that if, instead of being habitual, it had been shown only for a short time on particular occasions, it would have appeared a vehement impetuosity; but by being unintermitted, it had an equability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy, it was so totally the reverse of any thing like turbulence or agitation. It was the calmness of an intensity kept uniform by the nature of the human mind forbidding it to be more, and by the character of the individual forbidding it to be less. The habitual passion of his mind was a pitch of excitement and impulsion almost equal to the temporary extremes and paroxysms of common minds; as a great river, in its customary state, is equal to a small or moderate one when swollen to a torrent.

The moment of finishing his plans in deliberation, and commencing them in action, was the same. I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe, in emolument or pleasure, that would have detained him a week inactive after their final adjustment. The law which carries water down a declivity was not more unconquerable and invariable than the determination of his feeling toward the main object. The importance of this object held his faculties in a state of determination which was too rigid to be affected by lighter interests, and on which therefore the beauties of nature and of art had no power. He had no leisure feeling which he could spare to be diverted among the innumerable varieties of the extensive scene which he traversed; his subordinate feelings nearly lost their separate existence and operation, by falling into the grand one. There have not been wanting trivial minds, to mark this as a fault

* John Howard, a good Englishman, who devoted his life to prison reform. Fault was found with him by some, because, when in Rome, he did not spend part of his time in looking at pictures and statues. He died in the south of Russia in 1790.*

in his character. But the mere men of taste ought to be silent respecting such a man as Howard ; he is above their sphere of judgment. The invisible spirits, who fulfil their commission of philanthropy among mortals, do not care about pictures, statues, and sumptuous buildings ; and no more did he, when the time in which he must have inspected and admired them, would have been taken from the work to which he had consecrated his life. The curiosity which he might feel, was reduced to wait till the hour should arrive, when its gratification should be presented by conscience, (which kept a scrupulous charge of all his time,) as the *duty* of that hour. If he was still at every hour, when it came, fated to feel the attractions of the fine arts but the second claim, they might be sure of their revenge ; for no other man will ever visit Rome under such a despotic acknowledged rule of duty as to refuse himself time for surveying the magnificence of its ruins. Such a sin against taste is very far beyond the reach of common saintship to commit. It implied an inconceivable severity of conviction, that he had *one thing to do*, and that he who would do some great thing in this short life, must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces, as, to idle spectators, who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity.

His attention was so strongly and tenaciously fixed on his object, that even at the greatest distance, as the Egyptian pyramids to travellers, it appeared to him with a luminous distinctness as if it had been nigh, and beguiled the toilsome length of labour and enterprise by which he was to reach it. So conspicuous was it before him, that not a step deviated from the direction, and every movement and every day was an approximation. As his method referred every thing he did and thought to the end, and as his exertion did not relax for a moment, he made the trial, so seldom made, what is the utmost effect which may be granted to the last possible efforts of a human agent : and therefore what he did not accomplish, he might conclude to be placed beyond the sphere of mortal activity, and calmly leave to the immediate disposal of Providence.

Unless the eternal happiness of mankind be an insignificant concern, and the passion to promote it an inglorious distinction, I may cite George Whitefield* as a noble instance of this attribute of the decisive character, this intense necessity of action. The great cause which was so languid a thing in the hands of many of its advocates, assumed in his administrations, an unmitigable urgency.

Many of the christian missionaries among the heathen, such as Brainerd, Elliot, and Schwartz,† have displayed memorable examples

* A very zealous and eloquent English preacher of last century. He died in America in 1770.

† Brainerd and Elliot were missionaries in North America ; Schwartz laboured in South India.

of this dedication of their whole being to their office, this abjuration of all the quiescent feelings.

This would be the proper place for introducing (if I did not hesitate to introduce in any connexion with merely human instances) the example of him who said, "I must be about my Father's business. My meat and drink is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work. I have a baptism to be baptized with and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!"

LETTER IV.

[Third Element, Courage. Ability to bear Censure, Ridicule, Suffering. Examples: Pizarro, Luther. A Combination of the Principles necessary. Illustrations: Lady Macbeth, Richard III., Cromwell.]

AFTER the illustrations on the last article, it will seem but a very slight transition when I proceed to specify Courage, as an essential part of the decisive character. An intelligent man, adventurous only in thought, may sketch the most excellent scheme, and after duly admiring it, and himself as its author, may be reduced to say, What a noble spirit that would be which should dare to realize this! A noble spirit! is it I? And his heart may answer in the negative, while he glances a mortified thought of inquiry round to recollect persons who would venture what he dares not, and almost hopes not to find them. Or if by extreme effort he has brought himself to a resolution of braving the difficulty, he is compelled to execrate the timid lingerings that still keep him back from the trial. A man endowed with the complete character, might say, with a sober consciousness as remote from the spirit of bravado as it is from timidity, Thus, and thus, is my conviction and my determination; now for the phantoms of fear; let me look them in the face; their menacing glare and ominous tones will be lost on me; "I dare do all that may become a man." I trust I shall firmly confront every thing that threatens me while prosecuting my purpose, and I am prepared to meet the consequences of it when it is accomplished. I should despise a being, though it were myself, whose agency could be held enslaved by the gloomy shapes of imagination, by the haunting recollections of a dream, by the whistling or the howling of winds, by the shriek of owls, by the shades of midnight, or by the threats or frowns of man. I should be indignant to feel that, in the commencement of an adventure, I could think of nothing but the deep pit by the side of the way where I must walk, into which I may slide, the mad animal which it is not impossible that I may meet, or the assassin who may lurk in a thicket of yonder wood. And I disdain to compromise the interests that rouse me to action, for the privilege of an ignoble security.

As the conduct of a man of decision is always individual, and often singular, he may expect some serious trials of courage. For one thing, he may be encountered by the strongest disapprobation of many of his connexions, and the censure of the greater part of the society where he is known. In this case, it is not a man of common spirit that can show himself just as at other times, and meet their anger in the same undisturbed manner as he would meet some ordinary inclemency of the weather; that can, without harshness or violence, continue to effect every moment some part of his design, coolly replying to each ungracious look and indignant voice, I am sorry to oppose you: I am not unfriendly to you, while thus persisting in what excites your displeasure; it would please me to have your approbation and concurrence, and I think I should have them if you would seriously consider my reasons; but meanwhile, I am superior to opinion, I am not to be intimidated by reproaches, nor would your favour and applause be any reward for the sacrifice of my object. As you can do without my approbation, I can certainly do without yours; it is enough that I can approve myself, it is enough that I appeal to the last authority in the creation. Amuse yourselves as you may, by continuing to censure or to rail; I must continue to act.

The attack of contempt and ridicule is perhaps a still greater trial of courage. It is felt by all to be an admirable thing, when it can in no degree be ascribed to the hardness of either stupidity or confirmed depravity, to sustain for a considerable time, or in numerous instances, the looks of scorn, or an unrestrained shower of taunts and jeers, with perfect composure, and proceed immediately after, or at the time, on the business that provokes all this ridicule. This invincibility of temper will often make even the scoffers themselves tired of the sport: they begin to feel that against such a man it is a poor sort of hostility to joke and sneer; and there is nothing that people are more mortified to spend in vain than their scorn. Till, however, a man shall become a veteran, he must reckon on sometimes meeting this trial in the course of virtuous enterprise. And if, at the suggestion of some meritorious but unprecedented proceeding, I hear him ask, with a look and tone of shrinking alarm, But will they not laugh at me?—I know that he is not the person whom this essay attempts to describe. A man of the right kind would say, They will smile, they will laugh, will they? Much good may it do them. I have something else to do than to trouble myself about their mirth. I do not care if the whole neighbourhood were to laugh in a chorus. I should indeed be sorry to see or hear such a number of fools, but pleased enough to find that they considered me as an outlaw to their tribe. The good to result from my project will not be less, because vain and shallow minds that cannot understand it, are diverted at it and at me. What should I think of my

pursuits, if every trivial thoughtless being could comprehend or would applaud them ; and of myself, if my courage needed levity and ignorance for their allies, or could be abashed at their sneers ?

I remember, that on reading the account of the project for conquering Peru, formed by Almagro, Pizarro, and De Luques,* while abhorring the actuating principle of the men, I could not help admiring the hardihood of mind which made them regardless of scorn. These three individuals, before they had obtained any associates, or arms, or soldiers, or more than a very imperfect knowledge of the power of the kingdom they were to conquer, celebrated a solemn mass in one of the great churches, as a pledge and a commencement of the enterprise, amidst the astonishment and contempt expressed by a multitude of people for what was deemed a monstrous project. They, however, proceeded through the service, and afterwards to their respective departments of preparation, with an apparently entire insensibility to all this triumphant contempt ; and thus gave the first proof of possessing that invincible firmness with which they afterwards prosecuted their design, till they attained a success, the destructive process and many of the results of which humanity has ever deplored.

Milton's Abdiel† is a noble illustration of the courage that rises invincible above the derision not only of the multitude, but of the proud and elevated.

But there may be situations where decision of character will be brought to trial against evils of a darker aspect than disapprobation or contempt. There may be the threatening of serious sufferings ; and very often, to dare as far as conscience or a great cause required, has been to dare to die. In almost all plans of great enterprise, a man must systematically dismiss, at the entrance, every wish to stipulate with his destiny for safety. He voluntarily treads within the precincts of danger ; and though it be possible he may escape, he ought to be prepared with the fortitude of a self-devoted victim. This is the inevitable condition on which heroes, travellers or missionaries among savage nations, and reformers on a grand scale, must commence their career. Either they must allay their fire of enterprise, or abide the liability to be exploded by it from the world.

The last decisive energy of a rational courage, which confides in the Supreme Power, is very sublime. It makes a man who intrepidly dares every thing that can oppose or attack him within the whole sphere of mortality ; who will still press toward his object while death is impending over him ; who would retain his purpose unshaken amidst the ruins of the world.

* Three Spanish adventurers who conquered Peru in the 16th Century. Both Almagro and Pizarro met with violent deaths.

† An angel in *Paradise Lost* who remains faithful to God.

It was in the true elevation of this character that Luther,* when cited to appear at the Diet of Worms, under a very questionable assurance of safety from high authority, said to his friends, who conjured him not to go, and warned him by the example of John Huss,* whom, in a similar situation, the same pledge of protection had not saved from the fire, "I am called in the name of God to go, and I would go, though I were certain to meet as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the houses."

A reader of the Bible will not forget Daniel, braving in calm devotion the decree which virtually consigned him to the den of lions: or Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, saying to the tyrant, "We are not careful to answer thee in this matter," when the "burning fiery" furnace was in sight.

The combination of these several essential principles constitutes that state of mind which is a grand requisite to decision of character, and perhaps its most striking distinction—the full agreement of the mind with itself, the consenting co-operation of all its powers and all its dispositions.

What an unfortunate task it would be for a charioteer, who had harnessed a set of horses, however strong, if he could not make them draw together; if while one of them would go forward, another was restiff, another struggled backward, another started aside. If even one of the four were unmanageably perverse, while the three were tractable, an aged beggar with his crutch might leave Phaëton† behind. So in a human being, unless the chief forces act consensually, there can be no inflexible vigour, either of will or execution. One dissentient principle in the mind not only deducts so much from the strength and mass of its agency, but counteracts and embarrasses all the rest. If the judgment holds in low estimation that which yet the passions incline to pursue, the pursuit will be irregular and inconstant, though it may have occasional fits of animation, when those passions happen to be highly stimulated. If there is an opposition between judgment and habit, though the man will probably continue to act mainly under the sway of habit in spite of his opinions, yet sometimes the intrusion of those opinions will have for the moment an effect like that of Prospero's‡ wand on the limbs of Ferdinand; and to be alternately impelled by habit, and checked by opinion, will be a state of vexatious debility. If two principal passions are opposed to each other, they will utterly dis-

* John Huss was a German religious reformer, burnt alive at Constance in 1415, although he had a safe conduct from the Emperor. Martin Luther, the greatest German religious reformer, was ordered to appear before an assembly at Worms. He was warned that although he had a safe conduct from the Emperor Charles V., he might share the fate of John Huss. The text gives his reply.

† The fabled son of Apollo, the sun god, who asked his father to let him drive the chariot of the sun for one day, and thus lost his life.

‡ A character in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, supposed to have a magic wand.

tract any mind, whatever might be the force of its faculties if acting without embarrassment. The one passion may be somewhat stronger than the other, and therefore just prevail barely enough to give a feeble impulse to the conduct of the man ; a feebleness which will continue till there be a greater disparity between these rivals, in consequence of a reinforcement to the slightly ascendant one, by new impressions, or the gradual strengthening of habit forming in its favour. The disparity must be no less than an absolute predominance of the one and subjection of the other, before the prevailing passion will have at liberty from the intestine conflict any large measure of its force to throw activity into the system of conduct. If, for instance, a man feels at once the love of fame which is to be gained only by arduous exertions, and an equal degree of the love of ease or pleasure which precludes those exertions ; if he is eager to show off in splendour, and yet anxious to save money ; if he has the curiosity of adventure, and yet that solicitude for safety, which forbids him to climb a precipice, descend into a cavern, or explore a dangerous wild ; if he has the stern will of a tyrant, and yet the relentings of a man ; if he has the ambition to domineer over his fellow-mortals, counteracted by a reluctance to inflict so much mischief as it might cost to subdue them ; we may anticipate the irresolute contradictory tenour of his actions. Especially if conscience, that great troubler of the human breast, loudly declares against a man's wishes or projects, it will be a fatal enemy to decision, till it either reclaim the delinquent passions, or be debauched or laid dead by them.

Lady Macbeth* may be cited as a harmonious character, though the epithet seem strangely applied. She had capacity, ambition, and courage : and she willed the death of the king. Macbeth had still more capacity, ambition, and courage ; and he also willed the murder of the king. But he had, besides, humanity, generosity, conscience, and some measure of what forms the *power* of conscience, the fear of a Superior Being. Consequently, when the dreadful moment approached, he felt an insupportable conflict between these opposite principles, and when it was arrived his utmost courage began to fail. The worst part of his nature fell prostrate under the power of the better ; the angel of goodness arrested the demon that grasped the dagger ; and would have taken that dagger away, if the pure demoniac firmness of his wife, who had none of these counteracting principles, had not shamed and hardened him to the deed.

The poet's delineation of Richard III.† offers a dreadful specimen of this indivisibility of mental impulse. After his determination was fixed, the whole mind with the compactest fidelity supported

* Lady Macbeth, in Shakespeare's play, urges her husband to the murder of Duncan, king of Scotland.

† Richard III., a cruel king of England, killed at the battle of Bosworth, 1485 A.D.

him in prosecuting it. Securely privileged from all interference of doubt that could linger, or humanity that could soften, or timidity that could shrink, he advanced with a concentrated constancy through scene after scene of atrocity, still fulfilling his vow to "cut his way through with a bloody axe." He did not waver while he pursued his object, nor relent when he seized it.

Cromwell (whom I mention as a parallel, of course not to Richard's wickedness, but to his inflexible vigour,) lost his mental consistency in the latter end of a career which had displayed a superlative example of decision. It appears that the wish to be a king, at last arose in a mind which had contemned royalty, and battled it from the land. As far as he really had any republican principles and partialities, this new desire must have been a very untoward associate for them, and must have produced a schism in the breast where all the strong forces of thought and passion had acted till then in concord. The new form of ambition became just predominant enough to carry him, by slow degrees, through the embarrassment and the shame of this incongruity, into an irresolute determination to assume the crown; so irresolute, that he was reduced again to a mortifying indecision by the remonstrances of some of his friends, which he could have slighted, and by an apprehension of the public disapprobation, which he could have braved, if some of the principles of his own mind had not shrunk or revolted from the design. When at last the motives for relinquishing this design prevailed, it was by so small a degree of preponderance, that his reluctant refusal of the offered crown was the voice of only half his soul.

Not only two distinct counteracting passions, but one passion interested for two objects, both equally desirable, but of which the one must be sacrificed, may annihilate in that instance the possibility of a resolute promptitude of conduct. I recollect reading in an old divine, a story from some historian, applicable to this remark. A father went to the agents of a tyrant, to endeavour to redeem his two sons, military men, who, with some other captives of war, were condemned to die. He offered, as a ransom, a sum of money, and to surrender his own life. The tyrant's agents who had them in charge, informed him that this equivalent would be accepted for one of his sons, and for one only, because they should be accountable for the execution of two persons; he might therefore choose which he would redeem. Anxious to save even one of them thus at the expense of his own life, he yet was unable to decide which should die, by choosing the other to live, and remained in the agony of this dilemma so long that they were both irreversibly ordered for execution.

LETTER V.

[Evil Effects of Decision of Character, if misdirected. Care needed. Dangers to be guarded against. Frederick of Prussia.]

It were absurd to suppose that any human being can attain a state of mind capable of acting in all instances invariably with the full power of determination ; but it is obvious that many have possessed a habitual and very commanding measure of it ; and I think the preceding remarks have taken account of its chief characteristics and constituent principles. A number of additional observations remain.

The slightest view of human affairs shows what fatal and widespread mischief may be caused by men of this character, when misled or wicked. You have but to recollect the conquerors, despots, bigots, unjust conspirators, and signal villains of every class, who have blasted society by the relentless vigour which could act consistently and heroically wrong. Till therefore the virtue of mankind be greater, there is reason to be pleased that so few of them are endowed with extraordinary decision.

Even when dignified by wisdom and principle, this quality requires great care in the possessors of it to prevent its becoming unamiable. As it involves much practical assertion of superiority over other human beings, it should be as temperate and conciliating as possible in manner ; else pride will feel provoked, affection hurt, and weakness oppressed. But this is not the manner which will be most natural to such a man ; rather it will be high-toned, laconic, and careless of pleasing. He will have the appearance of keeping himself always at a distance from social equality ; and his friends will feel as if their friendship were continually sliding into subserviency ; while his intimate connexions will think he does not attach the due importance either to their opinions or to their regard. His manner, when they differ from him, or complain, will be too much like the expression of slight estimation, and sometimes of disdain.

When he can accomplish a design by his own personal means alone, he may be disposed to separate himself to the work with the cold self-enclosed individuality on which no one has any hold, which seems to recognise no kindred being in the world, which takes little account of good wishes and kind concern, any more than it cares for opposition ; which seeks neither aid nor sympathy, and seems to say, I do not want any of you, and I am glad that I do not ; leave me alone to succeed or die. This has a very repellent effect on the friends who wished to feel themselves of some importance, in some way or other, to a person whom they are constrained to respect. When assistance is indispensable to his undertakings, his mode of signifying it will seem to command, rather than invite, the co-operation.

In consultation, his manner will indicate that when he is equally with the rest in possession of the circumstances of the case, he does not at all expect to hear any opinions that shall correct his own; but is satisfied that either his present conception of the subject is the just one, or that his own mind must originate that which shall be so. This difference will be apparent between him and his associates, that *their* manner of receiving *his* opinions is that of agreement or dissent; *his* manner of receiving *theirs* is judicial—that of sanction or rejection. He has the tone of authoritatively deciding on what they say, but never of submitting to decision what himself says. Their coincidence with his views does not give him a firmer assurance of his being right, nor their dissent any other impression than that of their incapacity to judge. If his feeling took the distinct form of a reflection, it would be, Mine is the business of comprehending and devising, and I am here to rule this company, and not to consult them; I want their docility, and not their arguments; I am come, not to seek their assistance in thinking, but to determine their concurrence in executing what is already thought for them. Of course, many suggestions and reasons which appear important to those they come from will be disposed of by him with a transient attention, or a light facility, that will seem very disrespectful to persons who possibly hesitate to admit that he is a demi-god, and that they are but idiots. Lord Chatham, in going out of the House of Commons, just as one of the speakers against him concluded his speech by emphatically urging what he perhaps rightly thought the unanswerable question. “*Where can we find means to support such a war?*” turned round a moment, and gaily chanted, “Gentle shepherd, tell me where?”

Even the assenting convictions and practical compliances, yielded by degrees to this decisive man, may be somewhat undervalued; as they will appear to him no more than simply coming, and that very slowly, to a right apprehension; whereas *he* understood and decided justly from the first, and has been right all this while.

He will be in danger of rejecting the just claims of charity for a little tolerance to the prejudices, hesitation, and timidity, of those with whom he has to act. He will say to himself, I wish there were any thing like manhood among the beings called men; and that they could have the sense and spirit not to let themselves be hampered by so many silly notions and childish fears. Why cannot they either determine with some promptitude, or let me, that can, do it for them? Am I to wait till debility become strong, and folly wise?—If full scope be allowed to those tendencies, they may give too much of the character of a tyrant to even a man of elevated virtue, since, in the consciousness of the right intention, and the assurance of the wise contrivance, of his designs, he will hold himself justified in being regardless of every thing but

the accomplishment of them. He will forget all respect for the feelings and liberties of beings who are accounted but a subordinate machinery, to be actuated, or to be thrown aside when not actuated, by the spring of his commanding spirit.

I have before asserted that this strong character *may* be exhibited with a mildness, or at least temperance, of manner; and that, generally, it will thus best secure its efficacy. But this mildness must often be at the cost of great effort; and how much considerate policy or benevolent forbearance it will require, for a man to exert his utmost vigour in the very task, as it will appear to him at the time, of cramping that vigour!—Lycurgus* appears to have been a high example of conciliating patience in the resolute prosecution of designs to be effected among a perverse multitude.

It is probable that the men most distinguished for decision, have not in general possessed a large share of tenderness; and it is easy to imagine, that the laws of our nature will, with great difficulty, allow the combination of the refined sensibilities with a hard, never-shrinking, never-yielding firmness. Is it not almost of the essence of this temperament to be free from even the *perception* of such impressions as cause a mind, weak through susceptibility, to relax or waver; just as the skin of the elephant, or the armour of the rhinoceros, would be but indistinctly sensible to the application of a force by which a small animal, with a skin of thin and delicate texture, would be pierced or lacerated to death? No doubt, this firmness consists partly in a commanding and repressive power over feelings, but it may consist fully as much in not having them. To be exquisitely alive to gentle impressions, and yet to be able to preserve, when the prosecution of a design requires it, an immovable heart amidst the most imperious causes of subduing emotion, is perhaps not an impossible constitution of mind, but it must be the rarest endowment of humanity.

If you take a view of the first rank of decisive men, you will observe that their faculties have been too much bent to arduous effort, their souls have been kept in too military an attitude, they have been begirt with too much iron, for the melting movements of the heart. Their whole being appears too much arrogated and occupied by the spirit of severe design, urging them toward some defined end, to be sufficiently at ease for the indolent complacency, the soft lassitude of gentle affections, which love to surrender themselves to the present felicities, forgetful of all “enterprises of great pith and moment.” The man seems rigorously intent still on his own affairs, as he walks, or regales, or mingles with domestic society; and appears to despise all the feelings that will not take rank with the grave labours and decisions of intellect, or coalesce with the un-

* A famous lawgiver of Sparta, in the south of Greece, who is supposed to have lived about 900 B.C. His real history is uncertain.

remitting passion which is his spring of action ; he values not feelings which he cannot employ either as weapons or as engines. He loves to be actuated by a passion so strong as to compel into exercise the utmost force of his being, and fix him in a tone, compared with which, the gentle affections, if he had felt them, would be accounted tameness, and their exciting causes insipidity.

Yet we cannot willingly admit that those gentle affections are totally incompatible with the most impregnable resolution and vigour ; nor can we help believing that such men as Timoleon, Alfred, and Gustavus Adolphus,* must have been very fascinating associates in private and domestic life, whenever the urgency of their affairs would allow them to withdraw from the interests of statesmen and warriors, to indulge the affections of men : most fascinating, for, with relations or friends who had any right perceptions, an effect of the strong character would be recognised in a peculiar charm imparted by it to the gentle moods and seasons. The firmness and energy of the man whom nothing could subdue, would exalt the quality of the tenderness which softened him to recline.

But it were much easier to enumerate a long train of ancient and modern examples of the vigour unmitigated by the sensibility. Perhaps indeed these indomitable spirits have yielded sometimes to some species of love, as a mode of amusing their passions for an interval, till greater engagements have summoned them into their proper element ; when they have shown how little the sentiment was an element of the heart, by the ease with which they could relinquish the temporary favorite. In other cases, where there have not been the selfish inducements, which this passion supplies, to the exhibition of something like softness, and where they have been left to the trial of what they might feel of the sympathies of humanity in their simplicity, no rock on earth could be harder.

The celebrated King of Prussia† occurs to me, as a capital instance of the decisive character ; and there occurs to me, at the same time, one of the anecdotes related of him.‡ Intending to make, in the night, an important movement in his camp, which

* Tamoleon, a Greek general, who freed Sicily from the dominion of "tyrants." He died about 335 B.C. Alfred the Great, a celebrated king of England, who died 901 A.D. Gustavus Adolphus, a king of Sweden, noted as a soldier, who was killed in battle, 1632 A.D.

† Frederick II. of Prussia, surnamed the Great. He was a good soldier, and professed also to be a philosopher. He died in 1786.

‡ The authenticity of this anecdote, which I read in some trifling fugitive publication many years since, has been questioned. Possibly enough it might be one of the many stories only half true which could not fail to go abroad concerning a man who made, in his day, so great a figure. But as it does not at all misrepresent the general character of his mind, since there are many incontrovertible facts proving against him as great a degree of cruelty as this anecdote would charge on him, the want of means to prove this one fact does not seem to impose any necessity for omitting the illustration.

was in sight of the enemy, he gave orders that by eight o'clock all the lights in the camp should be put out, on pain of death. The moment that the time was passed, he walked out himself to see whether all were dark. He found a light in the tent of a Captain Zietern, which he entered just as the officer was folding up a letter. Zietern knew him, and instantly fell on his knees to entreat his mercy. The king asked to whom he had been writing; he said it was a letter to his wife, which he had retained the candle these few minutes beyond the time in order to finish. The king coolly ordered him to rise, and write one line more, which he should dictate. This line was to inform his wife, without any explanation, that by such an hour the next day, he should be a dead man. The letter was then sealed, and despatched as it had been intended; and, the next day, the captain was executed. I say nothing of the justice of the punishment itself; but this cool barbarity to the affection both of the officer and his wife, proved how little the decisive hero and reputed philosopher was capable of the tender affections, or of sympathizing with their pains.

At the same time, it is proper to observe, that the case may easily occur, in which a man, sustaining a high responsibility, *must* be resolute to act in a manner which may make him appear to want the finer feelings. He may be placed under the necessity of doing what he knows will cause pain to persons of a character to feel it severely. He may be obliged to resist affectionate wishes, expostulations, entreaties, and tears. Take this same instance. Suppose the wife of Zietern had come to supplicate for him, not only the remission of the punishment of death, but an exemption from any other severe punishment, which was perhaps justly due to the violation of such an order issued no doubt for important reasons; it had then probably been the duty and the virtue of the commander to deny the most interesting suppliant, and to resist the most pathetic appeals which could have been made to his feelings.

LETTER VI.

- [Circumstances adapted to confirm Decision of Character: Opposition, Desertion, Success, Association with Inferiors. Possibility of attaining some measure of Decision of Character. Requisites: Clear Knowledge, Conclusive Thinking, Taking a Decided Step, A Noble Object, The Approval of Conscience.]

VARIOUS circumstances might be specified as adapted to confirm such a character as I have attempted to describe. I shall notice two or three.

And first, *opposition*. The passions which inspire men to resistance, and sustain them in it, such as anger, indignation, and

resentment, are evidently far stronger than those which have reference to friendly objects ; and if any of these strong passions are frequently excited by opposition, they infuse a certain quality into the general temperament of the mind, which remains after the immediate excitement is past. They continually strengthen the principle of re-action ; they put the mind in the habit of array of defence and self-assertion, and often give it the aspect and the posture of a gladiator, when there appears no confronting combatant. When these passions are provoked in such a person as I describe, it is probable that each excitement is followed by a greater increase of this principle of re-action than in other men, because this result is so congenial with his naturally resolute disposition. Let him be opposed then, throughout the prosecution of one of his designs, or in the general tenour of his actions, and this constant opposition would render him the service of an ally, by augmenting the resisting and defying power of his mind. An irresolute spirit indeed might be quelled and subjugated by a formidable and persisting opposition ; but the strong wind which blows out a taper, exasperates a powerful fire (if there be fuel enough) to an indefinite intensity. It would be found, in fact, on a recollection of instances, that many of the persons most conspicuous for decision, have been exercised and forced to this high tone of spirit in having to make their way through opposition and contest ; a discipline under which they were wrought to both a prompt acuteness of faculty, and an inflexibility of temper, hardly attainable even by minds of great natural strength, if brought forward into the affairs of life under indulgent auspices, and in habits of easy and friendly coincidence with those around them. Often, however, it is granted, the firmness matured by such discipline is, in a man of virtue, accompanied with a Catoⁿic* severity, and in a mere man of the world is an unhumanized repulsive hardness.

Desertion may be another cause conducive to the consolidation of this character. A kind mutually reclining dependence, is certainly for the happiness of human beings ; but this necessarily prevents the development of some great individual powers which would be forced into action by a state of abandonment. I lately happened to notice, with some surprise, an ivy, which, finding nothing to cling to beyond a certain point, had shot off into a bold elastic stem, with an air of as much independence as any branch of oak in the vicinity. So a human being thrown, whether by cruelty, justice, or accident, from all social support and kindness, if he have any vigour of spirit, and be not in the bodily debility of either childhood or age, will begin to act for himself with a resolution which will appear like a new faculty. And the most absolute inflexibility is likely to characterize the resolution of an individual who is obliged to deliberate

* Cato the Censor, a Roman noted for his severity. He died 185 a.c.

without consultation, and execute without assistance. He will disdain to yield to beings who have rejected him, or to forego a particle of his designs or advantages in concession to the opinions or the will of all the world. Himself, his pursuits, and his interests, are emphatically his own. "The world is not his friend, nor the world's law;" and therefore he becomes regardless of every thing but its power, of which his policy carefully takes the measure, in order to ascertain his own means of action and impunity, as set against the world's means of annoyance, prevention, and retaliation.

If this person have but little humanity or principle, he will become a misanthrope, or perhaps a villain, who will resemble a solitary wild beast of the night, which makes prey of every thing it can overpower, and cares for nothing but fire. If he be capable of grand conception and enterprise, he may, like Spartacus,* make a daring attempt against the whole social order of the state where he has been oppressed. If he be of great humanity and principle, he may become one of the noblest of mankind, and display a generous virtue to which society had no claim, and which it is not worthy to reward, if it should at last become inclined. No, he will say, give your rewards to another; as it has been no part of my object to gain them, they are not necessary to my satisfaction. I have done good, without expecting your gratitude, and without caring for your approbation. If conscience and my Creator had not been more auspicious than you, none of these virtues would ever have opened to the day. When I ought to have been an object of your compassion, I might have perished; now, when you find I can serve your interests, you will affect to acknowledge me and reward me; but I will abide by my destiny to verify the principle that virtue is its own reward.—In either case, virtuous or wicked, the man who has been compelled to do without assistance, will spurn interference.

Common life would supply illustrations of the effect of desertion, in examples of some of the most resolute men having become such partly from being left friendless in early life. The case has also sometimes happened, that a wife and mother, remarkable perhaps for gentleness and acquiescence before, has been compelled, after the death of her husband on whom she depended, and when she has met with nothing but neglect or unkindness from relations and those who had been accounted friends, to adopt a plan of her own, and has executed it with a resolution which has astonished even herself.

One regrets that the signal examples, real or fictitious, that most readily present themselves, are still of the depraved order. I fancy myself to see Marius† sitting on the ruins of Carthage, where no arch

* The leader in the great insurrection of Roman slaves in Southern Italy which took place 73 B.C.

† A celebrated Roman who fled for safety to Africa. The ruins of Carthage reminded him of his own misfortunes. He returned to Rome to take terrible vengeance on his enemies, but he died soon afterwards, 86 B.C.

or column, that remained unshaken amidst the desolation, could present a stronger image of a firmness beyond the power of disaster to subdue. The rigid constancy which had before distinguished his character, would be aggravated by his finding himself thus an outcast from all human society; and he would proudly shake off every sentiment that had ever for an instant checked his designs in the way of reminding him of social obligations. The lonely individual was placed in the alternative of becoming the victim or the antagonist of the power of the empire. While, with a spirit capable of confronting that power, he resolved, amidst those ruins, on a great experiment, he would enjoy a kind of sullen luxury in surveying the dreary situation into which he was driven, and recollecting the circumstances of his expulsion; since they would seem to him to sanction an unlimited vengeance; to present what had been his country as the pure legitimate prize for desperate achievement; and to give him a proud consequence in being reduced to maintain singly a mortal quarrel against the bulk of mankind. He would exult that the very desolation of his condition rendered but the more complete the proof of his possessing a mind which no misfortunes could repress or intimidate, and that it kindled an animosity intense enough to force that mind from firm endurance into impetuous action. He would feel that he became stronger for enterprise, in proportion as his exile and destitution rendered him more inexorable; and the sentiment with which he quitted his solitude would be,—Rome expelled her patriot, let her receive her evil genius.

The decision of Satan, in *Paradise Lost*, is represented as consolidated by his reflections on his hopeless banishment from heaven, which oppress him with sadness for some moments, but he soon resumes his invincible spirit, and utters the impious but sublime sentiment,

“What matter where, if I be still the same?”

You remember how this effect of desertion is represented in Charles de Moor.* His father's supposed cruel rejection consigned him irretrievably to the career of atrocious enterprise, in which, notwithstanding the most interesting emotions of humanity and tenderness, he persisted with heroic determination till he considered his destiny as accomplished.

Success tends considerably to reinforce this commanding quality. It is true that a man possessing it in a high degree will not lose it by occasional failure; for if the failure was caused by something entirely beyond the reach of human knowledge and ability, he will remember that fortitude is the virtue required in meeting unfavourable events which in no sense depended on him; if by something

* A wildly extravagant, certainly, but most imposing and gigantic character in Schiller's tragedy, *The Robbers*.

which *might* have been known and prevented, he will feel that even the experience of failure completes his competence, by admonishing his prudence, and enlarging his understanding. But as schemes and measures of action rightly adjusted to their proposed ends will generally attain them, continual failure would show something essentially wrong in a man's system, and destroy his confidence, or else expose it as mere absurdity or obstinacy. On the contrary, when a man has ascertained by experiment the justness of his calculations and the extent of his powers, when he has measured his force with various persons, when he has braved and vanquished difficulty, and partly seized the prize, he will carry forward the result of all this in an intrepid self-sufficiency for whatever may yet await him.

In some men, whose lives have been spent in constant perils, continued success has produced a confidence beyond its rational effect, by inspiring a presumption that the common laws of human affairs were, in their case, superseded by the decrees of a peculiar destiny, securing them from almost the possibility of disaster; and this superstitious feeling, though it has displaced the unconquerable resolution from its rational basis, has often produced the most wonderful effects. This dictated Cæsar's expression to the mariner who was terrified at the storm and billows, "What art thou afraid of?—thy vessel carries Cæsar." The brave men in the times of the English Commonwealth* were, some of them, indebted in a degree for their magnanimity to this idea of a special destination, entertained as a religious sentiment.

The wilfulness of an obstinate person is sometimes fortified by some single instance of remarkable success in his undertakings, which is promptly recalled in every case where his decisions are questioned or opposed, as a proof, or ground of just presumption, that he must in this instance too be right; especially if that one success happened contrary to your predictions.

I shall only add, and without illustration, that the habit of associating with *inferiors*, among whom a man can always, and therefore does always, take the precedence and give the law, is conducive to a subordinate coarse kind of decision of character. You may see this exemplified any day in an ignorant country squire among his vassals; especially if he wear the lordly superaddition of Justice of the Peace.

In viewing the characters and actions of the men who have possessed in imperial eminence the quality which I have attempted to describe, one cannot but wish it were possible to know how much of this mighty superiority was created by the circumstances in which they were placed; but it is inevitable to believe that there was some vast intrinsic difference from ordinary men in the original

* Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and others.

constitutional structure of the mind. In observing lately a man who appeared too vacant almost to think of a purpose, too indifferent to resolve upon it, and too sluggish to execute it if he had resolved, I was distinctly struck with the idea of the distance between him and Marius, of whom I happened to have been reading; and it was infinitely beyond my power to believe that any circumstances on earth, though ever so perfectly combined and adapted, would have produced in this man, if placed under their fullest influence from his childhood, any resemblance (unless perhaps the courage to enact a diminutive imitation in revenge and cruelty) of the formidable Roman.

It is needless to discuss whether a person who is practically evinced, at the age of maturity, to want the stamina of this character, can, by any process, acquire it. Indeed such a person cannot have sufficient force of *will* to make the complete experiment. If there were the unconquerable *will* that would persist to seize all possible means, and apply them in order to attain, if I may so express it, this stronger mode of active existence, it would prove the possession already of a high degree of the character sought; and if there is not this *will*, how then is the supposed attainment possible?

Yet though it is improbable that a very irresolute man can ever become a habitually decisive one, it should be observed, that since there are *degrees* of this powerful quality, and since the essential principles of it, when partially existing in those degrees, cannot be supposed subject to definite and ultimate limitation, like the dimension of the bodily stature, it might be possible to apply a discipline which should advance a man from the lowest degree to the next, from that to the third, and how much further—it will be worth his trying, if his first successful experiments have not cost more in the efforts for making the attainment, than he judges likely to be repaid by any good he shall gain from its exercise. I have but a very imperfect conception of the discipline; but will suggest a hint or two.

In the first place, the indispensable necessity of a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the concerns before us, seems too obvious for remark; and yet no man has been sufficiently sensible of it, till he has been placed in circumstances which forced him to act before he had time, or after he had made ineffectual efforts, to obtain the needed information and understanding. The pain of having brought things to an unfortunate issue, is hardly greater than that of proceeding in the conscious ignorance which continually threatens such an issue. While thus proceeding at hazard, under some compulsion which makes it impossible for him to remain in inaction, a man looks round for information as eagerly as a benighted wanderer would for the light of a human dwelling. He perhaps labours to recall what he thinks he once heard or read as relating to a similar situation, without dreaming at that time that such instruction could

ever come to be of importance to him ; and is distressed to find his best recollection so indistinct as to be useless. He would give a considerable sum, if some particular book could be brought to him at the instant ; or a certain document which he believes to be in existence ; or the detail of a process, the terms of a prescription, or the model of an implement. He thinks how many people know, without its being of any present use to them, exactly what could be of such important service to him, if he could know it. In some cases, a line, a sentence, a monosyllable of affirming or denying, or a momentary sight of an object, would be inexpressibly valuable and welcome. And he resolves that if he can once happily escape from the present difficulty, he will apply himself day and night to obtain knowledge, not concerning one particular matter only, but divers others, in provision against possible emergencies, rather than be so involved and harassed again. It might really be of service to have been occasionally forced to act under the disadvantage of conscious ignorance (if the affair was not so important as to allow the consequence to be very injurious), as an effectual lesson on the necessity of knowledge in order to decision either of plan or execution. It must indeed be an extreme case that will compel a considerate man to act in the absence of knowledge ; yet he may sometimes be necessitated to proceed to action, when he is sensible his information is far from extending to the whole of the concern in which he is going to commit himself. And in this case, he will feel no little uneasiness, while transacting that part of it in which his knowledge is competent, when he looks forward to the point where that knowledge terminates ; unless he be conscious of possessing an exceedingly prompt faculty of catching information at the moment that he wants it for use ; as Indians set out on a long journey with but a trifling stock of provision, because they are sure that their bows or guns will procure it by the way. It is one of the nicest points of wisdom to decide how much less than complete knowledge, in any question of practical interest, will warrant a man to venture on an undertaking, in the presumption that the deficiency will be supplied in time to prevent either perplexity or disaster.

• A thousand familiar instances show the effect of complete knowledge on determination. An artisan may be said to be decisive as to the mode of working a piece of iron or wood, because he is certain of the proper process and the effect. A man perfectly acquainted with the intricate paths of a woodland district, takes the right one without a moment's hesitation ; while a stranger, who has only some very vague information, is lost in perplexity. It is easy to imagine what a number of circumstances may occur in the course of life, or even of a year, in which a man cannot thus readily determine, and thus confidently proceed without a compass and an exactness of knowledge which few persons have application

enough to acquire. And it would be frightful to know to what extent human interests are committed to the direction of ignorance. What a consolatory doctrine is that of a particular Providence!

In connexion with the necessity of knowledge, I would suggest the importance of cultivating, with the utmost industry, a conclusive manner of thinking. In the first place, let the general course of thinking partake of the nature of *reasoning*; and let it be remembered that this name does not belong to a series of thoughts and fancies which follow one another without deduction or dependence, and which can therefore no more bring a subject to a proper issue, than a number of separate links will answer the mechanical purpose of a chain. The conclusion which terminates such a series, does not deserve the name of *result* or *conclusion*, since it has little more than a casual connexion with what went before; the conclusion might as properly have taken place at an earlier point of the train, or have been deferred till that train had been extended much further. Instead of having been busily employed in this kind of thinking, for perhaps many hours, a man might possibly as well have been sleeping all the time; since the single thought which is now to determine his conduct, might have happened to be the first thought that occurred to him on awaking. It only *happens* to occur to him now; it does not follow from what he has been thinking these hours; at least, he cannot prove that some other thought might not just as appropriately have come in its place at the end, and to make an end, of this long series. It is easy to see how feeble that determination is likely to be, which is formed on so narrow a ground as the last accidental idea that comes into the mind, or on so loose a ground as this crude uncombined assemblage of ideas. Indeed it is difficult to form a determination at all on such slight ground. A man delays, and waits for some more satisfactory thought to occur to him; and perhaps he has not waited long, before an idea arises in his mind of a quite contrary tendency to the last. As this additional idea is not, more than that which preceded it, the result of any process of reasoning, nor brings with it any arguments, it may be expected to give place soon to another, and still another; and they are all in succession of equal authority, that is properly of none. If at last an idea occurs to him which seems of considerable authority, he may here make a stand, and adopt his resolution, with firmness, as he thinks, and commence the execution. But still, if he cannot see *whence* the principle which has determined him derives its authority—on what it holds for that authority—his resolution is likely to prove treacherous and evanescent in any serious trial. A principle so little verified by sound reasoning, is not *terra firma* for a man to trust himself upon; it is only as a slight incrustation on a yielding element; it is like the sand compacted into a

thin surface on the lake Serbonis,* which broke away under the unfortunate army which had begun to advance on it, mistaking it for solid ground.—These remarks may seem to refer only to a *single instance* of deliberation; but they are equally applicable to all the deliberations and undertakings of a man's life; the same connected manner of thinking, which is so necessary to give firmness of determination and of conduct in a particular instance, will, if habitual, greatly contribute to form a decisive character.

Not only should thinking be thus reduced, by a strong and patient discipline, to a train or process, in which all the parts at once depend upon and support one another, but also this train should be followed on to a full conclusion. It should be held as a law generally in force, that the question must be disposed of before it is let alone. The mind may carry on this accurate process to some length, and then stop through indolence, or start away through levity; but it can never possess that rational confidence in its opinions which is requisite to the character in question, till it is conscious of acquiring them from an exercise of thought continued on to its result. The habit of thinking thus completely is indispensable to the general character of decision; and in any particular instance, it is found that short pieces of courses of reasoning, though correct as far as they go, are inadequate to make a man master of the immediate concern. They are besides of little value for aid to future thinking; because from being left thus incomplete they are but slightly retained by the mind, and soon sink away; in the same manner as the walls of a structure left unfinished speedily moulder.

After these remarks, I should take occasion to observe, that a vigorous exercise of thought may sometimes for a while seem to increase the difficulty of decision, by discovering a great number of unthought-of reasons for a measure and against it, so that the most discriminating mind may, during a short space, find itself in the state of the magnetic needle under the equator. But no case in the world can really have a perfect equality of opposite reasons; nor will it long appear to have it, in the estimate of a clear and well-disciplined intellect, which after some time will ascertain, though the difference is small, which side of the question has ten, and which has but nine. At any rate this is the mind to come nearest in the approximation.

Another thing that would powerfully assist toward complete decision, both in the particular instance, and in the general spirit of the character, is for a man to place himself in a situation analogous to that in which Cæsar placed his soldiers, when he burnt the ships† which brought them to land. If his judgment is *really* decided, let him commit himself irretrievably, by doing something which shall oblige him to do more, which shall lay on him the necessity of

* Between Egypt and Palestine.

† When he landed in Britain, 54 B.C.

doing all. If a man resolves as a general intention to be a philanthropist, I would say to him, Form some actual plan of philanthropy, and begin the execution of it to-morrow, (if I may not say *to-day*,) so explicitly that you cannot relinquish it without becoming degraded even in your own estimation. If a man would be a hero, let him, if it be possible to find a good cause in arms, go presently to the camp. If a man is desirous of a travelling adventure through distant countries, and deliberately approves both his purpose and his scheme, let him actually prepare to set off. Let him not still dwell, in imagination, on mountains, rivers, and temples; but give directions about his remittances, his personal equipments, or the carriage, or the vessel, in which he is to go. Ledyard surprised the official person who asked him how soon he could be ready to set off for the interior of Africa, by replying promptly and firmly, "To-morrow."

Again, it is highly conducive to a manly firmness, that the interests in which it is exerted should be of a dignified order, so as to give the passions an ample scope, and a noble object. The degradation they suffer in being devoted to mean and trivial pursuits, often perceived to be such in spite of every fallacy of the imagination, would in general, I should think, also debilitate their energy, and therefore preclude strength of character, to which nothing can be more adverse, than to have the fire of the passions damped by the mortification of feeling contempt for the object, as often as its meanness is betrayed by failure of the delusion which invests it.

And finally, I would repeat that one should think a man's own conscientious approbation of his conduct must be of vast importance to his decision in the outset, and his persevering constancy; and I would attribute it to defect of memory that a greater proportion of the examples, introduced for illustration in this essay, do not exhibit goodness in union with the moral and intellectual power so conspicuous in the quality described. Certainly a bright constellation of such examples might be displayed; yet it is the mortifying truth that much the greater number of men pre-eminent for decision, have been such as could not have their own serious approbation, except through an utter perversion of judgment or abolition of conscience. And it is melancholy to contemplate beings represented in our imagination as of adequate power, (when they possessed great external means to give effect to the force of their minds,) for the grandest utility, for vindicating each good cause which has languished in a world adverse to all goodness, and for intimidating collective vices of a nation or an age—to contemplate such beings as becoming themselves the mighty exemplars, giants, and champions of those vices; and it is fearful to follow them in thought, from this region, of which not all the powers and difficulties and inhabitants together could have subdued their adamant resolution,

to the Supreme Tribunal* where that resolution must tremble and melt away.

MORAL COURAGE

ITS NEED IN INDIA, AND THE SOURCE WHENCE
IT IS TO BE OBTAINED.

National Characteristics.—Every nation has, more or less, its distinguishing features of character; its excellencies and its defects. The English are noted for their courage and enterprise. Their vast empire is a proof of this. Webster, a distinguished American statesman, says of Great Britain, that it is

“A power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.”

On the other hand, it must be admitted, as Lord Canning remarked, “that the very virtues of the English are not seldom exaggerated into faults.” As a nation, they are inclined to be proud, and not sufficiently conciliatory.

The people of India are, in some respects, the opposite of the English. Firmness is wanting. *Speculation* rather than *action* is the leading feature. The spirit of enterprise was quenched and a stationary civilization produced by declaring any one who crossed the “black waters” an outcaste. But the Hindus shine in the gentler graces of character, in which the English are often deficient.

It is the duty, both of individuals and nations, to seek to acquire the virtues in which they are lacking, and to free themselves from the faults with which they are justly chargeable.

As this paper is intended for circulation among Indians, the remarks refer to them.

Need of Moral Courage in India.—By moral courage is meant acting up to one's convictions of what is right in spite of opposition of any kind. It is needed everywhere, but especially so in this country. The Rev. W. Stevenson, late of Madras, says:—

“The grand characteristic of Hindu society is just its despotic character; its customs and ordinances are so rigid and unbending that no freedom is allowed to the individual. On every side he is hedged in by regulations and prescriptions, so that he can only walk in the narrow rut which these lay down for him. As a necessary consequence, the grand characteristic of the individual Hindu is his want of individuality—his want of a sense of personal responsibility and capability for independent

* God's Judgment Throne.

thought and action. The family, the community, the whole social organism, is so prominent, so exacting, so absolute, that the individual in comparison is nothing."

Maine's *Ancient Law* explains it. Hindu society is still in the patriarchal stage. "The unit of an ancient society was the family ; of a modern society, the individual."

The following remarks by Bishop Caldwell contain much truth :—

"Practically it matters very little in general what theosophy or philosophy a Hindu professes, what his ideas may be about the most ancient form of his religion, or even what his ideas may be about the religious reforms that the age is said to require. As a matter of fact, and in so far as his actual course in life is concerned, he is content, except in a small number of exceptional cases, to adhere with scrupulous care to the traditionary usages of his caste and sect. His ideas may have received a tincture from his English education, but ordinarily his actions differ in no particular of any importance from those of his progenitors."

A few examples will now be given of the evils to which educated men in India submit from want of moral courage :—

1. **Early Marriages.**—The custom of child marriage is almost peculiar to India. The rule in other parts of the world is that marriages should not be contracted till both parties attain adult age. Intelligent, thoughtful persons do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. Foresight in this respect conduces to the happiness of a nation, while recklessness must lead to misery.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar, of Madras, says :—

"I may feel that the best thing I can do for my stupid son is to keep him single, until such time at least as he is able to shift for himself and earns enough to maintain a wife and children with ; but such is the tyranny of custom that he must be married as soon as he arrives at man's estate, even though I have the burden of supporting, it may be to the last day of my life, my worthless son and his wife and all the creatures that they may bring into existence."

2. **Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages.**—This is one great cause of poverty and indebtedness in India.

The Rev. W. Stevenson describes as follows a common marriage case :—

"A father is about to get his daughter married ; his income is Rs. 50 a month, and he has saved nothing ; but it is the custom for one in his position to spend Rs. 500. He knows he hasn't got the means ; he must borrow at exorbitant interest, he must put a load of debt on his shoulders, which may grind him down for long years ; but what does he do ? Does he say honestly—Well, I hav'nt got the money, it is wrong and foolish to burden myself with debt ; I'll only spend what I can properly afford, and mind nothing else ? No, he says, 'What can I do, Sir ? It's our

custom, and if I don't spend all this money, my neighbours will put shame on me.' So he foolishly and cowardly puts his neck under the yoke, rather than face a breath of popular opinion."

• 3. **The Bondage of Caste.**—There was no caste among the early Aryans before they came to India. In Vedic times there were two divisions—the fair Aryans and the dark aborigines. Different employments led to four divisions, but in course of time these have been endlessly multiplied. Brahmans now form ten tribes with no fewer than 1886 subdivisions. Many of these subdivisions will no more eat, drink, and intermarry with one another than they will with the other castes. A single caste in Madras, the Mudaliyars, is divided into as many as fifty sections. Even the Pariahs have numerous subdivisions, and are as tenacious of their caste as the highest Brahmans.

Mr. Sherring has the following remarks on caste :—

• "Caste surrounds the Indian from the day of his birth to that of his death....By day and by night, at home or abroad, in waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, in all the customs of the society in which he moves, and in the events governing his entire life, he is always under its pervading and overmastering influence. Hindus are tied hand and foot, and are willing slaves of the most intolerant and exacting taskmaster that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man."

The *Indian Nation*, a Native paper, in noticing Mr. Cotton's apology for caste, says,

"No code of jail discipline could be more comprehensive or severe than the Hindu religion on its practical side."

Pandit Shiva Nath Sastri thus enumerates some of its evils :—

(1) It has produced disunion and discord. (2) It has made honest manual labour contemptible in this country. (3) It has checked internal and external commerce. (4) It has brought on physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles. (5) It has been a source of conservatism in every thing. (6) It has suppressed the development of individuality and independence of character. (7) It has helped in developing other injurious customs, such as early marriage, the charging of heavy matrimonial fees, &c. (8) It has successfully restrained the growth and development of national worth; whilst allowing opportunity of mental and spiritual culture only to a limited number of privileged people, it has denied these opportunities to the majority of the lower classes, consequently it has made the country negatively a loser. (9) It has made the country fit for foreign slavery by previously enslaving the people by the most abject spiritual tyranny.

Caste carries out its own childish rules and laws with Draconian severity, while it disregards the greatest crimes. A man may be guilty of dakoity and murder; this does not affect his caste; but let him take a glass of water from a European, and it is imure-

diately destroyed. "Other religions," it has been remarked, "may be seated in the mind and soul,—but the stronghold of Hinduism is the stomach." The most important distinctions between right and wrong are obliterated by caste.

That the ignorant should cling to caste, is only what might be expected; but it is humiliating that some men who ought to be the leaders of enlightened public opinion bend their necks to its yoke. A recent instance may be noticed.

Amrita Lal Roy visited different parts of England, and afterwards resided three years in the United States, which he regards as the "hub of creation," and where he "was rewarded with friendship and esteem by some of the most intelligent Americans." Tell it not in the streets of New York, publish it not in the pages of the *North American Review*, that this gentleman, after enjoying such advantages, on his return to Calcutta was purified from contact with unclean Mlecchas by swallowing a pill made of the five products of the cow,* and was received again into caste. "It sounds odd," says *The Liberal*, "that a person who has eaten no end of cows should finish by showing his veneration for the same animal by swallowing dung-cakes."

The worst feature of the case is that an influential Bengali newspaper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, regards Mr. Roy as having "shown an amount of heroism which ought to form an example to those impious wretches who rebel against the laws and customs of their own country. After a keen observation of several years he comes home, and he prefers his superstition and idolatry to all that he had seen in the so-called enlightened countries of the world. This is a fact, which ought to give some food for reflection."

The remark was made: "We agree that this does afford 'food for reflection,' in illustrating how possible it is even for men claiming respectability, to debase themselves before the whole world, and for them and their friends to glory in their shame."

It would be unfair not to give other Native comments on such proceedings. The following quotation had reference to another case, but the principle is the same.

The *Hindu Patriot*, the leading Native paper, while under the editorship of the late Hon. Kristo Das Pal, remarked:—

"As Indians, we should feel humiliated to see any one of our fellow-Indians, with silly caste-notions in his head, travelling to Europe—especially, when the traveller pretends to represent the rising and educated classes of this great continent. We do not wish people in England, in Europe, to believe that what we call 'education' has not yet freed our intellects from the trammels of superstition; that we are afraid even to drink a glass of pure water from the hands of an Englishman, lest

* Milk, curds, ghee, urino, and dung.

the recording angel should make a damning entry against us in his books ! India can never be regenerated till she has outlived the oppressive institution of caste ; and she can never outlive the oppressive system of caste, if we are to look to men like who begins like a daring rebel, But ends into an imbecile swallower of penitential pills !”

The Indian Reformer, about the same time, used still stronger language :—

“ We sicken at the sight. We are weary of moral worthlessness and cowardice. When will India be reformed if her foremost sons thus ignominiously allow themselves to be bound by the fetters of custom—thus tamely submit to the dictation of ignorance, of priestcraft, and of folly ? These men will surely do no good to their country. We require men of braver hearts, of greater moral courage, of a holier earnestness, of a more heroic determination ; of a diviner faith.”

It should also be mentioned that some Indians, on their return from England, have not acted the part of the poltroon like Mr. Roy.

Caste has hitherto been the great obstacle to national unity. The late Congresses are both a sign of progress and a powerful agency for the destruction of the system.

Every true Indian patriot must echo the following prayer in the *Hindu Prakash*:—

“ Oh God, have mercy on our fallen-countrymen ! Give them true knowledge of thy Fatherhood, and their brotherhood ; that our countless millions may be bound by one social tie, and joining hand with hand, and heart with heart, move onward in the path of freedom and righteousness, knowledge and glory, and national regeneration.”

4. Conforming to Idolatry.—Of India it may be said “ The land is full of idols.” Nearly every Hindu home has its idol before which worship is paid.

Many educated Hindus take part in idolatrous rites, pretending that they are harmless customs, kept up by female influence, and that they conform to them simply to avoid giving offence.

Is idolatry a harmless custom ? Professor Monier Williams thus describes the effect produced upon himself by a Hindu festival in the Madras Presidency :—

“ No sight in India made me more sick at heart than this. It furnished a sad example of the utterly debasing character of the idolatry, which, notwithstanding the counteracting influences of education and Christianity, still enslaves the masses of the population, deadening their intellects, corrupting their imaginations, warping their affections, perverting their consciences, and disfiguring the fair soil of a beautiful country with hideous images and practices unsanctioned even by their own most sacred works.”*

* Religious Thought in India, p. 443.

The one true God is the Creator of this world and its rightful Lord. The worship of any other than Himself is high treason against His authority. To worship Him under the form of images is degrading to Him. "To whom will ye liken me or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One."

The excuse that women and ignorant people require images to assist them in worshipping God is groundless. A loving child does not require an image to make him remember his father, even when he is far distant.

The desire to please parents and relatives, within proper limits, is a praiseworthy feeling; but to break God's first and great command at the wish of any human being is a plea which cannot be sustained for a moment. Suppose a parallel case. Parents urge a son to take part in a robbery; they will be vexed if he does not consent. Would a judge accept such an excuse? Would it be true kindness to his parents to join them in such an act? Is he not rather bound, not only to abstain entirely from any participation in the crime, but to do his utmost to dissuade his parents from engaging in it? It would be great cruelty to behave otherwise.

An educated Hindu taking part in idolatrous ceremonies violates his conscience, is guilty of rebellion against God's authority, and is aiding to prolong the reign of superstition.

Some say that they worship the one true God under the name of Vishnu or Siva. In speaking we are bound to use words in their ordinary sense. It is well-known what Hindus understand by Vishnu or Siva, and to mean something entirely different is fraud. The God of truth is not to be worshipped by hypocrisy. A man is not to deny God by *appearing* a Hindu, when he believes Hinduism to be false.

Philosophers among the ancient Greeks and Romans condemned polytheism, but they outwardly conformed to the national creed. The people remained as zealous idolaters as ever. The early Christians separated themselves entirely; and soon the idol temples were deserted. Reformation is impossible if all adhere to old customs.

Women are the chief supporters of idolatry in India. Poor creatures they do not know better. Those who are mainly responsible for it and to be blamed are the educated men, who by their example encourage them in error. The women of India are naturally both intelligent and affectionate. If their husbands, instead of behaving as at present, would lovingly teach them to worship their great Father in heaven instead of idols, the reign of superstition would soon come to an end. The change is so reasonable as easily to be understood. It is so simple that it may be made intelligible even to a child.

• It is vain to boast of the pretended civilization of a country with 33

crores of gods and goddesses. All that can be truly said of its people is that they rank higher than the fetish worshippers of Africa.

Whatever may be the Hindu *ideal* of duty, the *practices*, with some noble exceptions, will be found in the words, "Obedience to caste is the whole duty of man."

Proposed Methods of Reform.—Many educated men, who conform to usages which they condemn, would be glad to see them changed. The way in which they hope this is to be effected is thus described by the Rev. W. Stevenson :—

"The evil customs and practices pervade the whole society of which they form a part, and they do not profess to be exempt from them. But they want to have them reformed,—only they must have every body reformed all at once, the whole society ought to make one simultaneous movement and at one grand moment throw off the yoke together. So they must wait till every one is ready, none must make any step before all the rest; the whole community must as one body achieve the reform, the individual must just remain quiet until he finds himself free. You observe that in this case too the would-be reformers do not find it necessary to set about reforming themselves; it is society they are anxious to operate on; for themselves first and chiefly they do not feel called upon to undertake the unpleasant task. If only society could be put right! if by a stroke of some magic wand all its evil customs and practices could be made to disappear, and a new constitution take their place, what a glorious change it would be for the enlightened! They are dissatisfied with the present state of things and would like to see them improved. If only society could be put right! But there's the difficulty, a difficulty we can see no happy way of getting over. If the individuals are all to remain the same, it is beyond our weak powers to see how the society is to be changed. For we don't know of any society which is not composed of individuals; and to make the whole move while every part remains where it was, does not appear an easy task. Given the problem :—how to make a railway train pass from Madras to Bangalore, while every wheel stands still—it will puzzle most to find a solution."

Mr. R. N. Choy, of Surat, thus notices a second method :—

"Another section of Native gentlemen acknowledging the social evils, are ever ready with 'prudent' arguments and quotations from English writers and philosophers. These men will argue that the evils are the result of a thousand years of priestcraft and ignorance. They are incurable. Drastic measures won't do. They should be left to education, to female education, to be reformed in course of time. We should mind political progress. If we took any violent steps, we should produce a strong reaction in the mind of the community. And all the rest in the same strain. There is, perhaps, no cause so bad that argument cannot be found to justify it. *But I solemnly declare from personal experience that half a dozen of these friends of reform, especially if they be men of light and leading in the community, do, by their 'prudent' counsels, far more to retard it than a hundred begging Brahmans are able to do . . .* When

the race can produce leaders who only talk of prudence and quote authors without having the courage to put their doctrines into practice, that race is past all hope. It can never achieve independence. It must ever remain in servility to one foreign master or another.”*

Political Reform is very popular. The *Indian Messenger* thus explains why some of its advocates take no interest in social reform, and points out their inconsistencies:—

“But the true reason of their backwardness in point of social reform is perhaps to be found in the fact that social reform always involves some amount of self-sacrifice. One must necessarily incur the displeasure of those who are wedded to the old state of things, and perhaps must bring down upon himself, its consequence, some social disadvantages. Ah there is the rub! These devotees of social comfort are for regenerating their country in the line of the least resistance. And as politics evokes least resistance, and costs a man nothing more than words, speeches and harangues, it finds many sympathisers amongst our educated men. Thus there is this anomaly that those who would not give the lower castes the right to sit and dine with them, would clamour against the Anglo-Indians if the latter refuse to travel in the same carriage with natives; those who refuse to grant the blessings of education and social emancipation to their women, are clamouring for representative institutions and elective systems; those who are not prepared to give their children the freedom to choose their own partners in life, are yet crying for unbounded freedom of speech and action, at the hands of a foreign Government! Without further ceremony, and without even an attempt for courtesy, we must directly tell these advocates of cheap patriotism, that we look down upon their enthusiasm for the political regeneration of the country with contempt. First be men, then statesmen!” January 2, 1887.

While political and social reform are useful in their place, it will be shown that a far deeper change is necessary for the regeneration of India.

Need of Individual Example.—Mill, in his book “On Liberty,” describes “the masses” as “collective mediocrity.” “The initiation of all wise or noble things,” he says, “comes, and must come, from individuals—generally at first from some one individual. The honour and glory of the average man is that he is capable of following that initiation; that he can respond internally to wise and noble things, and be led to them with his eyes open...In this age, the mere example of nonconformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom, is itself a service.”

There can never be a reformation in any country if the leaders follow the masses, instead of setting them an example. Speechifying

* Quoted in *The Interpreter*, August, 1886.

without practice is valueless. A Native paper thus describes some Indian reformers :—

“A Demosthenes at Debating Societies, whose words tell as peals of thunder, a Luther in his public protestations against prevailing corruptions, a thorough-going Cockney in ideas and tastes, he is but a timid crouching Hindu in his home, yielding unquestioning submission to the requisitions of a superstitious family.”

Rule of Conduct.—To follow custom is a very unsafe guide. Such a principle would justify lying and filthy speech, unhappily so common. It is custom which sanctions child-marriage, which dooms widows to a life of wretchedness, which forges the chains of caste, and perpetuates idolatry. God's command is, “Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.” If we do so, we must, with them, suffer the consequences.

Our conduct should be regulated by a *sense of Duty*, or a regard to what is right in itself. The voice within us, approving or condemning our actions, is called *conscience*.

To act against our conscience—to do what we consider wrong—is always blameworthy. If a man considers an action wrong and yet does it, to him it is wrong, although in itself it may be innocent. To act according to our conscience—to do what we think right—is not always right. An Indian thug murdered his victims without compunction.

Conscience must be *enlightened*. We should do all in our power to arrive at true views of things, and then act.

A sense of individual responsibility, of the supremacy of conscience, is one of the most important lessons a Hindu has to learn.

Strength for Duty.—Men, as a rule, know what is right. What is wanted is a motive strong enough to enable them to resist the seductions to an opposite course. In most, the love of money, pleasure, or honour is the ruling passion. In some the contending forces are somewhat balanced, leading to *trimmers*. Only a few have the courage to pursue the path of duty.

It is of vital consequence to ascertain how we may be enabled to follow out our convictions of what is right.

.. The careful study of Foster's Essay on *Decision of Character* is recommended. Among the requisites to attain some measure of this quality of mind, he mentions clear knowledge, conclusive thinking, taking a decided step, a noble object, and the approval of conscience. All these are useful in their place, but two others may be mentioned.

Placing a noble example before us for imitation.—The powerful influence of a father or mother is well known. Teachers, like the late Dr. Arnold of Rugby, have infused their spirit into their pupils. Buddhism numbers so many followers largely through the personal

character attributed to Sakya Muni. But unquestionably "Jesus Christ is the most powerful force that has ever moulded the thought and swayed the destinies of civilized men." Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, thus shows the effect of Christ's life:—

"It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world a character, which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love; has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practice; and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists." *

J. S. Mill expresses the following opinion of the Founder of Christianity:—

"About the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight, which must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this pre-eminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer and martyr to that mission, who ever existed upon earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching upon this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor, even now, would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete, than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life." *

Let the reader study the life of Christ as given in the New Testament, and seek to copy His example.

One remark may be made. Fault has been found with Christ's stern denunciation of hypocrisy and other sins. According to philosophic Hinduism, it is the highest attainment of character to regard good and evil with equal eye. But as *The Indian Messenger* justly remarks, "When there is no hatred of untruth, no indignation for any conduct that is dishonest and untruthful, there is no real love of truth."

Dependence on Divine Strength.—True reform in India is not to be achieved under the banner of atheism. Men who march under it are very unsafe guides. The maxim should be,
"Trust in God and do the right."

It has often been remarked that the tendency of Hinduism has been downwards. The "thrice eleven divinities" of the Vedas have been multiplied into 33 crores. Caste and the evils against which social reformers are contending, find no support on the Vedas.

The oldest Aryan creed was evidently monotheistic, the worship of one God. The following remarks by Max Müller deserve careful consideration :—

• “There is a monotheism which precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocation of their innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the midst of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds.”

“Thousands of years have passed since the Aryan nations separated to travel to the North and the South, the West and the East : they have each formed their languages, they have each founded empires and philosophies, they have each built temples and razed them to the ground ; they have all grown older, and it may be wiser and better ; but when they search for a name for what is most exalted and yet most dear to every one of us, when they wish to express both awe and love, the infinite and finite, they can but do what their old fathers did when gazing up the eternal sky, and feeling the presence of a Being as far as far and as near as near can be : they can but combine the selfsame words, and utter once more the primeval Aryan prayer, Heaven-Father, in that form which will endure for ever, ‘Our Father which art in heaven.’”*

What a glorious change would be produced if India were to return to the worship of the one true God, our great Heaven-Father ! Nothing else will be effectual ; other reforms would follow in its train.

Hear the words of one of India’s “Great Men.” The late Keshub Chander Sen said at Bombay in 1868 :—

“What is the programme of reforms you think, I intend to lay before you this evening ? Not half measures, like the education of this section of the community or the reformation of that particular social evil. These cannot—it is my most firm conviction—these cannot lift India as a nation from the mire of idolatry, of moral and social corruption. If you wish to regenerate this country, make religion the basis of all your reform movements. Were I engaged in the work of reforming this country, I would not be busy in lopping off the branches, but I would strike the axo at the fatal root of the tree of corruption, namely—idolatry. Ninety-nine evils out of every hundred in Hindu society are, in my opinion, attributable to idolatry and superstition.

• “Hindu society has a very peculiar structure. Here in India we do not see religion on one side, society on the other ; but religion and society are interwoven with each other. It has been justly said that the Hindus walk and sit religiously, eat and drink religiously, work and sleep religiously ;—their social organism is interwoven with their religion. If therefore you wish to reform the social organism of India, you must, in the first instance, give her true religion or else your attempts will be ineffectual. Give her life—give her capacity to think about her spiritual interests—and then you will find social reformation will spontaneously—in the natural cause of things—come about in the fulness of time.”

* *Science of Religion*, pp. 172, 173.

Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade, in a letter to Mr. B. M. Malabari, expresses similar sentiments :—

“Our deliberate conviction, however, has grown upon us with every effort, that it is only a religious revival that can furnish sufficient moral strength to work out the complex social problems which demand our attention. Mere considerations of expediency or economical calculations of gains or losses can never nerve a community to undertake and carry through social reforms, especially with a community like ours, so spell-bound by custom and authority. Our people feel and feel earnestly, that some of our social customs are fraught with evil, but as this evil is of a temporal character, they think that it does not justify a breach of commands divine, for such breach involves a higher penalty. The truth is, that orthodox society has lost its power of life, it can initiate no reform, nor sympathise with it. Only a religious revival, a revival not of forms, but of sincere earnestness which constitutes true religion, can effect the desired end.”

Divine help is especially needed on the part of the leaders in India's reformation.

Prayer for it may be fitly prefaced by a sorrowful acknowledgment of the past. Most persons, it is true, think lightly of their moral conduct ; but the thoughtful man “has sad and remorseful experiences, the sense of unfulfilled duties, of wasted hours, of mean and unmanly sins against conscience and heart, against God and man.” The humble confession should be made, “Father, I have sinned, and am no more worthy to be called Thy son.”

Every person who sincerely tries to act up fully to the light of conscience will soon find how sin clings to him and gains the victory over him. In every religion except Christianity man bears the consequences of his own misdeeds, and is rewarded on account of his own supposed merits. Christianity teaches that the punishment due to our sins is greater than we can bear, and that all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. Hence, God, in His great love, has provided a Saviour. Space does not permit further explanation here; but the reader is directed to *Short Papers for Seekers after Truth* for a brief account of the doctrines of Christianity.

In any case, the prayer may be offered for light to know God's will and strength to do it.

Motives.—Foster mentions a “noble motive” as one of the means of attaining decision of character. India, your “Fatherland,” presents one of the loftiest order. It contains more than one-sixth of the human race. Its inhabitants are bone of your bone, flesh of your flesh, toiling, struggling, fainting like yourself in the battle of life. What a glorious work it is to take part in their emancipation from the bondage of ignorance, idolatry, and every form of evil under which they suffer! How degrading it is for a man to

have no higher aim in life than to enrich or raise in the world himself and his family !

If you have no regard for others, think of the eternity into which you are speeding, and into which you may be launched at any moment. You may "shine at the stars for ever and ever," or your portion may be "shame and everlasting contempt." One or other must be your lot. Which will you choose? Follow the counsel given in the spirited verses below :—

Courage, brother, do not stumble,
Though thy path be dark as night ;
There's a star to guide the humble :—
"Trust in God, and do the right !"

Let the road be rough and dreary,
And its end far out of sight,
Foot it bravely ! strong or weary,
"Trust in God, and do the right !"

Perish "policy" and cunning !
Perish all that fears the light !
Whether losing, whether winning,
"Trust in God, and do the right !"

Trust no lovely forms of passion :
Fiends may look like angels bright ;
Trust no custom, "school," or fashion—
"Trust in God, and do the right !"

Simple rule and safest guiding,
Inward peace and inward might,
Star upon our path abiding—
"Trust in God, and do the right !"

Some will hate thee, some will love thee ;
Some will flatter, some will slight ;
Cease from man, and look above thee—
"Trust in God, and do the right !"

And let there be no delay. Join at once the noble band
already in the field.

Arise ! for the day is passing,
And you lie dreaming on ;
Your brothers are cased in armour,
And forth to the fight are gone !
A place in the ranks awaits you ;
Each man has some part to play ;
The Past and the Future are nothing
In the face of stern To-day.

Arise from the dreams of the Future
Of gaining some hard-fought field,
Of storming some airy fortress,
Or bidding some giant yield ;
Your future has deeds of glory,
Of honour, (God grant it may !)
But your arm will be never stronger,
Or needed as *now*—To-day.

Arise ! if the Past detain you,
Her sunshines and storms forget ;
No chains so unworthy to hold you ;
As those of a vain regret ;
Sad or bright, she is lifeless ever ;
Cast her phantom arms away,
Nor look back, save to learn the lesson
Of a nobler strife To-day.

Arise ! for the day is passing !
The sound that you scarcely hear,
Is the enemy marching to battle !
Rise ! Rise ! for the foe is near !
Stay not to sharpen your weapons,
Or the hour will strike at last,
When, from dreams of a coming battle,
You may wake to find it past.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

SANITARY REFORM

IN

INDIA.

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!"

Raja Sir T. Mudhava Rao, K.C.S.I.



MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPEERY.

1st. Ed.]

1888.

[2,000.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| NEED AND PRACTICABILITY OF SANITARY REFORM... | 1 |
| GENERAL CONDITIONS OF HEALTH... | 10 |
| PURE AIR ... | 10 |
| PURE WATER ... | 13 |
| GOOD FOOD... | 17 |
| LIGHT ... | 20 |
| PERSONAL CLEANLINESS AND BATHING ... | 20 |
| DRESS ... | 22 |
| EXERCISE ... | 22 |
| SLEEP ... | 24 |
| GOOD HOUSES ... | 25 |
| MARRIAGE REFORM ... | 29 |
| CONTINENCE... | 31 |
| COMPETENT MEDICAL ATTENDANCE ... | 32 |
| PRECAUTIONS AGAINST SPECIAL DISEASES ... | 34 |
| FEVER ... | 34 |
| CHOLERA ... | 36 |
| BOWEL COMPLAINTS ... | 38 |
| SMALL-POX ... | 39 |
| DIABETES ... | 40 |
| VILLAGE SANITATION ... | 41 |
| DUTIES OF MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS ... | 48 |
| ALL ARE INTERESTED IN SANITARY REFORM ... | 51 |
| SPIRITUAL HEALTH ... | 52 |

PREFATORY NOTE.

The compiler would specially acknowledge his indebtedness to the "Suggestions of the Army Sanitary Commission", presented to him by that warm friend of India, Miss Florence Nightingale. The following have also been very useful: Papers supplied by Surgeon-General Bidie of the Madras Medical Department, the Lecture of Mr. Justice Cunningham before the Society of Arts, the Publications of the Health Society of Calcutta, and the Popular Tracts of the Ladies' Sanitary Association. References are given to other works from which quotations have been made. There are also numerous short extracts, generally abridged or slightly altered, which are not acknowledged.

J. MURDOCH.

MADRAS, *May*, 1888.

SANITARY REFORM

IN

INDIA:

ITS NEED AND PRACTICABILITY.

Value of Health.—Health is one of the greatest earthly blessings. In its full possession, more existence is enjoyable; our work is no burden; our sleep at night is sound and refreshing; and time glides along pleasantly. How different is it in the case of sickness! We are not only unable to discharge our own duties, but become a source of trouble and anxiety to others. The body may be burning with fever, the head racked with pain; we may turn from side to side vainly seeking for rest; in the morning we may say, “Would God it were even! and at even would God it were morning!” Without health, rich men amid all their possessions, nobles high in rank, even kings on their thrones, may be miserable, while possessing it, poor labourers, earning their bread by the sweat of their brow, may find life happy.

We are affected by the sickness of others as well as by our own. If a child in a family is seriously ill, all in the house feel anxious, a doctor has to be called in, involving, perhaps, considerable expense.

It is still worse when a wife is attacked. A good mother is busy from morning to night providing for the wants of her husband and children. Severe sickness renders her unable to move, and she needs herself to have every thing done for her.

What a misfortune it is when the father of a family gets sick! Most people have to work for their daily food. When ill, many a labourer loses his wages, while perhaps he has to pay for medicine and a doctor. Lakhs of rupees are thus lost every day in India. Hence many a man gets into debt, and his family may be thrown into great distress for a long time. The father may even die, his wife becoming a widow and his children orphans.

Even should a man survive, a sharp attack of fever often saps his strength, and makes him infirm for life. It also renders him more subject to other diseases which may prove fatal.

Not only do the poor die prematurely from attacks of illness. It has been remarked, especially in Bengal, that men who have raised themselves by their talents and industry to high position are sometimes taken away at a comparatively early age, instead of enjoying their hard-earned honors.

Disease has also a tendency to become hereditary. The immense value of health, from all the above considerations, will therefore be apparent.

Disease and Death in India.—In civilised countries both births and deaths are registered. This is of great advantage. The object is not to enable more taxes to be imposed, but to benefit the inhabitants. When the births fall below the proper number, it shows that the people are not prosperous. When deaths are more numerous than they ought to be, inquiry is made by Government into the cause, and it is sought to be remedied.

In British India births and deaths are ordered to be registered, but the returns are imperfect. In the Madras Presidency alone the number of returning officers is probably over 50,000. It is estimated that for every 100 births returned 218 actually occur; for every 100 deaths about 180.*

The total deaths reported in 1885 were as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Fevers | 3,396,239 |
| Cholera | 385,928 |
| Bowel Complaints | 293,638 |
| Small Pox | 280,630 |
| Injuries | 83,262 |
| Other Causes | 937,903 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 5,377,600 |

Cases of disease should be considered as well as actual deaths. Mr. Justice Cunningham mentions in his Paper on "Public Health in India," read before the Society of Arts, that in 1885, out of a city population of 450,000, no less than 228,000 persons received treatment in public medical institutions. This does not mean that 228,000 different persons were ill. Some might have several attacks. He says, "There are probably, the statisticians tell us, twenty cases of severe illness for every death." The registered mortality in British India would thus give 10 crores, 75 lakhs, and 52,000 cases of disease in one year. Surgeon-General Bidie said in his Presidential Address before the South India Branch of the British Medical Association, "We may fairly calculate that for every death by small-pox in South India quite 10 persons had an attack of the disease, and suffered mutilation more or less severe."

* Madras Census for 1881, Vol. I. p. 90.

This would give about 28 lakhs of cases of this dreadful disease in 1885.

The comparative mortality is generally reckoned by the number who die, on an average, every year per thousand. Giving the nearest round numbers, the death rate for 1885 in the principal provinces, was as follows:—

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Mysore ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| Burmah... | ... | ... | ... | 20 |
| Madras ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 |
| Bengal ... | ... | ... | ... | 23 |
| Bombay... | ... | ... | ... | 29 |
| N. W. P. and Oudh | ... | ... | ... | 32 |
| Central Provinces | ... | ... | ... | 34 |

Mr. Justice Cunningham remarks, "On the whole, all we can say of the figures is that it is improbable in any case that they overstate the mortality; and certainly in many others that they grossly understate it, especially in Bengal, Madras, Burmah and Mysore; here probably the true mortality is nearly double that shown. The real death-roll of India is probably nearer 7,000,000, or 8,000,000 than 5,000,000."

The registration of deaths in a city like Madras is, doubtless, more accurate than in the villages. Mulhall, in his Dictionary of Statistics, gives the death rate of Madras as 39 per 1000, and that of Birmingham in England as 20 per 1000. Both cities each contain about 400,000 inhabitants. The annual mortality in the former is about 15,600, and in the latter, 8,000. Nearly twice as many people die in Madras a year as in Birmingham. Birmingham, it is true, is a very healthy city, but many places in England come near it. The deaths in Madras, according to the estimate given before, represent 312,000 cases of disease.

Supposed Causes of Sickness.—Rude nations, in all parts of the world, attribute sickness to demons or to some enemy who has bewitched them. In some parts of Ceylon there are people so ignorant that they never give medicine, but trust entirely to devil dances and charms. In India two diseases are especially ascribed to demons or goddesses. One is cholera, rapid in its course, often fatal, and sometimes carrying off great numbers. In the south it is popularly, supposed to be caused by one of the local mothers, as Mari-amman, Mother of Death, represented by the Brahmans to be forms of Kali. In the north a new goddess, called Ola Bibi, is thought to preside over cholera. The small-pox goddess is worshipped under different names in every part of India. In the north she is called Sitala Devi, (she who cools) or simply Devi. Mari-amman is the usual name in the south. She is supposed to scatter the seeds of the disease for her amusement. When a person is

stricken by small-pox the expression the people use is 'the *amman* is taking her pastime over him.' Many of the common people are afraid to get their children vaccinated, lest it should displease the goddess by interfering with her sport.

A common Hindu explanation for all cases of disease is that they are the fruit of sins in a former birth. If an infant die, it must have committed a great crime to have its existence so soon cut short. It is considered impossible to escape the results of *Karma*. What is written by Brahma on our heads must inevitably happen.

Muhammadans are fatalists like the Hindus. They ascribe sickness and death to the will of God, and regard resignation as their only duty. About half the Muhammadan children born in Calcutta die within the first year, and the half of them within 15 days of birth, chiefly from lockjaw. Under Native rule, Rajputs sometimes destroyed their female infants as soon as they were born. A small piece of opium was sufficient. The Muhammadan children in Calcutta are killed by their parents as surely as those daughters of the Rajputs. The great point of difference is that the Rajputs wished to murder their children, while the Muhammadans do not. **KILLED BY IGNORANCE** must be the verdict in the latter case.

Intelligent readers know that there are no such beings as *Sitala Devi*, *Mari-amman*, or demons of any kind causing sickness. A Persian proverb says, "The proper devil of mankind is man." It is from the ignorance and misconduct of ourselves or our fellow-men that we chiefly suffer.

Karma is a cause equally imaginary. There is no proof that we ever existed before. Who remembers anything of the kind? Do Muhammadan children in Calcutta die in such numbers because they had been great sinners?

God, it is true, is the Lord of life and death. It is very right to feel our constant dependence upon Him. His blessing, however, is to be obtained by acting in obedience to His will. It is vain to seek it so long as we are breaking His laws. God wishes us to be healthy and happy; when we get ill it is generally through some bad management.

True Causes of Sickness.—The world around us contains a countless number of different articles—some healthful, others poisonous. God has given us reason, which, if we use it aright, will teach us what to eat, and what to avoid. Every object has its own properties. Fire will burn, arsenic will kill. God does not work miracles to save people for the result of misusing articles. A child who eats poison supposing it to be sugar will die as surely as if he knew its nature. The only safe course is to gain a knowledge of the properties of bodies, and use them accordingly.

• Substances, wholesome in themselves, become dangerous when

mixed with poisons. Put some arsenic in a vessel of pure milk, and the whole must be rejected.

The influence of *Water* on health is acknowledged by many people in India. When a person does not feel well in a new place, he often says that the water disagrees with him. Perhaps nearly half the sickness in this country is caused by impure water. The greater part of our body consists of water. The water we drink passes into the blood, and thus goes to every part of the body. If the water is bad, the health must suffer.

Air is another important element. It is what is most needed to sustain life. We can survive several days without food, but the strongest man will die in a few minutes without air. We not only need air, but the air must be pure. Fresh air is the breath of life.

Improper Food is another frequent cause of disease. Children often get ill from eating unripe fruit. Certain articles are liable to cause diarrhoea, which, when the disease is epidemic, may run into cholera. There is a proverb, "Taken in excess even nectar is poison." The same remark applies to food.

Want of Cleanliness. FILTH IS THE MOTHER OF SICKNESS. In one form or another, she is the true *Mari-amman*, Mother of Death.

In opposition to the foregoing causes of sickness, health is largely secured by

1. *Good Water.* 2. *Pure Air.* 3. *Suitable Food.* 4. *Cleanliness.* Some other matters require attention, but these are the principal.

An example will next be given of the benefits resulting from well-directed Sanitary Reform.

Reduction of Disease and Mortality in England.—Some centuries ago, England and other countries in Europe were devastated by dreadful pestilences. At that time "the houses of the middle and lower classes were small, and the rooms incommodious, dark, and ill-ventilated. The towns and cities were mostly enclosed within high walls; there were no drains; the streets were unpaved and unlighted; the water supplies were often impure and generally scanty. Cess-pools abounded, and accumulations of animal and vegetable refuse were found in every direction. No hospitals existed for the use of the sick.*

"In the fourteenth century a dreadful epidemic swept over Europe, destroying millions of persons, and creating universal consternation. It was known by the terrific name, *Black Death*, and few affected by it recovered. It was a highly inflammatory malady, the more prominent symptoms being eruption of painful boils, expectoration of blood, inflammation of the lungs, bleeding at the nose, and black or blue patches on portions of the body, more especially the tongue and mouth. In London it raged with great violence; and it is

stated that 50,000 persons who perished from the malady were interred in one burial place. It probably carried off one-fourth of the inhabitants of Europe, or about 25 millions of people.*

In the fifteenth century the *Sweating Sickness*, an extremely fatal epidemic disorder, ravaged Europe and especially England. It was a violent inflammatory fever, which prostrated the powers as with a blow, and covered the whole body with a stinking perspiration. The internal heat which the patient suffered was intolerable, but every cooling drink was certain death. Scarce one in a hundred recovered. In many towns a third or even a half of the inhabitants were swept away.

In 1665 what was called the "Great Plague" broke out in London. Its ravages are thus described by Dickens :

"The roads out of London were choked up by people endeavouring to escape from the infected city, and large sums were paid for any kind of conveyance. The disease soon spread so far, that it was necessary to shut up the houses in which sick people were, and to cut them off from communication with the living. Every one of these houses was marked on the outside of the door with a red cross, and the words, 'Lord, have mercy upon us!' The streets were all deserted, grass grew in the public ways, and there was a dreadful silence in the air. When night came on, dismal rumblings used to be heard, and these were the wheels of the death-carts attended by men with veiled faces and holding cloths to their mouths, who rang doleful bells, and cried with a loud and solemn voice, 'Bring out your dead!' The corpses put into these carts were buried by torch-light in great pits; no service being performed over them; all men being afraid to stay for a moment on the brink of the ghastly graves. In the general fear, children ran away from their parents, and parents from their children. Some who were taken ill died alone, and without any help. Some were stabbed or strangled by hired nurses who robbed them of all their money, and stole the very beds on which they lay. Some went mad, dropped from the windows, ran through the streets, and in their pain and frenzy flung themselves into the river."

Upwards of a lakh of persons died from the plague in London. The same year the Great Fire took place, which destroyed many of the small crowded old wooden houses, and the disease grew less till it disappeared.

Leprosy is a dreadful disease. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century it was nearly as common in England as it now is in India. In 1881 there were 14,175 lepers in the Madras Presidency,† the number for the whole of India being estimated at 150,000. Every large city in England formerly had its Leper Asylum; now there is not one. The disease has been stamped out.

"Small-pox," says Dr. Parkes, "is in my opinion, the most frightful malady that afflicts us. To see a bad case of small-pox ;

* Cameron's *Handy Book on Health*, pp. 10, 11.

† Madras Census Report, p. 190.

the thick crust of eruption masking the entire face and head; the swollen distorted features which make the person unrecognizable: the closed eyes, half-glued together by matter; the swollen, open, dribbling mouth; the swollen, nerveless, shaking hand, all form a sight never to be forgotten.”*

In India there is a proverb, “A mother can never say that she has a son till she has had small pox.” One hundred and fifty years ago this disease was so common in England that the fear of it weighed upon the hearts of all; it was a constant dread. Small-pox formerly blinded or disfigured a considerable proportion of the human race. Vaccination, properly performed in infancy and after attaining puberty, is almost a perfect protection.

In England, before the discovery of vaccination, the number of deaths from small-pox per million of inhabitants was 3,000, in 1840-54, it was 430; in 1871-3, 178; in 1881, 100. There are always some careless people who will not vaccinate their children. It should also be properly performed. Four scars are a much more effectual protection than one.

There was lately a small-pox epidemic in Sheffield, a large English city. It was found that out of 95,000 children who had been vaccinated, there were only 2 deaths, while out of 5,000 unvaccinated children there were 70 deaths.

Ague, ordinary fever, was formerly nearly as prevalent in England as in India. “In some parts of the country,” says Parkes, “almost all the inhabitants of certain villages used to have the ‘shakes.’ Life was shortened and made miserable by this affection, which was sometimes attended with dysentery. Now the drainage of the land and the cultivation of the surface have made ague a rare disease only seen in some few localities. The dysentery has entirely disappeared.”

Two hundred years ago the average duration of life in England was only about 20 years; it is now 41 years. This gradual improvement has been brought about by sanitary reform.

Diminution of Disease and Death practicable in India.—The sanitary condition of India at present resembles, in many respects, that of England in the seventeenth century. Dr. Thomson thus describes many a village:

“Let us consider the circumstances under which thousands, aye millions! of agriculturists live and die in this country. The village is probably closely built on a site saturated with the impurities produced by previous generations. Very likely a wheel or large tank, fertile source of malaria, is close by. Our villager neither understands nor cares for conservancy. He is accustomed to make water in the most convenient spot that is not actually under observation; very likely a ruined compound

or hut in the middle of the village. Refuse of all kinds, filthy water, decaying vegetation, and the excreta of animals, lie round his very door; nay, if the household be thrifty, the latter substance even ornaments his walls while drying in the sun for fuel. He performs his natural functions in the neighbouring field, where the excreta lying exposed, pollute the air which will pass, thus poisoned, over the village, and into the lungs of its inhabitants; carrying with it, it may be, the poison of typhoid or cholera. Butchers, slaughterers, and tanners ply their trade in any spot they choose, stagnant and foul water lies in holes until it finds its way into a well and pollutes the water, the filth washed from dirty clothes or persons, sinks into the ground all round; bodies of animals lie rotting in the sun; while finally the dead are too often buried in shallow graves, or imperfectly burned, near the village. All these things, and many others which will suggest themselves to my readers either poison the air above or the soil beneath; and as this soil is charged with air and moisture constantly rising from the ground, the danger is equal in both cases.

“And if we examine his dwelling what do we find! Probably a small compound, in which the water lies; occupied by a bullock or some goats, and with an ill-smelling latrine in the corner. This compound surrounds the hut, and prevents the fresh air from freely blowing about the dwelling. The hut consists of mud walls with next to no arrangement for ventilation. A thatch, or ‘chappa,’ saturated with foul emanations, and the decaying remains of small animals, birds, and insects is over his head. In his mistaken ideas of cleanliness he has probably once a week or so ‘leaped’ (smeared) the floor, but has thereby only added new danger by using a certain amount of putrid matter in the form of cow-dung, and by making the floor damp. At night, the smoky flame of the ‘chiragh’ adds its contribution to the general impurity, and not unfrequently the inhabitant increases his risk of imbibing poisonous gases by sleeping on the floor, or ensures it by wrapping up his head in a blanket, and breathing his own fouled breath over and over again.

“A village is spoken of, but can it be denied that most of these dangers exist in native towns and cities; and is there not, in a city, still greater danger when once cholera or other contagious disease has been originated or favoured by these conditions?”*

Such being the general state of things, it is evident that there is much room for improvement.

The annual mortality in British India is at present probably not less than 34 per thousand, or 6,800,000 a year, involving 136 million cases of disease. If it could be reduced to the English standard, the mortality would be 4,400,000 with 88 million cases of disease,—making a yearly saving of 2,400,000 lives and 48 millions of cases of sickness.

Under improved sanitary conditions, India might be as healthy

* *Sanitary Principles*, pp. 40-42.

or healthier than England. There is not the cold bitter east wind, often causing consumption and carrying off the old by bronchitis. The climate is also more favourable to children.

•**Need of Sanitary Knowledge.**—*The Hindu* says:—

“The people are utterly ignorant of the most obvious requirements of healthy living. They are notoriously sceptical about the efficacy of European methods. The great mass of the people are merely provoked to laughter when you press on them the desirability of pure air, fresh water, and wholesome food. The ways of their ancestors are the only proper ways to pursue in their judgment... When thousands of their neighbours daily fall victims to one epidemic or another, they trace the disaster to some offended deity whom they propitiate by sacrifices and ceremonials and remain content. They are not conscious of the real causes which demand such dreadful homage from their ignorant victims. They do not know that these are mostly preventable and that in most instances ordinary precautions would enable them to defy the monster and live healthily and happily.” Feb. 27, 1888.

Sanitary regulations are regarded by the masses as mere freaks of their rulers, to be violated whenever it can be done with impunity. Indeed, they are sometimes looked upon as a kind of *zulum* (oppression) of which the worst Hindu or Muhammadan despot was never guilty. Which of them ever found fault with filthy drains? The diffusion of a knowledge of the laws of health lies at the root of sanitary improvement. The people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.

Sanitation is now, very properly, one of the subjects taught in many schools. While this is useful in its place, it is also very desirable that its principles should be understood by the leaders of Native society, some holding Government appointments, others Municipal Commissioners, and all exerting more or less influence.

They should first clearly understand that *disease is regulated by the same laws as the vegetable world*. No man is such a fool as to think that a crop of wheat, rice, or mustard will spring up of itself. The seeds must first exist in the ground, and the crop will be according to the seed. No more do diseases arise of themselves, and the nature of each depends upon its cause. Every infectious disease has its own seed, which reproduces it just like different kinds of grain.

It will be shown hereafter that processions and ceremonies, on which the people rely for deliverance from epidemics, only increase the evil.

It is our duty first to gain a knowledge for ourselves of the laws on which health depends. The next step is to set an example in carrying them out. Children and servants should be made to observe them. Lastly we should do all in our power to make them known and acted upon by all others over whom we have influence.

By following the laws of health in India, lakhs of lives would be saved every year, and an indescribable quantity of suffering and misery prevented. Miss Nightingale says, "Since the world began, criminals have not apparently destroyed more life and property than do epidemics *every year* in India."

There are general rules for the preservation of health; but to guard against particular diseases, special precautions should be taken. Both will be noticed in turn.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF HEALTH.

PURE AIR.

Composition of Air.—The first thing we do when we come into the world is to take in air, and the last thing we do is to give out air. From our birth to our death, awake or asleep, we are constantly breathing. Just as the bottom of the sea is covered with water, so the whole earth is covered with a great ocean of air, at the bottom of which we move somewhat like fish in water. As fish die when taken out of water, so we die if deprived of air.

Everybody knows that we need air, but many think that any air will do, and therefore take no pains to see about getting it good. On the contrary, some kinds of air are very hurtful. There are many kinds of poison in the world, but perhaps that which kills most people is *bad air*.

Long ago, air was thought to be an *element* or single substance. Scientific men now know that it is chiefly composed of two gases, called *oxygen* and *nitrogen*. Air can be separated into these two gases, or they may be mixed to form it. Oxygen is the part of the air on which life chiefly depends. Without oxygen, also, a lamp will not burn. But if the air were all oxygen, we should soon die; it would be too strong for us. The oxygen is therefore mixed with nitrogen. This is very different from oxygen. It cannot support life, and a lighted lamp put into it goes out at once. The two gases are mixed in the best proportion for us to breathe or for things to burn. There is about one part of oxygen to four parts of nitrogen.

The air contains two other things which, though small in quantity, are of great use.

Pure charcoal is called *carbon*. Oxygen and carbon united form what is called *carbonic acid gas*, the third substance found in the air. It is a heavy kind of gas, which sometimes gathers in the bottom of deep empty wells. A lamp let down into it goes out; if a man breathes it, he soon dies. But it is the chief food of plants;

without it they could not grow. All day long plants are drinking in this gas.

In pure air there is only about one part in 2500 of carbonic acid gas, or like one pie to 13 rupees. This small quantity does us no harm, but if there is much more of it we get weak and sickly.

The fourth thing found in the air is a little *watery vapour*. When all the four are properly mixed, the air is pure, and fitted to keep us well and strong.

HOW THE AIR IS MADE IMPURE.—There are three principal ways in which the air is made unfit to support life :

1. **Respiration, or breathing.**—When we breathe we do not just draw in the air and send it back again as it was. We send away some things with our breath which were not in the air we took in. When pure water is used to wash out a filthy pot, it comes out dirty. In like manner, the air we breathe is always washing the inside of our bodies, and clearing it of impurities.

The air we breathe out takes away with it the following three things :

1. *Carbonic Acid Gas.*—Pure air has only a very small quantity of this ; the air we breathe out contains about a hundred times as much. We cannot see it, but we give it out as a fire gives out smoke. If a number of people are shut up in a close room, the air gets full of carbonic acid gas. Last century, 146 men were shut up one night in a small prison in Calcutta, called the *Black Hole*, which had only two little windows. Next morning when the door was opened only 23 men could stagger out ; all the rest were dead. What had killed them ? Bad air. Although few people die in a night like these poor men, many are weak and sickly all their lives from want of fresh air.

2. *Watery Vapour.*—If we breathe on a slate, it becomes damp, showing that there is water in the air expired.

3. *Foul Waste Matter.*—The breath also takes away some decaying matter which, if left on the body, would cause sickness. This does harm as well as the carbonic acid gas.

Many persons in this country refuse to drink water from a vessel which another man has touched with his lips. But when they crowd together in close rooms, they drink in, again and again, the bad air and foul matter which come out of each other's lungs.

Cattle, goats, dogs, and other animals, breathe as we do, and spoil air in the same way.

2. **Combustion, or Burning.**—Fire, like life, is supported by oxygen. If you put a lamp in a close vessel it soon goes out, because all the oxygen is used up in forming carbonic acid gas. Every fire, every lamp, is thus making the air impure.

The frightful mortality among Muhammadan children in Calcutta has been mentioned. They die largely from lock-jaw within a few days from birth. This disease is almost unknown among European

infants in the same city. Twice as many of the Muhammadan mothers die as among Christians. The women, at confinement, are shut up in small rooms which have all openings carefully closed; a pan of charcoal is kept constantly burning; while female relations and friends crowd around. Mother and child are poisoned by the foul air. When the children are older, and spend much of their time in the open air, the number of deaths becomes very much less.

3. **Putrefaction, or Decay.**—The air by day seems quite pure, but if a ray of sunlight is let into a dark room, it is seen to be full of innumerable particles, constantly in motion. Some of these particles consist of minute grains of earth, sand, &c. Others are the seeds of plants. Those from putrid substances are the worst.

When a plant or animal dies, it soon begins to decay. Very hurtful gases are given off, and particles are carried away by the air. If our eyes were as sharp as our noses, we should be able to see great numbers of little bodies rushing up from a decaying animal, and scattering themselves through the air. When they are drawn in by our breathing, the nose feels the touch of these bodies as a smell.

Putrid matter from the bowels of people is thus often inhaled. Excretions are left in the open air; they dry, and the particles are blown about by the wind, and drawn in by the breath.

Plantain skins and other refuse thrown out near a house make the air impure. Butchers, tanners, and dyers also pollute the air in carrying on their trades. Grave-yards and burning-grounds should not be allowed near houses.

The soil itself sends out exhalations or vapours. Air enters it more or less, and this air mixes with the air above.

Decay is worst when the ground is damp. Decaying vegetation is generally supposed to be the chief cause of fever.

The three principal ways in which the air is made impure are breathing, burning, and decay.

3. **HOW THE AIR IS PURIFIED.**—The earth would soon be uninhabitable, if means were not provided to purify the air. The principal will be noticed:

(1.) **Gases mix with each other.**—If you pour a little milk into water, the milk mixes with the water. The smoke from a fire soon spreads through the air, so that it is no longer seen. It is the same with the impure air which we give out in breathing. It mixes with the fresh air around, and the more it is diluted, the less hurtful it becomes.

(2.) **The Winds.**—Did you ever think why the wind is nearly always blowing, more or less? One reason is that God sends it to sweep away the bad smells that rise from things that are decaying. The pleasant wind blows that the air may be kept fresh and pure.

(3.) **Plants.**—Animals, when they breathe, take in oxygen and give out carbonic acid gas. By day, however, plants separate the carbonic acid gas, taking in the carbon and giving out the oxygen. This helps greatly to keep the air pure. At night, it is true, plants take in oxygen and give out carbonic acid gas, but they give out much more oxygen than they take in. Still, it is not good to sleep in a room with plants.

By gases mixing with each other, by the winds and plants, the air is purified. Rain also helps. We should allow them to work, instead of trying to hinder them.

4. **How to GET FRESH AIR.**—The following rules should be observed :

1. *Try to have fresh air outside your house.*—Do not live, if you can help it, where houses are very much crowded. If possible, have perfect cleanliness all around. Let there be no filth or decaying matter to pollute the air ; no stinking drains or stagnant water.

2. *Let plenty of fresh air enter your house.*—Keep the doors and windows open during the day so that the wind may blow through and purify the air. But fresh air is needed at night as well as by day. If you cannot have some doors or windows then open, try to get a supply by venetians or the means mentioned under houses. Some people think the night air hurtful, but it is much better than the air within houses.

3. *Sick people and young children especially need plenty of fresh air.*—Sick people spoil the air much faster than those who are well. The life of an infant is like the flame of a little lamp, easily blown out.

4. *The air should be allowed to enter our bodies freely.*—A sponge or piece of cloth held loosely will take up a great deal of water. The more the sponge is pressed, the less it holds. It is the same with our lungs. The less they are pressed the more air they will take in, and the better the blood will be purified. People, when writing or working, should not bend over, squeezing the lungs, and hindering the air from getting in. It is healthier to keep the body upright.

5. *An occasional change to the open country or the seaside is of great benefit to health.*—The purest air is to be found at sea. Hence people who have been ill on land often get better after a few days on the ocean.

PURE WATER.

Need of Water.—Water is needful for every animal and vegetable. Without water both would die.

The greater part of our body consists of water. If a man weighs 75 seers, the water amounts to about 56 seers. There are good

reasons for this. When we eat, our food first becomes like congee in the stomach. The useful part, somewhat like milk, is changed into blood, while the waste part is sent out. The blood goes through little pipes to all parts of the body for their nourishment. If there was not enough water, the blood would be so thick that it could not flow through the little pipes, many of which are far finer than a hair. The water we drink passes into the blood, and thus goes to every part of the body. If the water is bad, our health must suffer.

Water is also useful for cleansing our bodies. This takes place not only when we are washing ourselves with it, but by day and night it is pouring slowly through millions of little drains in the skin in the form of perspiration.

Rain gives plants a bath as well as moisture ; it sweeps along the ground, taking away impurities.

SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY.

1. **Rain.**—This is the great supplier of water. The heat of the sun causes water to rise in vapour, which is changed into dew, rain, or snow.

Rain, as it falls, is nearly pure. It is sometimes collected from the roofs of houses. Dust, the dung of birds, bones left by crows, &c., pollute it somewhat, especially if the roof is flat. When the rain runs along the ground, it gathers mud and decaying matter.

2. **Rivers.**—Most large rivers contain good water. During the rains they are rendered muddy by the earth carried down. The water becomes clear when allowed to stand some time, or it may be quickly purified by a little alum or the well-known clearing-nut.

Washing clothes or cattle in rivers tends to pollute them. People often use the banks or beds of rivers as latrines,* and the rain washes the filth into the stream. Dead bodies, even of people who die of cholera or small-pox, are sometimes thrown into rivers, as also the ashes of bodies which are burnt on their banks. Rivers are frequently used as places into which filth may be thrown.

Even large rivers are injured in the above ways, but the harm is much greater when, as is often the case, there is only a very small stream, with scarcely any flow. Running water gets slowly purified by the air.

3. **Lakes and Marshes.**—Some lakes contain excellent water, but there are very few such in India. Water from a marsh or jungle, though it may look pure, generally contains decaying vegetable matter, which is apt to cause fever.

Tanks.—Great carelessness is often shown about keeping tanks clean, although, from the water being standing, it is easily polluted.

* Places where people go for the calls of nature.

People bathe in them, rinse their mouths and spit into them, wash their clothes and cooking pots in them, clean themselves in them after using the bank as a latrine; cattle and swine lie in them; sometimes plants are left to steep in them. Yet water is taken from them for drinking and cooking.

Wells.—The best wells are generally those fed by water deep in the soil. Wells depending upon water near the surface are mostly bad. The ground is often full of filth, which has been gathering for ages, and water passing through it is polluted.

A common fault of wells in India is that water from above is allowed to run into them. Sometimes there is no wall around them, but hollows into which water that is spilt runs. Mud and the droppings of cattle thus find their way into the well.

Impurities from drains and cesspits are especially injurious.

HURTFUL EFFECTS OF BAD WATER.

As already explained, more people die of fever than from all other diseases taken together. Its most frequent cause is decaying matter in water. The people themselves are firmly convinced that certain waters give fever. Bowel complaints carried off nearly 3 lakhs of persons in 1885. Unwholesome food and bad water are their main sources. Deadly outbreaks of disease have been traced to putrid matter from a cesspit draining into a well.

Cholera is still a mystery, but it is certain that its ravages have greatly diminished, in towns subject to it, after a pure water-supply has been provided.

The Madras Sanitary Commissioner says in his Report for 1882:

“An improved water-supply is the great sanitary need of our Indian Municipal towns. Until the frightful water contamination which at present prevails is overcome, all our other efforts are almost nugatory.” p. 103. •

HOW TO GET PURE WATER.

• Water should be perfectly clear and bright, and free from any taste or smell. But these are not perfect tests. Sometimes a water will look clear and bright, and yet be impure. A well in London was noted for its bright sparkling water, but it was near a graveyard, and when examined was found to be very unwholesome.

Water is said to be *hard* when it contains too much lime or other minerals dissolved in it; it is said to be *soft* when minerals are small in quantity or absent. Soft water is best for cooking and washing.

The large towns of England have pure water running through the streets in pipes. A few cities in India are thus provided with water at present, and in course of time others will be supplied. •

Rivers.—Water from large rivers is generally the best. It is purified by being turned over with free exposure to the air.

Washing clothes or cattle in rivers tends to pollute them. This should not be allowed at the spot from which water for drinking is taken. It should be done lower down the stream.

Tanks.—Tank water is rain water which has filtered through the soil. Its quality depends upon its position and the care taken.

The water of tanks which dry up or get very low in the hot season is unwholesome. Small neglected tanks near houses should be filled up, and all the people of a village should join to dig a large deep tank for drinking water alone. Fish and living plants in tanks do good; but fallen leaves and decayed plants are hurtful. No filth should be allowed near tanks, to be washed into them by the rain or to soak into them through the ground.

Tanks set apart for drinking water generally require to be watched, or they will be polluted.

There should be another large tank, if possible, for bathing, washing, and cattle, although even here good water is desirable. Clothes washed in dirty water do harm. Pure water is good for beasts as well as for man. Cattle suffer from worms and other diseases brought on by bad water.

Both in the case of rivers and tanks, good water can often be obtained by digging small wells near their sides. The water is purified by draining through the earth.

Wells.—A well should have a wall, and the ground around should slope outward, so that the water spilt may run off. A little broken brick and chunam, laid down round the wall, does great good. No bathing or washing should be allowed at wells. There should not be trees hanging over them, for the leaves fall into the water and decay. A cover to a well is a great protection.

Clean vessels and ropes should be used in drawing water. Now and then wells should be cleaned out, to remove the broken pots and filth which have fallen into them.

Impurities from drains and cesspits are especially injurious. Cesspits near wells should be carefully cleaned out and closed. All filth near wells is hurtful: water absorbs, or drinks in, bad smells.

The vessels in which water is kept should be cleaned every day. Unless this is done, a slimy matter will form in their sides.

When any person has had small-pox or other infectious disease he should not be allowed to wash himself, nor should his clothes be washed in a tank or near a well used for any domestic purpose.

Purification of Water.—Pure water should be obtained if possible, and kept pure. Water from a marsh or swamp is to be avoided. If there is any doubt about the purity of water, let it be well boiled, which destroys any poisons capable of creating disease.

This is especially necessary when fever or any epidemic is prevalent. If filters are properly made and kept clean, they are useful; but, if dirty, they add to the impurity of the water.

Common filters are formed of three earthen pots, one above the other, each covered with a perforated earthen lid, and supported by a tripod of wood. The two upper pots are provided with a small hole in the bottom, loosely fitted with a cotton plug, and containing a mixture of clean sand and charcoal; the lowest of the three receives the filtered water. The sand and charcoal should be frequently replaced by fresh clean materials, and the pots cleaned out. If fresh sand cannot readily be obtained, it can be rendered fit for use again by being thoroughly heated. The earthen lids should always be kept on to prevent flies, dust, &c., from getting in.

Water is the best drink. It quenches the thirst and does no harm. Intoxicating liquors cause a false thirst. The more they are drunk, the greater is the desire for them. Many persons have been ruined by their use. It is far better never to touch them.

GOOD FOOD.

Uses of Food.—Food serves several purposes. Every word we speak, every step we take, wastes a little of our body. It is the same with breathing, the beating of the heart, &c. The waste is made up by the food we eat. Our food warms us. It burns within our heart like a little fire, though it does not break out into a flame. There is as much heat produced in the body every day as would boil a large pot of water. Our food gives us strength to labour. It serves the same purpose to us that wood or coal does to the railway engine.

Kinds of Food.—The food of man varies greatly both in different countries, and in different ranks in the same country. In the northern regions where vegetables will not grow, the natives live entirely on animal food. Many Hindus are pure vegetarians. Most Europeans live on a mixed diet.

Composition of Food.—Food substances are divided into two great classes. 1. Minerals. 2. Vegetable or animal substances.

The minerals include water, salt, lime which goes to form bones, iron which gives the red colour to the blood, and a few others.

Animal and vegetable food may also be divided into two principal kinds, flesh-forming, heat and strength-giving food.

It has been mentioned that air consists of a mixture of one part of a gas called oxygen, and four parts of another, called nitrogen. Flesh-forming food contains a large quantity of nitrogen.

The pulses, as peas, dal, and gram, contain the largest proportion of flesh-forming food,—more than double the percentage in

wheat, millet, and maize. Rice contains the least flesh-forming substance of all the grains. Many a cooly wishes to live like a rich man on rice and ghee; but his own food is much more strengthening. Flesh and fish contain about four times as much flesh-forming food as rice.

Food which does not contain nitrogen may be subdivided into two principal classes: (1) *Fats and Oil*, (2) *Sugar and Starch*. Rice is composed chiefly of starch; arrow-root contains it in a pure form. Both these classes are necessary for the body, but they are hurtful if taken in excess.

Milk supplies every need for the young in the way of food. It is the only single article which is sufficient for this purpose.

What to Eat and Avoid.—The very poor must often eat anything they can get; but most people have some choice. A variety of food is best. Care is necessary. The stomach is the gateway to many diseases.

Our food should contain a sufficient proportion of flesh-forming substances. Compare the Sikhs, who live chiefly on wheat, with the Bengalis whose staple food is rice. *Atta*, the coarser kind of wheat flour, is more nourishing than the white kind. Rice is made much more strengthening by a mixture of dal.

Special care is needed about milk. It is very liable to become impure from drinking in bad smelis. Milkmen sometimes mix with it impure water. Very bad fevers are sometimes thus caused.

Persons who use ghee and sweatmeats in large quantities get fat and unable to work. They become grey-headed in early manhood, and suffer from many diseases.

Green vegetables are useful, not so much for their nutriment, as for the salts they contain. They should be well boiled. Sailors without fresh vegetables are liable to a disease called scurvy.

Fruit, properly ripe, is an excellent article of food. But if unripe or over-ripe, it is hurtful. The best time to eat it is in the morning or at tiffin. Cooked food, kept too long, becomes unwholesome. Decayed food of any kind should never be eaten.

Double care is necessary about food when cholera or dysentery prevails. What may do no harm at other times, may then cause sickness and death. Raw fruits and vegetables in large quantities, and all indigestible food, should be avoided. Nor should cold rice, which has stood over night, be eaten in the morning.

Spices, &c., in moderation, are useful. In excess, they injure the stomach.

Betel-chewing, so common in this country, is filthy and hurtful. It is bad for the teeth; it sometimes occasions cancer; it wastes a great deal of time and money, and should be avoided.

The smoking of tobacco is recommended by doctors in certain cases, but the practice is often injurious to the health. The money

spent on it might be much better used for other purposes. Smoking is especially hurtful to the young. Never acquire the habit, and the want will never be felt. The use of opium or of bhang is highly injurious.

Badly cooked food is unwholesome. People are sometimes made ill through the poison of lead or copper in cooking vessels. These should be kept clean, and care should be taken that they are tinned from time to time.

Food must be regulated partly by the constitution. There is an English proverb, "One man's meat is another man's poison."

How to Eat.—When a woman is boiling rice, she puts it all into the pot at once. If she kept throwing in rice now and then, it would be badly cooked. It is the same with our food. We should eat only at fixed hours, and the stomach should have time to digest one meal before another is taken. Digestion generally takes from three to five hours. Some articles digest much more quickly than others. Rice usually takes about one hour; mutton three hours.

Food, especially if hard or tough, should be well chewed before it is swallowed. It is thus mixed with the saliva which has certain properties, helping digestion and making the food more nourishing. Water should be taken only sparingly during meals. The saliva should moisten the food.

Some food in the morning before going out strengthens the body, and helps to keep off fever. A good warm meal should be taken, if possible, about noon. Some children attend school at too great a distance to come home. In such a case they should have a hearty breakfast before leaving. It is very hurtful to be obliged to work on an empty stomach. Children, with sufficient food, will get on better in their studies. Every schoolboy should have some tiffin. Caste prejudices should not be allowed to interfere with this. A little food when the child comes home from school, is also desirable. A good meal should be taken in the evening about seven o'clock. Eating late at night ought to be avoided. It is good to rest a little after a full meal.

Perhaps more people in the world die from eating too much than from having too little food. The rich often eat to excess. The poor, generally underfed, sometimes injure themselves by over-eating when they have the opportunity. We should never burden the stomach. It does us harm.

Before eating we should ask God to bless our food, and after eating we should thank Him for His goodness.

LIGHT.

Plants grown in the dark look white and sickly. They always try to get to the light. It is the same with human beings. Those who live in the dark are pale and feeble, liable to many diseases. Even their minds suffer.

"Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun." If you wish to keep a bird in a cage from singing, cover the cage with a cloth. Birds sing only when they are happy, and the dark takes away their spirits. We also feel more cheerful in a bright day than when it is dark and gloomy. People getting better from sickness seem to drink in strength from the light.

A dark house is always an unhealthy house. There is a saying, "Where light cannot enter, the doctor must." Sunlight helps to purify a house. It shows also when things are dirty, and reminds people to clean them. Light drives away snakes and vermin. It is a bad and cruel custom to keep women shut up without sufficient light and air. Their own health suffers, and their children suffer.

But while light is good, exposure to the hot sun may cause illness. Children often get headaches from running out in the sun. People accustomed to work in the fields may get no harm, but others, when they go out in the heat of the day, should have the head well protected and an umbrella.

PERSONAL CLEANLINESS AND BATHING.

The Skin.—The skin looks to the eye as if it were a continued unbroken covering, but it is really full of little holes. They are so numerous that a rupee would cover more than 2000 of them. They number in all about three millions. Little tubes go inward from the holes. If they were all joined and stretched out in a line, they would be about 28 miles in length.

These holes and pipes must have had a purpose. They are *drains* to carry off waste matter. The best way of keeping drains clear is for a stream of water to flow through them. So long as the body is in a healthy state, water pours out freely through these holes in the skin. This water is not generally seen, because it flies off into the air as vapour. When we work hard, more water runs out than usual, and gathers on the skin in drops, which we call *perspiration*, or *sweat*. As much water passes through the skin of a man in a day as would fill a large beer bottle—sometimes much more. It is not clear water which comes out. Every day the water carries off with it about half a tola of poisonous waste matter.

The mouths of these little drains are kept open by washing the skin. Dirt chokes them ; the waste matter cannot escape properly ; itch and other diseases often follow. Soap helps very much to cleanse the skin.

Waste matter from the body sticks to the dress, pillows, &c. If rubbed against the skin, it goes into it, and the health suffers. Clothes and beds should therefore be kept clean as well as the body.

Bathing.—The effect of bathing depends upon its mode. Dr. Thomson says, “The ablutions which Hindus may be seen performing perfunctorily by the side of the tank or well, are, as a rule, more productive of fever and chest diseases than personal cleanliness. In the cold season the practice of standing exposed to a biting wind for some time, and subsequently donning partially saturated garments leads to much disease.” It is a bad custom to walk home in the sun from a bath with wet clothes.

Persons who are well should bathe, if possible, every day,—women as well as men. The morning is, in general, the best time ; but labourers, whose bodies get soiled by their work, should bathe in the evening. It is not good to bathe soon after eating ; it hinders digestion.

Pure water should be used. It is thought that guinea-worm finds its way into the body from bathing in dirty water. Pouring water on the head from chatties, or pots, is an excellent mode of bathing. The water gets cool in the pots, and the exertion of lifting and pouring them is beneficial. Swimming baths are also very good, but often they cannot be obtained.

The body should, if possible, be cleaned with soap, and after it has been well washed, rubbed dry with a rough towel. Plain soap is better than cheap scented soap. The rubbing is an important part, freshening the skin. Towels should be clean, or the benefit will be lost in a great measure.

Cold water is best for the young and strong. It is not good to bathe in it soon after eating ; it hinders digestion. Nor should it be used when over-fatigued or when suffering from diarrhoea. Persons recovering from fever sometimes bring back the disease by bathing too soon in cold water.

If the body feels chilly after bathing in cold water although the skin has been well rubbed, it shows that water a little warm is better. But tepid water does not strengthen the brain, the organ of the mind, like cold water. Warm baths are useful in certain cases.

Rubbing the skin well after a short bath at night before going to bed, promotes sleep.

Bathing water should not be allowed to soak under a house. It gives rise to fever and rheumatism. Its drainage into wells should also be guarded against.

DRESS.

Clothing should vary with the climate. In South India, the hot and cold seasons do not differ so much as in the north. Many people die in Bengal during the cold season, because their clothing is not sufficiently warm. The cold wind blows on them and they are attacked by fever. A flannel under-coat is a great protection.

The two most tender parts of the body are the head and the bowels. Good turbans protect the head from the sun. Several folds of cloth round the belly, especially at night, are a great preservative against sickness. A flannel belt answers the same purpose. It has been called a life-preserver during a cholera epidemic.

Special care is needed when the seasons change. Hot and cold days often follow each other. A chill is very apt to cause sickness. Weak children often suffer from the cold. On the other hand, excessive clothing may become a cause of weakness.

All clothing should be kept clean. This is essential to good health.

Clothing worn during the day should be put off at night and spread out. Sweat from the body will thus be allowed to dry. Wearing wet clothes, even for a short time, is injurious.

The dress should admit the easy play of the limbs and different organs. Tight jackets cause a narrow chest, injuring the health.

Many crores of rupees are spent on gold and silver ornaments for children. Money which could be profitably employed is thus rendered useless. The effect on the children themselves is bad, tending to make them proud, and to dislike hard work. Many of them are also murdered every year on account of their ornaments. This bad custom should be given up.

EXERCISE.

Most people in India have to work for their living, and thus generally have sufficient exercise. The case is different with men in easy circumstances, who, from love of ease or false ideas about refinement, neglect exercise to such a degree as to induce weakness and disease.

A noted English writer says that "the first requisite to success in life is to be a good animal"—or to be healthy, strong, and active. One great difference between an Englishman and an Indian is, that the former generally walks or rides every day for health, while the latter, as a rule, sits at home, and does not go out unless he is obliged. The active habits of the English are one reason why nearly one-fourth of the earth's population acknowledges their rule. If the Hindus wish to prosper like the English, let them, among other things, copy their love of exercise.

Use of Exercise.—The fleshy parts of our body, by which we move, are called muscles. When properly used, they get large and strong ; if not used, they become small and weak. Compare the right arm of a blacksmith with that of a sanniyasi who holds his up till it becomes thin and withered.

When we are at rest, we breathe about sixteen times a minute. When we run, we breathe much faster, and take in much more air. Thus the blood is better purified. The heart also moves faster, and more blood is sent to all parts of the body for their nourishment.

Exercise does good in another way. When we walk quickly or work hard, we sweat. This is water running through the skin, taking away waste matter from inside our bodies, and making them healthier. We can also take more food after exercise, and digest it better.

Proper exercise makes us strong all over. Without exercise, people become inactive, and the least exertion is a burden ; they are miserable themselves and useless to others.

Neglect of Exercise.—Many persons who take little or no exercise, often also eat to excess. They become corpulent, but this is by no means a sign of good condition.

Clerks and others in public offices use chiefly the brain. It requires a full supply of blood, which is thus withdrawn, in some measure, from other parts of the body. Towards the close of the day, the brain becomes exhausted. A brisk walk home or a game at golf or lawn tennis will cause the blood to circulate freely, and dinner will be eaten with relish.

Children everywhere are fond of play. It is good for them. Their legs and arms become stronger by running, throwing the ball, and other games. Even shouting and laughing promote their health. Exercise outside is much better than within doors as the air is purer.

The Indian Education Commission recommended "that physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school."

Young men preparing for university examinations are the most apt to suffer from want of exercise. Some of them think that all their time should be spent in study. This is a mistake. A carpenter is well employed at times in sharpening his tools. The mind works through the brain. By exercise, the brain receives a larger supply of blood and is strengthened. It has happened that students who neglected exercise have become so ill, that they could not appear at the examinations. Some have thus made themselves weak and sickly all their lives.

Girls and women require exercise as much as boys and men. Women are often shut up within a narrow limits so that they have

little chance of exercise. Houses should, if possible, have court-yards so that the women may have fresh air.

Without exercise health cannot be maintained. But it should not be taken when the stomach is empty, or immediately after a full meal.

Exercise is beneficial and pleasant in proportion to its regularity. We should take it at the proper time as we take our food.

SLEEP.

When we have been working during the day, we get tired at night. Both the body and mind need rest. Whatever we do causes some waste of the body. It is during sleep that this waste is chiefly made up. When people draw all day from a well, the water gets low, but at night more gathers. After a good night's rest we rise next morning quite like new beings.

Children need more sleep than grown-up people. An infant should sleep a great part of the day: a boy or girl about twelve years of age requires about nine hours' sleep; a man, about seven hours'. Some people need more sleep; others less.

Night is the best time to sleep. Go to bed not later than ten o'clock, and rise by daybreak.

Early to bed and early to rise
Makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

"The sleep of the labouring man is sweet; but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep." A coolly at night will sleep soundly on the ground, while a king may lie tossing on his soft bed.

A full meal should not be taken shortly before going to bed. It is apt to make people sleep heavily and have bad dreams. The stomach is hard at work, and the brain is disturbed.

Sleeping on beds is better than sleeping on the ground. When the ground is dry and the country is not feverish, it may do no harm. If the ground is damp, it sometimes occasions rheumatism, a sharp pain in the body, or other illness. The bad air which causes fever lies low, and even the small height of a bed helps to keep it off. People who sleep on the ground are liable to be bitten by snakes that go about at night seeking for food.

If a person has no bed and the ground is damp, he should sleep on some straw or dry leaves.

Plenty of pure air is necessary at night. Sleeping in close rooms is very hurtful. More will be said of this under Houses.

Many persons have the bad custom of sleeping with the head closely covered by a cloth. This keeps the fresh air from getting

in properly. But during the winter months in Northern India, Dr. Cunningham thinks that "if a person cannot afford sufficient clothing to keep him warm, it is better for him to cover up his head during sleep than for him to suffer from the cold."*

In some parts of the country, during the hot season, people may sleep in the open air without harm. But when there is dewfall, it is very injurious, bringing on fever. In such a case, there should always be some shelter over head.

A person should not sleep in a draught or where the wind blows on the body. The warmth is taken away, and illness often follows. It is especially needful to keep the body warm at night when fever or cholera is about.

Sound sleep is best obtained by observing the following rules:

1. Early rising.
2. Wholesome food, moderate in quantity, and taken with regularity.
3. Plenty of exercise in the open air.
4. Regularity in retiring to rest.
5. The honest discharge of duty. The best sleep is that which God gives His people. "So He giveth His beloved sleep."

GOOD HOUSES.

Health depends a great deal upon the house in which we live and its surroundings. Poor people have often to take such houses as they can get. Still, something can be done for most houses to make them healthy.

Site.—No house should stand in a hollow where water is apt to lodge. Choose the highest ground available. The neighbourhood of a marsh should be avoided. The bad air from decaying vegetation is one of the chief causes of fever. It is not advisable to build near tanks or rivers. All houses, even in dry situations, should be raised two or three feet above the ground. This keeps them from being flooded during the rains, and they are free from damp, a frequent source of disease. Even poor people might thus raise the floors of their houses. The roof should slope enough to carry off the rain easily.

Houses should be so placed that the wind may blow freely through them. Narrow, crooked streets are injurious to health. Houses should not be crowded together.

People are sometimes tempted to take houses in bad situations because they are cheap. Such houses are, however, very dear in

the end. The loss through sickness far more than makes up for the difference in rent. The following story shows the evils of a damp house.

The Damp House.—A lady once went to see her sister in a distant part of the country. When she asked about the health of the family, the sister said, "We have been very unlucky somehow in this house. My husband has been so ill that he can scarcely walk. I am seldom free from colds myself. Besides, we all had fever last year, when we lost two of our dear children. I cannot tell why we should be so unfortunate here. It may have been the evil hour at which we entered the house."

"Dear sister," said the lady, "you are not unfortunate; you are only unwise. Your family distresses all arise from your living in a damp house near a swamp. It can never be otherwise while you stay here."

"Do you really think so?" replied the sister. "If what you say is true, we will quit the house to-morrow. But evils will come upon us wherever we go. Who can avoid the decrees of Fate?"

To this the wise sister replied, "There is no doubt that we are liable everywhere to evils, but it is our duty not to bring mischief upon ourselves by our own imprudence. Your family troubles have been caused by your not taking proper care of your health. This is the only kind of fate appointed by God."

After much entreaty the lady got her sister's family removed to a house in a good situation, where all enjoyed excellent health.

Ventilation, or Supply of Air.—A sufficient supply of fresh air is the first requisite in a house. It is very important for health. In barracks and jails the space allowed is carefully fixed. Each person ought to have, if possible, a space 8 feet long by 6 feet broad, or 48 square feet. There should be no overcrowding. People die twice as fast when they are crowded as in places where they have plenty of fresh air.

The space needed depends very much upon the rate at which the air is renewed. A small room in which the air is constantly changing, will be healthier than a much larger room which is close. The cracks in the walls and openings under the roof in most cottages, allow the air to get in and out freely.

The want of fresh air is chiefly felt in houses built of brick and plastered with chunam. Many houses of this kind have only a few small windows, which are carefully closed at night. Some rooms, especially those in women's quarters, have no windows—only a small door. The air which has been spoiled by the sleepers has no proper means of escape, and fills the room.

The injurious custom prevails of filling up bedrooms with all sorts of furniture, sometimes with pots containing articles of food. This reduces still further the proper supply of air.

Fires should not be burnt inside the rooms where people live, unless there is a chimney or some means for the foul air and smoke to escape. Lamps spoil the air as well as living animals do.

Every room used for sitting or sleeping should have at least two windows on opposite sides, so that the wind may pass through them. With only one window, there cannot be a free circulation of air.

The air which has been breathed rises, as smoke rises from a fire. There should be openings near the roof, allowing it to escape. Windows with venetians would answer this purpose. Some air gets in through the sides of doors; but a few small holes near the bottom of them would admit a larger supply.

Persons inside a room often do not know when the air is impure. When people are poisoned by opium, they go to sleep, but never wake. It is somewhat the same with carbonic acid gas. Those who breathe it become insensible. One way of telling whether a room has sufficient fresh air is for a person to go into it from outside. If it has a close smell, it shows that the air is impure. Good air has no smell.

When women are kept by themselves, their rooms should be large, and well supplied with air and light.

Cleaning Houses.—Houses should be whitewashed twice a year. Lime is a valuable purifier. Mud walls and floors may be coated with clay water once a week, but cow-dung should not be added to it. Dry dirt does much less harm than wet dirt. Rooms and verandahs should be carefully swept out, but daily washing renders them damp and unwholesome.

House Refuse.—Plantain skins and other refuse should never be dropped near the house. When they cannot be taken away at once, it is a good plan to have an earthen vessel, with a tightly-fitting cover. During the day, refuse may be thrown into the vessel, which should be emptied next morning. In some towns there are now carts which take away rubbish. Where this is not done, refuse should be thrown into a pit at some distance from the house. The farther filth is from you, the less it harms. Many people, however, make pits close to their doors, into which they throw all refuse, leaving it to decay. They dig them so near that they may not have the trouble of walking a few yards more when they have anything to throw in. The people themselves get so used to the foul smells that they do not mind them. This, however, does not prevent their evil effects.

Cookroom water, if possible, should not be allowed to soak into the ground, rendering the air impure.

Latrines.—It has been shown that people should not answer the calls of nature near tanks and rivers. Neither should the sides of lanes or hedges be used for this purpose, as it causes a sickening, unhealthy smell.

Waste matter from the body should not be allowed to touch the ground near the house, as it pollutes it. If there are sweepers, it can be received into vessels which should be emptied at least twice a day. When this cannot be done, all should go to a trench, dug in a convenient place as far as possible from the house. It may be a foot broad, and one or two feet deep. A screen hedge will make it private.

There is an easy way of getting rid of the bad smell. Sprinkle some dry earth over filth, and the smell soon disappears.

In other countries night-soil* is greatly valued by farmers as manure. Some ryots spread cow-dung over fields. The cow, however, feeds on grass, while man eats grain. Hence what comes out of man is much richer than the droppings of cattle. Most farmers in this country will not use night-soil, regarding it as unclean. But it is far worse to keep it close to their houses, where they and their children drink in the bad smells that arise from it. Used as manure, the earth would purify it, and it would make the land bear richer crops.

Dry refuse may be burnt. The ashes afford excellent manure, and remove bad smells like earth.

Surroundings.—Houses should, if possible, not be shut in by other buildings. There should be trees enough to give some shade, but not so many as to keep out the pleasant breeze. Low jungle should not be allowed to grow near houses. Leaves which fall from trees shou'd be swept into a pit at some distance, or burnt.

A house should not be used as a stable for cattle, horses, or goats. They pollute the air by breathing, as well as by their droppings. If they are kept near, great care should be taken to remove the filth. Manure heaps should be at least a hundred yards from houses.

Where land slopes, the water soon runs off. If it is low, the water lodges after rain, and the place becomes damp and chilly. When the sun shines again, the little pools dry up, but the decaying filth sends out offensive and injurious smells. Hollows where water gathers should be filled up. There should be drains, to carry off water in the wet season, which should be cleaned out from time to time.

Swamps and marshes are a great source of fever. Drainage and cultivation are the only sufficient remedies. Where these measures cannot be taken, a thick belt of trees may be planted between them and houses, which will help to keep off malaria, the bad air supposed to cause fever.

* Waste matter from the human body, taken away by night in some cities.

MARRIAGE REFORMS.

Evils of Early Marriages.—Among the Hindus nearly every marriageable person is constrained by custom and religion to produce children at the first moment that it is physically possible to do so. It is a law of nature that “like produces like.” Early marriages are one of the causes of feebleness and disease in this country. Many of the people are the children of children.

In 1870 Babu Keshab Chunder Sen collected the opinions of some of the first medical men in India with regard to the marriageable age. A few extracts are given below.*

Surgeon-General Sir Joseph Fayrer :

“The fact of a girl having attained the age of puberty does not by any means imply, that, though, *capable*, she is fit for marriage. Physiological science, common sense, and observation all teach that an immature mother is likely to produce weak and immature children. I am speaking of the subject now only in its physical aspect; of the other disadvantages, moral, social and domestic, I need say nothing. You have my most cordial sympathy in a movement which, if carried out, will do more physically to regenerate and morally to advance your countrymen and women than almost any other that your zeal for their improvement could promote.”

Dr. David B. Smith, for some time Principal of the Calcutta Medical College :—

“Too early marriage is inevitably bad, and radically destructive of national vigor. I am inclined to think that very early marriages in this country are mentally degrading as they are physiologically objectionable.”

Dr. Nobin Krishna Bose :

“I have always regarded this custom to be among the principal causes of our physical deterioration as a race, and also as a powerful impediment in the way of intellectual advancement and social reform.”

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Bombay :

“The custom of premature marriage thereby acts injuriously upon the morals of the people among whom it prevails, has an undoubted tendency to bring on early puberty, and this is strangely mistaken for climatic influence! *Climate has no influence* in the matter. The history of our own people in former years when this pernicious custom had no existence will bear me out fully.”

The Hon. Mohendra Lal Sircar, M. D. :

“Early marriage, in my humble opinion, is the greatest evil of our country. It has stood, so to say, at the very springs of the life of the nation, and prevented the normal expansion of which it is capable.

* From a reprint by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, Calcutta, 1887.

"It is a grave mistake to suppose that the female who has just begun to menstruate, is capable of giving birth to healthy children. The teeth are, no doubt, intended for the mastication of solid food, but it would be a grievous error to think that the child the moment he begins to cut his teeth will be able to live on solid food."

Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar bore the following testimony at a public meeting held last year, in Calcutta, over which presided :

"From medical observation extending over 30 years, he could say 25 per cent of Hindu women died prematurely through early marriage, 25 per cent more were invalidated by the same cause, and the vast majority of the remainder suffered in health from it."

Religious sanction is claimed for early marriage, as it is for many other evils under which India groans. A childless man who has no son to make offerings for him is said to fall into the hell called *Put*. *Putra*, or son, is supposed to mean one who saves from hell. Babu J. N. Bhattacharjee, M. A., D. L., quotes the following from the *Dayabhaga*, in support of early marriage :

"Paithinashi says:—A damsel should be given in marriage before her breasts swell. But if she have menstruated before marriage both the giver and the taker fall into the abyss of hell; and her father, grandfather and great-grandfather are born insects in ordure."

Sensible men know that such opinions are false and hurtful. They should seek to spread sounder views among their countrymen on the subject of early marriages.

Need of Prudence with regard to Marriage.—Formerly the population of India was kept down by war, pestilence, and famine, so that there was enough of good land for all the survivors. These checks have been largely removed under the British Government, and the population in some parts is becoming excessive. It has been mentioned that there are districts with 680 persons to the square mile—whereas in Europe the average is only 82. Sir H. Maine, referring to India, says, "In no country will there be, probably, a severer pressure of population on food." Among enlightened nations people do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. In India the masses marry and multiply without any more thought of the future than rabbits. Sir W. W. Hunter says :

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of these parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil."*

* *England's Work in India.*

It is these underfed millions who fall the earliest victims to disease, and swell the death-roll. In spite of every effort on the part of Government, things will get worse and worse, unless there is prudence on the part of the people themselves with regard to marriage. .

CONTINENCE.

Premature and undue sexual indulgence is a fruitful cause of disease and death in India. Here reform is also urgently needed.

The passions are stimulated by early marriages, fornication is looked upon as a venial offence—dancing girls attached to temples in Southern India—are called *handmaids of the gods* ! Much of the literature read, vernacular and English, has a debasing influence. One of the English books which has a large circulation among educated Hindus in the three presidencies, besides being atheistic, denounces marriage, and advocates free love.

A Bombay Government School Inspector says :

“The Hindu and Parsi boys are both sharp and intelligent, and until they reach the age of sixteen few teachers could desire more energetic or painstaking scholars and students. The result of their early marriages and consequent cohabitation is simply deplorable; the great majority of the boys are exhausted and spent by the time they reach seventeen. Their former energy and youthful brightness are gone. Henceforth, for purposes of close application on the part of the student, they are an utter failure and disappointment.”

Solomon gives the following caution against the harlot :

“The lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb and her mouth is sweeter than oil; but her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold in hell. Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh the door of her house. Lest strangers be filled with thy wealth, and thy labours be in the house of a stranger; and thou mourn at the last when thy flesh and thy body are consumed.”

•The sins of the fathers are visited upon their children. The descendants of the vicious inherit feeble constitutions, that easily succumb to disease.

“The seed is the life.” Any undue strain upon it is most hurtful. A physician says that it enfeebles the body more than the loss of twenty times the same quantity of blood. “Give not thy strength unto women,” was the advice of a mother to her royal son.

Some Native Newspapers contain advertisements of quack medicines professing to cure “nervous debility.” They should not be used, as they are often injurious. Restoration should be sought by temperance, cold baths, pure air, and exercise.

COMPETENT MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.

Though intelligent carefulness will do much to ward off disease, all must expect at one time or another to suffer from its attacks. If a man's watch goes wrong, he does not ask his neighbours to set it right, but he takes it to a watchmaker. When we get ill, we should go to a good doctor, instead of consulting ignorant people, some of whom advise one thing, some another.

It must be confessed that the number of skilful medical men in India is comparatively small. In 1881 there were 113,579 male physicians, surgeons, and druggists. In enlightened countries no one is allowed to practise as a doctor till he has passed a severe examination; in India any man may set up as a physician as easily as he can open a shop.

The native medical books of India are based upon the teaching of Susruta and other works written many centuries ago. The anatomical knowledge of the Hindus, Dr. Webb remarks, "may be judged of by a single sentence—viz., the navel is the origin of all the vessels, and is the principal seat of life."*

The body is said to contain three humours—air, bile, and phlegm—which are the pillars or supports of the system. If deranged, they are the causes of disease and death. There are 80 diseases caused by derangement of the air; 40 by bile; 20 by phlegm; and 16 by the combination of the derangements of these humours.

The Hindu system of therapeutics is much the same as that of Galen, thus described by Dr. Paris:—

"He conceives that the properties of all medicines are derived from what he calls their elementary or cardinal qualities—heat, cold, moisture, and dryness. Each of these qualities is again subdivided into four degrees, and a plant or medicine, according to his notion, is cold or hot in the first, second, third, or fourth gradation; if the disease be hot or cold in any of these four stages, a medicine possessed of a contrary quality, and in the same proportionate degree of elementary heat or cold, must be prescribed."

Dr. Webb adds, after quoting the above:—

"This is a strange web of philosophical fiction! Yet a general belief in the hot and cold inherent qualities of medicines at this day pervades the whole of India. The most illiterate cooly, as well as the most learned pundit, explains the action of medicines upon this Galenical principle only."†

Compare the modes of travelling in ancient and modern times—the railway with the bullock cart, the steamship with the sailing vessel; what a vast improvement. Medical knowledge has advanced similarly, and when ill we should take advantage of modern skill.

* *Hindu System of Medicine*, by Wise, p. 214.

† *The Historical Relations of Ancient Hindu with Greek Medicine*, p. 16.

It is true that there are a few Native doctors, men naturally intelligent, who, through experience, treat disease fairly well; but such are exceptions. Do not employ a doctor who uses charms. It is a proof of his ignorance. Endeavour, if possible, to get one who has had a proper training in a Medical College.

When you have a good doctor, trust him and do as he tells you. Do not run from one doctor to another. Life and death are in the hands of God, and in certain cases even the best doctors cannot cure us.

Avoid quacks and quack medicines. Put no trust in the flaming advertisements. The same nostrum is often held to be a sovereign remedy for the most opposite diseases.

Friends may tell you that they have been cured by such and such medicines. They take them and recover. Nature itself is the great physician, but it is the last drug or perhaps the last dose that has done it. On the whole it is perhaps safer not to have a doctor than one who is ignorant of his profession.

Lady Doctors and Midwives.—With regard to medical attendance, the condition of the women is much worse than that of the men. Hindu customs forbid, in most cases, their treatment by male physicians; so they are left to ignorant old women. Some become life-long sufferers through mismanagement at childbirth. Numbers, both of them and their children, die. The mortality among Muhammadan children in Calcutta has already been noticed. Lady Dufferin has nobly exerted herself to aid in supplying the women of India with skilled medical attendance, and there are other labourers in the same cause. Educated Hindus should give such efforts every encouragement.

Hospitals, &c.—Dispensaries and hospitals have been opened in different parts of the country. As a rule, they are supplied with the best medicines, and with skilful doctors.

Some ignorant people do not like to go to hospitals, thinking that they will die. No doubt there are deaths in hospitals, but this often happens because persons do not come to them till there is no hope of a cure:

- When sick, get a good doctor or go at once to a dispensary or hospital. A young plant can easily be pulled up, while a tree cannot. So with disease.

Next, do as you are told. Some persons do not take the medicines given, or not in the way directed. It is no wonder if they are not cured.

Do not change hastily. Some patients after taking medicine for a little, run off to a native doctor. Thus they often come back to a hospital when it is too late.

Every town should have a Maternity or Lying-in-Hospital as well as one for general patients.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST SPECIAL DISEASES.

The general means for strengthening the body enable it, at the same time, better to resist the attacks of disease. Particular directions, however, are desirable to show how some of the principal causes of mortality in India may be guarded against.

FEVER.

As already mentioned, this is more fatal in India than all other diseases taken together. Besides those who are carried off, many millions suffer more or less from the disease. In some feverish districts if a person walk round in the evening, he will find in almost every house a poor creature either suffering under an attack or preparing for it. It is looked upon almost as a matter of course. Its prevention is therefore of great importance.

Causes.—Ague and Remittent Fever are usually attributed to what is thought to be a kind of poison, called *Malaria* (bad air), though it has never been separated. It is supposed to be somewhat heavier than common air, because people who sleep in upper rooms are less liable to fever than those who sleep on the ground. It is also supposed to be more powerful at night or when a person sleeps, because fever more frequently follows exposure at such times. It is mostly produced near the marshy banks of rivers, in dense jungle, and in sandy districts with a moist subsoil. The drying of wet earth is another cause. It exists in greatest abundance immediately after the monsoons, when the hot sun dries the ground filled with moisture. Water drinks it in, and is one of its commonest channels. It is also carried along by the wind, but may be obstructed by a belt of trees, by a broad running stream or by the ocean. The inhabitants of low, badly-aired huts surrounded by filth, are very subject to fever. Strangers and travellers suffer more than long residents.

Wherever too much water from irrigation is used and swamps have been formed, there is a marked increase in the prevalence of fever. Cultivation is injured as well as human beings. This is one fever cause over which the people themselves have control.

The Madras Sanitary Commissioner says that "It is during the cold and monsoon months that the greatest number of victims succumb to fevers." He considers it due more to changes of the weather than to any malarial poison. He adds, "When the poor people learn how to protect themselves by proper clothing and food from the rapid changes of temperature, then the muster-roll of

deaths from fever will diminish." Other measures, however, are also necessary.

Preservatives from Fever.—The *causes* of ague which have been mentioned will also partly indicate the means to be employed for its prevention. It may be well, however, to state separately the points where special watchfulness is necessary.

1. Bad water from marshy ground, &c., is one of the chief agencies for causing fever. Every care should be taken to get good water. If this is impossible, let all the drinking water be well boiled.

2. Warmer clothing should be worn during feverish seasons of the year, especially at night and during changes of the weather.

3. Houses should not be so thickly surrounded with trees and shrubs as to shut out light and air.

4. All filth should be removed; the ground should be well drained. Cattle should not be kept in houses or compounds.

5. Exposure to the night air should be avoided. When fever prevails, people should not sleep in the open air, but under shelter.

6. Sleeping in an upper room is a safe-guard. The ground or a low place is the worst situation. Even a bedstead is some protection.

7. Draughts and chills should be avoided. While a sufficient supply of pure air is very necessary, the wind blowing upon a person asleep is generally hurtful. So also when bathing.

8. No one should go out in the morning till the sun is up and some food has been taken. Fog should be shunned.

9. Continued exposure to the sun may bring on an attack. The body should not be weakened by overfatigue or long fasting.

10. Damp feet, sitting in wet clothes, and profuse bathing when weak, are all hurtful.

11. Over-irrigation should be avoided.

12. During the feverish season or in a malarious locality, some quinine should be taken every day.

Quinine is the best medicine yet known for fever. It is a white powder, obtained from the bark of a tree. Formerly it was very dear, but Government is now supplying it at a much lower rate.

Many Native doctors treat fever very badly. The sick person often dies from want of food. The patient's strength should be kept up by light nourishing diet. Too early or too profuse bathing in cold water, after recovering, often brings back the fever.

The worst kind of fever is supposed to be caused by swallowing in water or breathing very small portions of foul matter from the bowels of people. The poison may have soaked into a well from some cesspit, or it may have been blown about by the wind. The very thought of this is frightful. It shows the need of cleanliness.

Attention to the foregoing rules would greatly lessen the ravages of fever, and save lakhs of lives every year.

CHOLERA.

This disease is justly much dreaded on account of its sudden and often fatal course. The common people ascribe it to the anger of some deity, and instead of employing the means which would really ward off the disease, adopt measures which rather increase its violence. An outbreak of cholera lately occurred near Hyderabad. At night, a buffalo, decorated with flowers, was paraded through the streets, preceded by native music and followed by a long procession of people. The buffalo was afterwards sacrificed to propitiate the goddess supposed to cause the disease.

Cause.—Cholera is supposed to be spread by a certain kind of poison germ or seed, the nature of which is not yet fully understood. But the means by which it may be largely checked are well known. Let a seed fall upon a rich moist soil, and it soon springs up; but if on a bare rock, it withers away. Filth of every kind fosters the growth of the disease, while cleanliness has the opposite effect.

Some suppose that water is the chief means by which cholera is disseminated.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST AN ATTACK.

General Directions.—Every possible means of keeping the body in good health should be taken. Weakness, however caused, predisposes to the disease. All ceremonies requiring exposure to the night air, fasting, fatigue, loss of sleep, &c., should be avoided.

Medicines.—When cholera is about, a supply of the most useful medicines should be provided. The attack often commences at night, and time would be lost in sending for medicines. Life depends upon prompt treatment; delay even for an hour or two may be fatal. But medical aid should also be sought at the first symptoms of the disease, and the messenger should make known the nature of the case, that the needful medicines may be provided. The patient should at once go to bed, and be kept moderately warm.

Food.—Use only wholesome food. Cold cooked food, especially that which has stood all night, is dangerous. Avoid unripe or decaying fruit, tainted meat and fish, raw vegetables and articles difficult of digestion, and known to be liable to cause purging. Take your usual food at regular times. Too long abstinence is hurtful. Avoid excess in eating and drinking. It is a mistake to suppose that the use of spirituous liquors is preventive of cholera. Purgative medicines, especially Epsom salts, should not be taken without

good medical advice. The free use of salt has been recommended, but not in such quantities as to cause looseness.

Water.—It is most important that this should be pure. If not, it ought to be well boiled before it is used for drinking purposes. Tea is a good drink during the prevalence of cholera. Milk is sometimes mixed with impure water. Boiling is a safeguard.

Clothing.—This should be warm. A flannel belt is a great protection. The feet should be kept warm and dry.

Sleep and Rest.—Want of sleep and overfatigue weaken the body. Both should be guarded against. So also exposure to night air. Hence the injury of midnight ceremonies.

Houses.—Rooms should be well-ventilated, and there should be no overcrowding. Cleanliness is of the utmost consequence. Houses should be whitewashed. If there is an offensive smell proceeding from any part of the house, it should be searched out, and disinfectants used. People should sleep on cots rather than on the floor.

All filth, rotting vegetable and animal matter, &c., should be taken away. The compound should be swept clean, and the rubbish burnt. Drains should be flushed with water. Privies should be carefully watched, and cleaned out twice daily.

After the disease has actually made its appearance, more harm than good may be done by opening up foul drains and cesspits. Covering up rubbish with dry earth may then be adopted as a temporary measure. Future accumulations should be prevented.

Most of the foregoing directions may be summed up in one word—**CLEANLINESS.**

Prayer to God.—After employing the means now described, the reader should commit himself and his family to God's care. Fear predisposes to an attack. The disease should not be spoken of or even thought about.

• HOW TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF CHOLERA.

The number of deaths from cholera is probably doubled from the neglect of measures to prevent its spread. It is not uncommon for people to eat, drink and smoke in the same room in which the sufferer is lying. A vessel from which he drank is sometimes dipped into the family supply of water.

All who are not required to wait on the sick should, if possible, be sent away to another house. No others should be allowed to come near. They make the air more impure, and they weaken the patient who should be kept perfectly quiet. Water, food, clothes, &c., should not be taken from the house to other houses. The attendants should wash themselves frequently. Great care should be taken not lift the fingers to the mouth after touching a patient

or any article which he used. Hands should especially be washed before eating, and food should never be taken in the sick room. If these directions are followed, there is little danger to the attendants.

The motions and vomited matter are supposed to be the chief means of conveying the poison. They should never be thrown into the common privy. Some disinfectant, as sulphate of iron,* should be put in the vessel in which they are collected, and they should be at once buried at a distance from any house or well. A better plan is to burn them in an earthen pot over a fire.

Mats and other articles used by the patient which cannot easily be cleaned should be burnt. This is also the safest course with the clothing. If not, it should be thoroughly disinfected. The clothes should be boiled for two hours, and the washing should be done at a distance from the well, lest the water be contaminated.

When a death occurs from cholera, persons should not come into the room where the corpse is. The burial should take place as soon as possible. The best plan is to burn or bury the body with the soiled clothing. The value of the clothing is as nothing compared with the risk of keeping it.

Relatives should not weaken themselves by fasting after a death.

The place where a person gets the disease seems to be dangerous. The house should, if possible, be left at once for eight or ten days. It should be disinfected by closing the doors and windows, and placing in it pans of burning charcoal on which a quantity of sulphur powder has been thrown. The house should remain closed for some hours. After this, the rooms having been opened and ventilated, the walls should be scraped, fresh whitewashed, the old earth from the floors removed, and fresh earth used to replace it.

BOWEL COMPLAINTS.

In 1885 these ranked next to cholera in the scale of mortality.

Bowel complaints may arise from various causes. Purging is often Nature's remedy to free the bowels of substances which are irritating them. In such cases no medicine is needed: rest and light food will often effect a cure. But continued diarrhoea is very weakening, and causes many deaths.

To guard against bowel complaints the same precautions should be used as with regard to cholera. Special attention is needed about food. Avoid unripe or overripe fruit, raw vegetables, badly cooked or indigestible food. Eating too much, especially at night, should likewise be avoided. Do not sleep in a draught. The wind

* * Ashes or fresh slaked lime may be used, if better disinfectants are not available.

blowing on the bowels is very hurtful. The body should be kept warm, especially the belly: without this other means will often go for nothing. Most care is needed when the seasons are changing. Heat or a chill may bring on an attack.

SMALL-POX.

As already mentioned, the deaths from small-pox in British India in 1885 amounted to 280,630. These may be considered as so many human victims sacrificed on the altars of imaginary beings. The dreaded goddesses have no existence. They neither cause nor cure small-pox. People need not be afraid of their anger, and offerings to them are worthless.

The great safeguard against small-pox is vaccination, discovered by an English doctor about a century ago. The word comes from the Latin *vacca*, a cow. The matter used was first got from a cow, and people are still sometimes vaccinated from cows.

From want of care, ignorant persons think vaccination useless. Sometimes the proper matter has not been employed, or the little boils have been broken. If rightly done, very few persons vaccinated take small-pox, and that generally in a mild form. This also happens at times to persons scarred from previous attacks.

Four punctures in the skin are desirable, and for several days they should be protected from rubbing. Nothing whatever should be applied to them.

Infants are best vaccinated before they are three months old. They do not suffer so much, and they cannot scratch the pocks, the chief thing to be guarded against. Besides, it is an advantage to have vaccination over before teething begins.

Except when there is immediate danger from small-pox, children should be vaccinated only when they are in good health.

Vaccination should be repeated after puberty. Thus almost perfect protection will be secured.

Inoculation is still practised in some parts of India. This is done by inserting some matter from the pustules of a person suffering from small-pox in the skin of the person to be protected. The great objection to it is that the person inoculated, while suffering from it, may give small-pox to any near him. Vaccination is greatly preferable.

As a rule, if children in India have small-pox, the parents are to blame. Vaccination is now practicable in nearly all parts of the country, and should never be neglected. Masters should urge it on their servants and teachers on their pupils. In a few years the disease might be almost unknown.

If people prefer it, they can, in large cities, be vaccinated from a cow or calf.

DIABETES.

Several distinguished Indians have been carried off by this disease. Some remarks on its causes and how it may be prevented are therefore desirable.

Diabetes comes on very insidiously, and may exist for some weeks without being particularly noticed. It is characterised by the passing of large quantities of pale urine, containing a large amount of sugar. There is, however, another form of the disease when very large quantities of urine are passed, but without sugar. Diabetic urine attracts flies in large number.

In diabetes the appetite for a long time remains good, and is sometimes voracious, but the skin is always dry, the bowels costive, there is constant thirst, and the patient wastes away. Afterwards the appetite declines, there is great debility and the feet may swell.

Causes.—One of the principal is the undue use of ghee, sweetmeats, and other oily food. This makes people fat, and the circulation of the blood in the skin proportionately weak. Intoxicating liquors increase the tendency to the disease.

The above diet would do much less harm if it were accompanied by plenty of open air exercise. In this way the fat would be, as it were, burnt up. But rich Indians are tempted to eat freely, and the more corpulent they become, they are the less inclined to take exercise.

Excessive mental work gives a tendency to diabetes. The flesh-forming food being principally used for the repair of the brain, the rest of the body suffers from want of nourishment and the superabundance of fat.

Residence in cold hill stations during the hot weather of persons subject to diabetes, if not attended with active daily open air exercise, proves rapidly fatal. The cold climate preventing perspiration, throws increased work upon the kidneys.

Diabetic persons are liable to fatal attacks of carbuncle, a large kind of boil. The circulation is weak, and the presence of sugar in the blood lessens its healing power. Hence any inflammation, as that of a simple boil, leads to the destruction of the fat and of the skin covering it, and causes death.

Precautions.—In most cases all that doctors can do is to prolong the patient's life. Attention ought to be given to avoiding the causes which bring on the disease.

Food.—Care should be taken about the use of ghee, sweetmeats, and other articles abounding in oil or sugar. *Atta* is preferable to

fine white wheaten bread or to rice. Cholum and maize are other suitable grains. Animal food is beneficial. Milk and cheese may be allowed. Meals should be taken punctually.

Exercise.—This is indispensable. The disease is comparatively rare among the poor, who have to work for their living. Going out in a carriage is not sufficient: there should be daily exercise on foot.

Mental Labour.—This should not be excessive, and should be alternated with bodily exercise.

Climate.—If there is a tendency to diabetes, the hills should be avoided.*

VILLAGE SANITATION.

The great bulk of the people of India live in villages. Their sanitary improvement is, therefore, a matter of great importance. The chief difficulty is the gross ignorance of the people regarding the laws of health, coupled with the tendency everywhere to follow the customs of their forefathers. Simple directions about Village Sanitation should be provided in the different vernaculars for the Headmen, and it should be considered part of their duties to carry out the rules which they contain. Something has been done in this respect, but not enough.

An intelligent active Headman might soon produce a wonderful change in a village. The teacher, if trained, would be a useful coadjutor, or even single-handed might accomplish a great deal.

Introductory Proceedings.—The first step is for the Headman himself to gain a knowledge of the subject. He should clearly understand that as weeds are not sown by demons in badly cultivated fields, so diseases are not caused by them. The farmer would be thought a fool who resorted to ceremonies and sacrifices to get his fields cleared of weeds; it is equally absurd to expect by means of them to drive away sickness.

Some villages have Panchayets; in all there are a few men more intelligent than the generality. The Headman should first try to gain these over to his views; to explain what is proposed, to show its advantages, and answer any objections. When he has secured this, he may take the next step.

Before proposing to introduce any sanitary regulation, the Headman should try to make the people understand that it is for their own good. The men, in the evening, when their work is over, often sit chatting together. Let the Headman invite them to a meeting under the village tree, and explain to them the reason of the rule which he wishes them to adopt. It will be prudent to

* Chiefly abridged from Dr. Khastgir, quoted in the *Indian Mirror*.

deal with one evil at a time, and when it has been overcome to tackle another.

Some remarks may be made on the principal points.

Water Supply.—This might form the first topic, both on account of its great importance, and because the people have already some idea of the influence of water on health. The Hindus are, in some respects, particular about their water. It is considered to be polluted by the touch of certain persons. Still, their ideas are very imperfect.

It will generally be admitted that bad water is the chief cause of fever. Why has it this effect? Usually because it contains decaying *vegetable* matter. It is still worse when it contains decaying *animal* matter. Some of the worst fevers are thus occasioned.

The chief sources of water supply should be noticed.

Tanks.—The probable condition of the village tank is described at page 15. Or there may be two or three small tanks which dry up during the hot season. The evils of these should be dwelt upon.

Full directions have been given as to the course which should be followed.

Care will be necessary to make the people attend to these rules. The Manager of a Municipality in South India told the Sanitary Commissioner that the washing of clothes and bodies was *strictly* prohibited in a certain tank. When the two went to see it, there were crowds of people at all the four sides, busy washing and bathing!

Every village should be divided into quarters, and a member of the *panchayet* residing in it, appointed to look after the observance of the rules. The Headman, however, must not trust entirely to them, but himself see they are carried out.

Wells.—Prevailing evils with regard to these and the measures to be taken are noticed at pages 15, 16.

If the ground about a well is foul, it cannot yield good water. In many cases the best course is to provide a new well. It should be dug in clear ground, away from all nuisance. It is of great advantage to case the well with concrete to the depth of 8 or 10 feet. Other precautions have already been described.

The Village Headman should see that all classes get a supply of water.

Boiling water.—The use of this should be explained. Especially when fever is prevalent, it should be urged upon the people.

If a good water supply can be got and maintained for the village, a great work has been done. The Headman may then try to remedy another evil.

Cleanliness.—As already stated, this word includes the whole of sanitation. Before taking measures in this direction, the Village Headman should collect his hearers for another lecture.

As an introduction, it may be acknowledged that "the people of India are in themselves a cleanly people. They desire to be clean, but although many individuals do all they can to keep themselves and their houses clean, they are ignorant of the great danger they run from neglect of cleanness on the part of their neighbours, and they have no idea of united action to promote it among the community." The steps to be taken with this object in view will be explained one by one.

Latrines.—The use of these may be the first point urged. Mr. Wedderburn, when Collector of Coimbatore, issued the following notice :—

"Tahsildars, Revenue Inspectors and intelligent Policemen will confer one of the greatest and most lasting benefits on the country, if they will go about telling every ryot they meet, that 'the best food for plants is the worst poison to man.' Until this simple but important fact is proclaimed and repeated in every village, without cessation, all efforts in village sanitation will be unavailing.

"The cultivated lands are deprived of their natural food, which is the substance that was taken from them, *i.e.*, grain; which was converted into man's food, and which after serving its purpose of nourishing the man should have been returned to the field. Instead of nourishing his crops with night soil, the ryot poisons himself and his family with it, by depositing it close to his house or in the entrance to his village—a fact patent to every one. It is true, no one sees death from this poison take place at once; but there are slow poisons that undermine the health, and which crop out in fever, small-pox, cholera, and the like. The blood is poisoned by breathing the air corrupted by the abominations surrounding every house and seen in every village lane; when the blood is poisoned premature death will follow, that is, death by disease. If proper precautions were used regarding health, there would be no deaths except from old age, or accident, or design.

"Then as to the crops. Skilful persons tell us that whatever is taken from the land must be restored to it, or the land will get barren in course of time. The sun and rain do much for the land, but without manure they cannot do all. The ryots know this, and so they save up their cow-dung and ashes and spread them over the land; but the cow eats grass and not grain, and so what was taken from the land—grain—is not given back to it in the shape of night-soil; but a poorer quality of manure only is applied.

"If one were to see a man with change for a rupee in his hand carefully preserving 4 annas, and ignorantly throwing away 12 annas, his sanity would be doubted, and yet this is done in every village throughout the land. Four annas worth of cow-dung are saved and applied to the land, whereas 12 annas worth of human *excreta* are thrown away, and worse than thrown away, are so deposited that they positively injure the people

"As before explained, no greater benefit could be conferred on an ignorant peasantry than continually and patiently proclaiming to them,

'Man's poison is the plant's food.' Little by little this lesson will be learned in time, for an uneducated peasantry, though men in age, are children in knowledge. Were this lesson taught in every school, it would be one of the greatest benefits the schoolmaster could confer. Old people are slow to learn, but children are not, and instead of attributing disease and death to the anger of some deity, if the people know that they were killing themselves and their children by their own ignorance and filth, a reform would ensue.*

Present Practice.—The following description is given by Dr. Hewlett, Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay :

"During the latter part of the night and early in the morning, villagers who have not privies to go to, are in the habit of coming out of their houses, and going to convenient places they can find to perform the calls of nature. They squat down in numbers, and some even in the streets and lanes, and they are very fond of going to the sites of houses in ruins for this purpose. Some go to a *nala*, often to one which feeds the village tank during the rains, and so all around the houses and village there is night soil deposited. Sometimes they go outside the village, and squat behind the prickly pear bushes so frequently found outside villages. Every body who visits the village has to pass through a very filthy locality."

Course Recommended.—For the use of the inhabitants of each quarter, there should be one or more spaces set apart outside the village, and, if possible, to the leeward of it. These places should not be nearer than 100 yards to the boundary of the village site, and the people should be directed to visit them for natural purposes. They may be in waste land, or, what is much better, in fields if the consent of the ryots can be obtained. Trenches may be dug about 3 feet deep by 1 or 2 feet broad, and of any length according to the available space. Some earth should be sprinkled over them daily. It would best be done by each person covering up his own deposit, or a scavenger may be employed. When the trenches are filled to 1 foot or 9 inches from the surface, they should be filled in by the formerly excavated earth and new trenches opened. Separate trenches in different parts should be assigned to men and women ; and a screen hedge for privacy should be set up if required.

As soon as the open space is trenched all over, another site should be selected, and the manured field should be ploughed up and a crop grown off it. The cultivation of the manured field is an essential part of the scheme, as growing plants rapidly assimilate the manure, and the ground will become again sweet, whilst the crops from these fields will be far finer than those grown on fields which have not been manured.

If the ground in the immediate vicinity of a village is rocky, the

night soil should be collected every day and mixed with the ashes of burnt sweepings. This will make a valuable compost for manure:

The richer inhabitants of the village will be unwilling to resort to the latrines. Their privies should never be allowed inside the house, as the foul air is drawn into the rooms and breathed by the inmates. This is often the cause of fatal fevers. In all cases, privies should be cut off from the house by a space of not less than three feet. Iron or glazed stoneware pots should be provided to hold the filth and ablution water. The headman should not allow any privy to be used, unless a scavenger is attached to the village to remove the filth every day. Ashes should be thrown daily into the vessels, which will lessen the smell.

No pit privies should be allowed, as they render the sub-soil impure, and are apt to drain into wells.

The owners of houses in ruins should clean the surface, and enclose them by a sufficient fence to prevent the access of persons to them for natural purposes.

When latrines have been prepared, notice should be given to the inhabitants that no one is permitted to pollute any street, lane, or open space.

It will be no easy matter to get these rules observed. A great point would be gained if the people would simply turn over with their foot some earth on what they deposit. This at once takes away the smell and renders it harmless. What is poison to man is drunk in by the earth just as a cloth sucks up water. A dog may sometimes be seen, after obeying the calls of nature, scratching the ground with its feet to cover what came out of its body. Every child may be taught to do this.

It is well known that sickness sometimes breaks out where large numbers of people remain together for a few days at a great festival. It is caused by the filth which collects. A long time ago, a nation, numbering several lakhs, travelled for many years, encamping often for a long time. Why were they healthy? By observing the following directions:

"Thou shalt have a place also without the camp whither thou shalt go forth abroad. And thou shalt have a paddle upon thy weapon; and it shall be, when thou shalt ease thyself abroad, thou shalt dig therewith, and shalt turn back, and cover that which cometh from thee." *Deut.* xxiii. 12, 13.

Cattle.—Arrangements about these might form a separate topic. Horses, ponies, buffaloes and other cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, are sometimes kept inside houses. The air is rendered impure not only by the droppings of the animals whose urine soaks into the floor, but by their breathing. As has been explained, animals spoil air as we do.

Formerly when theft was much more common, safety required animals to be kept in houses. This is no longer necessary. There should be a cattle pen in some open ground where the animals might be kept. It would be best outside the village.

Manure Heaps.—The condition of things in many villages is thus described :

“There are stacks of decaying straw and manure pits round and about the houses. These are sufficiently noxious in the dry weather, but when rain falls they are almost unbearable. This is very unwholesome. They should be taken to a place allotted to each quarter outside the village, in a direction, if possible, from which the wind does not generally blow.”

Street Sweepings.—A scavenger should daily collect the rubbish. It should be taken some distance, either to be burnt or added to the manure heap. It is very desirable to have a scavenger attached to every village. If other funds are not available, a subscription should be raised for his wages.

Drainage.—The Madras Sanitary Commissioner says in his Report for 1885: that defective Drainage means “damp sites, subsoil pollution, damp houses, bad water, and foul air to breathe.”

Excavated and broken ground should be levelled, no hollows where water can lodge ought to be allowed. There should be drains, cleaned out from time to time, to carry off water in the wet season.

Dr. Hewlett mentions an objectionable mode of bathing :

“People in India very frequently take the bath whilst standing on a stone just outside their houses, where they pour hot or cold water over their persons, the consequence being that all the water they use soaks down into the ground and gets under the house, and is the cause of very much of the fever the people so frequently suffer from. It is always better to bathe away from the house; but if people *must* bathe in their compound, the best thing to do is to have a place near the compound wall as far from the house as possible and as far from the well, if there is one, as possible, and to take the wastage water away through a paved drain to the road-side gutters. If a paved gutter cannot be provided, it is better to have one made with tiles, than to let the water sink into the soil. The drains should be of a curved form.”

Prickly Pear.—In many places this is a great nuisance. The Headman should use his influence and to get it cut down. The plant has a tendency to spread and close up lanes. Mr. Wedderburn says :

“Prickly pear is best destroyed by being thrown into holes and rotted with water. If only cut and dried, it grows again. There is no better way of keeping it under than by permanently cultivating the ground with crops, and there is generally good soil where it grows. When it is only cleared, and the ground left waste, it grows thicker than before, so that money spent in clearing it is quite thrown away.”

Ventilation.—This is a matter of primary importance, though it will be difficult to convince the people of its necessity. It has already been fully noticed at pages 10–13.

Care of Houses.—Smearing houses with clay instead of cow-dung has been already recommended. It is desirable to whitewash houses twice a year, in May and October. Hot lime wash destroys hurtful matter which has clung to and accumulated on the surface of the walls.

Sleeping on the Floor.—This is another cause of unhealthiness. The floor may appear quite dry, but if you dig down a few inches it will be found to be damp. There should be a cot for each person. It will cost only a few annas—wooden sides and legs and string being all that is required. This will be a great protection against catching fever by sleeping on damp ground.

Vaccination.—The Headman should explain the advantages of this to the people. He should give every assistance to the vaccinator when he visits the village. He should from time to time warn the people that they must take all unvaccinated children to be vaccinated at the next visit of the vaccinator. Repetition after attaining puberty is a great additional safeguard.

Feverish Season.—Before this comes on, the Headman should have a meeting of the people, and show them how they may do much to protect themselves against an attack. The precautions are given at page 35.

Cholera.—Particular care should be taken when any outbreak of cholera is threatening. See pages 36–38.

Registration of Births and Deaths.—Government now requires an account to be given of all births and deaths, and the people are carefully numbered every ten years. The ignorant do not see the use of this; many think that it is to enable more taxes to be imposed. On the contrary, it does great good, and has nothing to do with taxation.

Every father wishes his children to be healthy and happy. When they go to different parts of the country, after they grow up, the father wishes them to send letters, letting him know whether they are well or ill.

It is somewhat the same with Government. A good king is like the father of his people. With millions of subjects, a king can only know how they are by his officers reporting births and deaths. When the births fall below the proper number, it shows that the people are not prosperous. When the deaths are more numerous than they ought to be, inquiry is made into the cause, and it is sought to be remedied. If births and deaths are not reported, Government is like a father who does not know whether his children are alive or dead, and is thereby hindered from doing any thing to benefit them.

This registration of births and deaths has been carried out in England for some time with great advantage. It has caused much to be done to improve the health of the people. Formerly about eighteen soldiers died a year out of every 1000: now there are only about eight a year out of the same number. Government wishes sickness and death to be reduced in the same way in this country.

The Headman should warn the villagers that, whenever any birth or death occurs in their houses, it should be reported within 24 hours, that it may be duly entered in the village register.

Disposal of the Dead.—The burning ghat on a river should always be below the place from which drinking water is drawn. No burial ground ought to be allowed inside the village, and all graves ought to be 6 feet deep. The Headman should see to this.

Punishments.—Certain Headmen have power to punish by a fine or confinement persons who defile tanks, or wells, who deposit rubbish in forbidden places, who commit nuisance, &c. It is best to get the people to understand the advantages of these rules, so that they may willingly carry them out. At the same time, they may be warned that if they persist in breaking them, they will be punished.

By carrying out the foregoing suggestions, not only will there result a great saving of life from cholera, fevers and other diseases, but the villagers will enjoy better health than they did before, and their children will grow up well and strong, and all classes will recognise the truth of the English proverb, that *health is wealth*.*

DUTIES OF MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

The Royal Commission of 1859 gave the following account of the general sanitary condition of Indian towns:—

“The towns and bazaars in the vicinity of lines are in the worst possible sanitary state—undrained, unpaved, badly cleansed, often teeming with offensive and dangerous nuisances, with tanks, pools, and badly made surface-gutters containing filth and foul water; the area overcrowded with houses put up without order or regularity, the external ventilation obstructed and the houses overcrowded with people, no public latrines and every spare plot of ground covered with filth in consequence; no water-supply except what is obtained from bad shallow

* The remarks on Village Sanitation are chiefly taken from a Paper by Dr. Hewlett, the able and enthusiastic Sanitary Commissioner of Bombay, based on the Memorandum of the Army Sanitary Commission. Notices in the *Coinbatore Gazette*, by Mr. Wedderburn, while Collector, have also supplied some materials. There is an excellent dialogue on the subject by Dr. Bellow, formerly Sanitary Commissioner in the Panjab, in his Report for 1880 (pp. 78, 79), but it has not been within reach of the compiler.

wells, and unwholesome and doubtful tanks. These towns and bazaars are the earliest seats of epidemics, before their ravages extend to the European troops in the vicinity. The arrangements for the prevention of disease are either non-existent or most deficient."*

Since 1859 the number of Municipalities has been considerably increased. In 1883 there were 761, with a population of 14,295,502, and an income of 308 lakhs.† Considerable improvements have been made in some cases, but vastly more yet remains to be done.

Some Municipal Commissioners take a warm interest in promoting the welfare of the people; but others look merely to their own honor, or even their own gain, or to providing for some of their relations.

The preceding chapters explain in detail the chief sanitary duties of Commissioners. A brief summary, with a few additional remarks, is all that is necessary.

1. **Water Supply.**

2. **Latrine and Scavenging Arrangements.**

3. **Drainage.**—The Memorandum of the Army Sanitary Commission says:

At present the only kind of drainage suitable for small towns is open surface drainage, carried along lanes and streets to some convenient outlet. All covered drains should be avoided. The surfaces of lanes and streets should be so graded so as to allow rain water to pass readily to the surface drain and the drain should have a shallow water-tight section.

The material should be of the best and cheapest to be obtained on the spot. Cut stone or concrete or asphalt might be used, or masonry or close-fitting vitrified brick; but in any case it is absolutely necessary that the channel should be laid true, have a sufficient fall, and that all the joints should be water-tight. Open cuts in the earth are of no use, but are on the contrary to be avoided, as leading to a damp unwholesome state of the sub-soil.

Shallow saucer-sectioned surface drains can be kept clean by sweeping or by throwing water into them. With due care in cleansing with fresh water, there would be no risk in allowing water used by households for washing and bathing to run into the surface drains.

Markets.—These should be watched. Damaged grain, decaying vegetables or meat, should not be allowed to be sold.

Unwholesome Trades.—Tanners and dyers should be obliged to work in some outskirt or little frequented part of the town. Slaughter-houses should be kept clean.

Hospitals and Dispensaries.—These should be provided in all towns. There should be a ward for women in connection with Lady Dufferin's scheme.

* Quoted by Mr. Justice Cunningham, p. 9.

† Decennial Review, p. 59.

Miscellaneous Improvements.—All ruinous buildings should be removed, and the ground levelled. When possible, crooked streets should be straightened to allow the free passage of air.

Any foul unwholesome surfaces of ground can readily be improved by covering the area with a few inches of fresh earth, which is by far the best disinfectant.

The general health of small towns may be much improved by removing all useless jungle, by lopping the lower branches of trees so as to improve the external ventilation, and by planting trees on wet or damp ground within or near the town, a measure which dries the ground and purifies the air. Tree planting along the public roads is also beneficial to health.

Open squares, public parks, and gardens are of great benefit. •In England these are sometimes presented to towns by wealthy benevolent individuals. Wells and such like gifts are sometimes made in India. They are a far more useful mode of expending money than in squandering it on show or feeding lazy vagrants.

Funds.—The great obstacle to sanitary improvement is want of money. This, however, chiefly applies to extensive undertakings. But many valuable measures need not be expensive. All the materials and labour required are on the spot, and most of the work could be done by the inhabitants of houses themselves; and they ought to be required either to do what is necessary or pay for the doing of it, on the well-understood principle that an unhealthy house is not only dangerous to its own inmates, but also to its neighbours and to the town generally.*

By thorough distribution of the outlay, very much may be done. Some of the streets in Benares are so narrow as not to admit carriages. Half a century ago the roadway was mud—very dusty in the dry weather and almost knee-deep during the rains. An energetic magistrate required the owner of each house to bear his share of the cost of paving the streets with smooth flat stones. There was a great outcry against it at the time as a piece of "grievous *zulum*, but when the work was executed the people felt its great advantage.

The owners of houses may justly be required to pay for drains in front of their property.

Loans should be avoided as far as possible. A few public-spirited men can often get the inhabitants to subscribe what is required in ordinary cases.

For extensive undertakings, as water-works, loans will be necessary. Until 1879 the law was that Municipalities might borrow of the Government and of the Government alone. In 1879 this policy

*Many of the foregoing remarks are from the "Suggestions of the Army Sanitary Commission."

was abandoned. It was done probably to give less trouble, and to obviate the large apparent increase of State indebtedness. But it was a great wrong to the Municipalities. Government can borrow at 4 per cent. Municipalities must pay much more. The pseudo-patriots, English or Indian, who declaim against Government incurring debt for any object, are in reality enemies of the country. There should be a return to the old rule.

As already mentioned, Government can borrow at 4 per cent. Municipalities might pay 6 per cent,—2 per cent going as a Sinking Fund to pay off the principal.

The remarks of Mr. Justice Cunningham under this head deserve consideration.

ALL INTERESTED IN SANITARY REFORM.

The recent National Congresses have awakened much enthusiasm in many of the people; but some Muhammadans have kept aloof, thinking that their welfare might be better promoted by other means. In protection from disease and death, the adherents of every creed are equally concerned. So also are all classes, high or low, rich or poor.

If people are too selfish to care for their neighbours, yet even for their own sakes and that of their families, they should endeavour to improve the sanitary condition of the place in which they live. Although attention to the rules of health in one's own household is a great safeguard, yet when an epidemic prevails all around, the cleanest homes may yield their victims.

Mr. Justice Cunningham, in a Calcutta address, showed the advantages of sanitary reform in the following striking manner:—

"Imagine that a good angel came to-night into this room, and offered every person in it and all his household in Calcutta, another five years of life. Ah! you will say, that is what happens in fairy stories. What a boon it would be thought! With what rapture of gratitude it would be accepted! With what prayers and supplications would that beneficent being be beset to extend a similar boon to other communities. Now that good angel does literally come and make that offer to every community. The offer in many cases has been accepted and the boon conferred. In many cities she has actually of late lengthened the average life of the community by five years or more. Her name is Science, and Science is only another name for well-informed common sense. She offers it here in Calcutta; but then it is on certain conditions—simple, easy, intelligible, but essential.

"In the name of common sense, of common humanity, in the name of that beneficent utilitarianism which regards all knowledge

as 'a rich store-house for the relief of man's estate'—aye, in the name of that great Being who made all men and would not that any should perish,—who has fashioned man's frame after a wonderful pattern, and who, we may suppose, cares not to see His fair handiwork marred and destroyed by man's ignorance and folly:—we ask you to say—and to say in unmistakeable terms—that this good angel's offer shall be accepted.”*

The statements in the foregoing pages are *facts*—not *fancies*. Their accuracy can be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. The statement made on the title page may be repeated, that *efficient Sanitary Reform in India would save every year lakhs of lives, and prevent crores of cases of disease.*

SPIRITUAL HEALTH.

We have souls as well as bodies. Our bodies must die, but our souls will live for ever, either in happiness or misery. It is of far more importance to enjoy spiritual than bodily health.

Are our souls in health? Alas, no. Every one has the leprosy of sin. In God's sight we are, as it were, covered from head to foot with putrefying sores. Even young children that can hardly speak show that they have sinful hearts by their anger, and by trying at times to beat their mothers. Who can count up the wicked thoughts, words, and deeds of which we have been guilty!

No bathing can cure the leprosy of the body; no bathing at supposed holy places can wash away sin. There is only one Physician of souls, the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of the one true God. The medicine cost Him His precious life. He became man and died in our room. Go to Him in prayer. Say, from the heart, “Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean.” His gracious answer will be, “I will; be thou clean.” Your sins will be forgiven for the sake of Christ, and God will give you His Holy Spirit to cleanse your heart and make it pure and lovely. At death you will go to dwell for ever in God's palace above.

Attend to religion now. Too many people think that they may live in sin and forgetfulness of God, whilst they have their health, and that it is time enough to begin to think of their souls when they are on a sick bed. This is a great mistake.

Now accept the gracious invitation of your Father in heaven, and try in every thing to please Him. Obey His laws for the health of the body; obey His laws in the Bible for the health of the soul. Seek to fight against disease, ignorance, and misery. Thus will your life be happy and useful, according to God's loving will.

* *Journal of the Calcutta Health Society*, April, 1885.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

IS INDIA BECOMING POORER OR RICHER ?

WITH

PROPOSED REMEDIES

FOR

THE EXISTING POVERTY

" The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community ! "

Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I.

" The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

Hon. W. W. Hunter, LL.D., C.S.I.

MADRAS :

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY,

1887.

PREFATORY NOTE.

Last year a pamphlet was printed, entitled, *INDIA'S NEEDS*. It met with an encouraging sale, and it is hoped that it was, in some measure, useful.

One defect was attempting to discuss the "Material, Political, Social, Moral and Religious Needs" of India within 146 pages. It is, therefore, proposed to issue a Series of *PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM*, each taking up a single topic. The different subjects can thus be more adequately considered, and by presenting one at a time, an impression is more likely to be produced.

The present issue is intended to combat a prevailing opinion as mischievous as it is unfounded.

J. MURDOCH.

MADRAS,

Feb. 4th, 1887.

CONTENTS.

| | | |
|-----|---|------|
| • | IS INDIA BECOMING POORER OR RICHER ? | Page |
| | SUPPOSED INCREASING POVERTY | 5 |
| | FALSE IDEAS ABOUT THE PAST | 11 |
| | PROGRESS UNDER BRITISH RULE | 12 |
| | EXISTING POVERTY AMONG CERTAIN CLASSES | 31 |
| | ANSWER TO THE QUESTION | 35 |
| | PROPOSED REMEDIES FOR THE EXISTING POVERTY | 37 |
| 1. | REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS | 37 |
| 2. | REDUCTION OF TAXATION | 42 |
| 3. | AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT | 50 |
| 4. | DEVELOPED MANUFACTURES | 63 |
| 5. | REDUCTION OF MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL EXPENSES | 70 |
| 6. | FORESIGHT, INSTEAD OF RUNNING INTO DEBT | 71 |
| 7. | A STOPPAGE OF MELTING MONEY INTO ORNAMENTS | 74 |
| 8. | REQUIRING IDLERS TO WORK FOR THEIR LIVING | 76 |
| 9. | DISUSE OF SPIRITS AND OPIUM | 77 |
| 10. | PRUDENCE WITH REGARD TO MARRIAGE | 79 |
| 11. | EMIGRATION | 79 |
| 12. | SELF-HELP | 80 |
| 13. | RELIGIOUS AND MORAL REFORM | 80 |
| | REVIEW OF REMEDIES | 81 |
| • | JUBILEE APPEAL | 81 |

IS INDIA BECOMING POORER OR RICHER?

SUPPOSED INCREASING POVERTY.

The Kali Yuga.—In every Indian bazar the expression may be heard almost daily, "This is the Kali Yuga," the Iron Age. The venerable Vedic Rishi Parasara, in the Vishnu Purana, thus describes some of its evils :—

"The observance of caste, order and institutes will not prevail in the Kali Age...Men of all degrees will conceit themselves to be equal with Brahmins. Cows will be held in esteem only as they supply milk. The people will be almost always in dread of dearth, and apprehensive of scarcity; they will all live, like anchorites, upon leaves and roots and fruits, and put a period to their lives through fear of famine and want. ...Princes, instead of protecting, will plunder their subjects...Women will bear children at the age of five, six, or seven years; and men beget them when they are eight, nine or ten. A man will be grey when he is twelve; and no one will exceed twenty years of life."*

What a sad contrast to the Krita (Golden) Age, when the fruits of the earth were obtained by the mere wish, and men lived four thousand years!

Mr. S. M. Hossain says that in Oudh people of all classes in 1864 were sighing after their lost Nawabi times, in which the seasons were favourable, when the fields yielded twice as much as they do now, and cows gave eight times as much milk.†

English testimony may also be quoted to the effect that this is India's Iron Age. The socialist, Mr. Hyndman, who lately figured in the London riots, describes her as "Bleeding to Death"‡ under British rapacity, folly and wickedness. Another Englishman, Mr. Seymour Keay, endeavours to support his doctrine of the "Spoliation of India," by garbled quotations from Indian statesmen like Sir Bartle Frere and others, making them assert the very

* Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu Purana, pp. 622-624.

† *Our Difficulties and Wants in India*, pp. 3, 7.

‡ "Bleeding to Death" certainly describes the state of Mr. Hyndman's own finances. Not long ago he was summoned in a London Court on account of his own debts and those of his wife. His wife appeared and stated that her husband earned nothing, but went about lecturing for which he received dinners but no pay. They were dependent upon the assistance of relations and friends; money had been borrowed in all directions, and their furniture had been pawned. As a rule, a bankrupt is not the best adviser with regard to money matters.

reverse of what they intended. Even well-meaning men, like Major Osborn, have made similar statements.

It is not surprising that the foregoing English opinions should be readily accepted as correct by many Native journals in India.

The Hindu is the leading Native paper in South India. The following are some of its editorial utterances :—

“ We cannot say that the English are wicked. There are many good and virtuous English men and women. But we can most truthfully say that the English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world.” Nov. 25, 1885.

“ English merchants during a sway of nearly a century rifled the land of all its wealth. A century of plunder ! And now what has succeeded it ? The ‘ spoliation of India,’ has it ceased ? Certainly not. It is going on as vigorously as ever.” Oct. 1st, 1885.

“ Our ‘ beneficent’ government, as the learned writer on Revenue Administration in the Madras Presidency in our columns has incontrovertibly proved, takes to itself no less than 47 per cent. of the produce, (and) levies innumerable other contributions.” Oct. 13, 1885.

“ Everywhere the establishment of English rule has been followed by a rapid and striking impoverishment of the people.” Jan. 17, 1887.

“ India sends away 30 millions of money as her tribute to England, and this tribute for which not a penny is received in return is, it has been said over and over again by competent writers, one of the chief causes of India’s poverty.” Jan. 17, 1887.

“ Day after day unable to bear the burden of existence, the Indian peasant lays down his life rather than enjoy the ‘ inestimable blessings of British rule’ in India.” Dec. 5, 1885.

Any proofs to the contrary from official sources are contemptuously brushed aside as only showing

“ By what distortion of facts and fallacious logic the boasts of the Indian bureaucracy have to be made to look plausible.” Sept. 26, 1885.

Bengali opinion, as represented by some of the leading papers, is much in the same strain.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* would wish the Committee of Inquiry, proposed by Mr. Slagg, to visit India to make themselves “ personally acquainted with the state of misery to which the people have been reduced under the Christian rule of England.” Oct. 22, 1885.

The *Liberal*, another Calcutta paper, has the following :—

“ The present system treats the contentment of India and even the stability of the British Empire as of only secondary importance compared with the personal and selfish interests of the classes who, like an immense vampire, have sat brooding over India and draining her almost to her heart’s blood during the last century and more.” Nov. 8th, 1885.

The following is from the same journal :—

“Useless offices, however extravagantly paid, continue to flourish; the most extravagant salaries remain untouched; and new offices still are created with the most extravagant scale of salaries. And why? Because the members of the bureaucracy and their relations are to be provided for at the public expense.” Nov. 8th, 1885.

Babu Amrita Lal Roy, a Bengali who spent three years in New York, thus described British rule in India, in the *North American Review* :—

“Wherever you go through the vast dominions of the ‘Empress of India’ you see a population starved, luckless, coward, crest-fallen, brooding thoughts of darkness or despair; while stalks hither and thither the Anglo-Saxon, riding over their breasts, spitting in their faces, spreading desolation, and leaving a nightmare wherever he has passed.”

The *Poona Sarva Janik Sabha Journal* is far more moderate in its statements, but it says :—

“On a calm and comprehensive review of the economic situation in India, it is impossible to resist the conviction that, in spite of all the benevolent intentions and efforts of government, in spite of railways and canals, and in spite too, of growing trade and extending agriculture, the country is getting day by day poorer in material wealth as well as weaker in productive capacity and energy.”

The above opinion formed the burden of the addresses in England of the Indian delegates.

The *Indian Spectator* quotes the following as the opinion expressed in England by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji :—

“The speaker then proceeded to point out what he regarded as the cause of the poverty of India. He cited several authorities upon the subject, and showed it was simply that the employment of a foreign agency caused a large drain to the country, disabling it from saving any capital at all, and rendering it weaker and weaker every day, forcing it to resort to loans for its wants and becoming worse and worse in its economic condition.” Jan. 23, 1887.

“The recent ‘National Congress’ at Calcutta, after acknowledging ‘the memorable, beneficent and glorious reign’ of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, passed the following Resolution :—

“That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and while aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter, and is contemplating certain palliatives, it yet desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.”

It is cheerfully acknowledged that other views are also held by a minority. A single quotation may suffice. Raja Sir Madhava Rao is no mere dilettante politician. He was Prime Minister of two important Native States. Under the signature of "A Native Thinker" he has contributed a variety of valuable short papers to the *Madras Times*. The following is one extract :—

"The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community !"

Such remarks are not palatable to some of the patriotic journals. They have been regarded as a proof of senility, and the "Native Thinker" has been addressed to keep his "thoughts" to himself.

"Native public opinion" considers that the country is becoming more and more impoverished.

Blame laid chiefly at the door of the British Government.—Mr. S. M. Hossain thus points out one great use of Governments both in India and Ireland :—

"To bear on its shoulders the blame for all sorts of grievances that arise in the community by accident, by natural or unnatural causes, or even by the fault of its members.

"It seems natural that it gives some sort of comfort and relief to lazy people who will do not anything for themselves to put the blame of their idleness and of the distress that originates from this source on some other person or cause.

"We Asiatics had, for a long time, an object for our fault-finding which we all called *Kismet* (fate) Now we are abandoning *Kismet* and have substituted the Government as the object of our censure. In short, as of old, we used to depend on *Kismet*, hoping that it would do everything for us ; so now we expect that Government will do the same. But *Kismet* was a power which we could not fight or argue for not doing what we required of it, and we could simply console ourselves, by blaming it ; but Government, being a visible object, besides blaming it, we can remonstrate with it, and grumble till our wishes are fulfilled, or show our annoyance if they are not acceded to."*

The "comfortable" doctrine is held by the Hindus that all their miseries, including pestilence and deficient rainfall, are caused by the *sins of their rulers—not by their own*. During a famine in North India some years ago, the ryots, in a petition to Government, recommended "searchings of heart" on the part of the authorities. Was not the famine sent as a punishment for their oppression of the poor !

Mischievous Effects of the Popular Notion.—It is of very great importance that there should be a friendly feeling between Euro-

* *Our Difficulties and Wants*, pp. 14, 15.

peasants and Indians. Every man of any intelligence acknowledges that it would be a great misfortune to India if the English were to withdraw from it at present. The most strenuous efforts of both are needed to remedy the evils under which India suffers. Any false idea exciting alienation between the two races is much to be deprecated.*

India is the stronghold of caste. Englishmen are *Mlechchas*, "barbarians, sinners."* Race hatred is gratified and a cheap reputation for patriotism earned by maligning them and their rule.

If the people of South India were to accept as true the statements in *The Hindu* that the "English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world;" that "for more than a century they rifled the land of all its wealth;" that they exact as "tribute 30 millions of money a year for which not a penny is received in return;" that the "Indian peasant day by day lays down his life rather than enjoy the 'inestimable blessings of British rule';" it would be surprising if the loyalty for which they have hitherto been noted should not be exchanged for a rabid hatred, worthy of American Irish.

The influence on Englishmen is also injurious. Honourable men are apt to feel soured against those who hold them up as robbers and swindlers. Feelings of contempt and antipathy are awakened in others.

Low motives are sometimes attributed to the most benevolent measures. The *Bombay Gazette* says of Lady Dufferin's Scheme:—

"Vernacular journalists have been unable to see in the enterprise anything beyond an endeavour to provide an opening in the country for the services of a number of European ladies."†

At Poona Lord Dufferin thus noticed the imputation of fraud on the part of Government in appointing the Civil Service Commission:—

"Nothing has filled me with such astonishment, nothing has so disheartened me, nothing has made me feel so deeply how great are the difficulties of Government in this country as insinuations which have appeared in certain organs of the press with regard to this subject. It is indeed a matter of surprise that there should be found amongst some of them who represent themselves as guides and leaders of Indian public opinion—men so incapable of appreciating what has been the character of English rule and of its English representatives as to assert in the face of their countrymen that the only object of the Government of India in appointing the Civil Service Commission has been to deceive the people of India and to resort to a base, mean and abominable trick for the purpose of restricting still further the privileges of those who are so justly anxious to serve our Sovereign in the service of their country."

* These are the two meanings given of the word by Beufey in his Sanskrit Dictionary.

† Quoted in *Madras Overland Mail*, Nov. 3, 1886.

The "astonishment" of Lord Dufferin was due to the fact that he was a comparative stranger. The *Edinburgh Review* remarks, "Nor will the best intentions and the highest administrative principles in India save a government from incessant misrepresentation and violent calumny."*

Extenuation is to be found in the circumstances of the country. People can be expected to measure others only by their own standard. There is also the encouragement that the best men in India give the British Government credit for what it has done, and make allowances for the difficulties which have prevented still greater results.

Nor is this the worst of the evil. Measures on which the well-being of the country mainly depends are neglected for politics. The *Indian Mirror*, a Calcutta daily Native paper, says :—

"The Bengali boy of the period, who is scarcely out of his teens, talks of politics. Such is the case with politics among the Bengalis in Bengal. We are now talking politics to death; and though we are ourselves always in the thick of politics, we must confess that politics has positively become the bane of our society, because we are giving this undue prominence to it to the neglect and at the sacrifice of other questions, in which our present progress and future welfare are materially involved."†

The same remark applies, more or less, to other parts of India.

While men of mature age and wide experience may take up politics with advantage, young men will do much better in endeavouring to improve their own minds and in attending to business. The results in Mr. Hyndman's case are not encouraging.

Political reform is far more popular than social or religious reform. It does not involve any self-denial—rather the reverse. Radicalism in England holds out the bait of "three acres and a cow." Here, no doubt, the prospect of a good appointment as the result of agitation is the motive with some. It is admitted that there are good men who advocate the cause without any selfish ends in view; but human nature is the same everywhere, and the "spoils of office" must have their influence on Eastern as well as on Western Aryans.

An attempt will now be made to enquire into the real results of British rule in India so far as the physical condition of the people is concerned. The writer has no hope of making the slightest impressions upon some.

"A man convinced against his will,
Is of the same opinion still."

Sir William Jones quotes the saying from a Hindu author:

* January, 1884, p. 14.

† Quoted in *Concord*, Oct. 3, 1886.

"Whoever obstinately adheres to a set of opinions may at last bring himself to believe that the freshest sandalwood is a flame of fire."

"Any stick is good enough to beat a dog with." Gross misrepresentations which have been refuted again and again, will be re-iterated by pseudo-patriots, and applauded by those who regard any counter-evidence as the "distortion of facts" by an interested "Indian bureaucracy."

The writer does not belong to the "Indian bureaucracy," nor has he any "poor relations" to be provided for. It will, however, be sufficient with some that he is British, to discredit all his statements and to regard his authorities as "rubbish." Still, others may be led to impartial inquiry, and to draw their own conclusions, in which case these pages will not have been written in vain.

When a witness gives evidence in a case, one of the first questions put to him is with regard to his means of information. The writer may be permitted to add a few words on this point. He came out to the East nearly 43 years ago, and there, with the exception of furloughs, he has since continuously resided. His personal observation of India extends from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, and from Moulmain to Karachi. For about 25 years in succession, he has made the circuit of the three Presidencies of India. He has also travelled in China and Japan.

FALSE IDEAS ABOUT THE PAST.

"The past," Tennyson says,

"shall always wear
A glory from its being far."

The ignorant and half-educated in all ages and in all countries have looked upon the past as the Golden, and the present as the Iron, Age. Ten centuries before the Christian era, Solomon gave the caution, "Say not the former days were better than these; for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." The poet Horace lived in the Augustan age of Rome, yet there were then "praisers of bygone times." Indians now entertain exactly the same feelings with regard to the declension of their country as Englishmen who talk of the "good old times." Macaulay, in his *History of England*, thus combats the idea:—

"Delusion which leads men to overrate the happiness of preceding generations."

"In truth we are under a deception similar to that which misleads the traveller in the Arabian desert. Beneath the caravan all is dry and bare; but far in advance and far in the rear, is the semblance of

refreshing waters. The pilgrims hasten forward and find nothing but sand where, an hour before, they had seen a lake. They turn their eyes and see a lake where, an hour before, they were toiling through sand. A similar illusion seems to haunt nations through every stage of the long progress from poverty and barbarism to the highest degrees of opulence and civilisation. But, if we resolutely chase the mirage backward, we shall find it recede before us into the regions of fabulous antiquity. It is now the fashion to place the golden age of England in times when noblemen were destitute of comforts the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman...when men died faster in the purest country air than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns, and when men died faster in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guiana."

"Since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but decay." The evils now complained of are, he says, "with scarcely an exception old. That which is new, is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them."

The words of Burke, applied to England last century, exactly represent the state of Native feeling in this country at present :—

"These birds of evil presage at all times have grated our ears with their melancholy song ; and by some strange fatality or other, it has generally happened that they have poured forth their loudest and deepest lamentations at the periods of our most abundant prosperity."*

The Hindus are specially liable to entertain false notions of the past. The Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit says, "The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. From the very earliest ages down to the present times, the Hindu mind seems never to have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence." Poetry and books like the Vishnu Purana have furnished their ideas of bygone days.

PROGRESS UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Under this head will be mentioned several points, showing that the condition of the country has improved since it came under the British Government.

1. **War has been replaced by Peace.**—Before the commencement of British rule, as Lord Dufferin said at Ajmere, "scarcely a twelve-months passed without the fair fields of India being watered with the blood of thousands of her children." The Rig Veda shows abundantly the fierce contests between the Aryan invaders and the aboriginal Dasyus. Indra, after being invited by the former to "quaff the soma juice abundantly," was urged to destroy their

* Quoted in *Finances and Public Works of India*, p. 12.

enemies: "Hurl thy hottest thunderbolt upon them! Uproot them! Cleave them asunder!"

"Sometimes an Aryan leader fought with an Aryan leader. The cause of such a civil dissension might be jealousy or ambition..... The war of invasion lasted for centuries."*

As already mentioned, India has no history properly so called. The legends, however, indicate sanguinary struggles. "Thrice seven times did Parasurama clear the earth of the Kshatriya caste, and he filled with their blood five large lakes." The great Indian epic, the Mahabharata, relates a succession of battles, ending in the almost entire destruction of the contending parties.

The country was divided into a number of kingdoms, leading to frequent wars. Dynasty after dynasty succeeded each other.

About 520 B. C. Darius, King of Persia, invaded India, and annexed part of the country. His success probably led Alexander the Great to follow his example in 327 B. C. For more than 800 years there was a struggle against Greco-Bactrian and Scythian inroads. Chandra Gupta and Vikramaditya partly won their fame by successfully contending with the invaders.

The numerous invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni are well known. They were followed by a long series of similar expeditions.

"India," says Dr. Hunter, "has, at its north-eastern and north-western corners, two opposite sets of gateways which connect it with the rest of Asia. Through these gateways, successive hordes of invaders have poured into India, and in the last century the process was still going on. Each set of new-comers plundered and massacred without mercy and without restraint. During 700 years, the warring races of Central Asia and Afghanistan filled up their measure of bloodshed and pillage to the full. Sometimes they returned with their spoil to their mountains, leaving desolation behind; sometimes they killed off or drove out the former inhabitants and settled down in India as lords of the soil; sometimes they founded imperial dynasties destined to be crushed, each in its turn, by a new host swarming into India through the Afghan passes.

"The precise meaning of the word invasion in India during the last century may be gathered from the following facts. It signified not merely a host of twenty to a hundred thousand barbarians on the march, paying for nothing, and eating up every town, and cottage, and farmyard; burning and slaughtering on the slightest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country.

The plan of the Russian general Skobelloff for the invasion of India was as follows:—

"It would be our chief duty to organise masses of Asiatic cavalry,

* Kuntze's *Vicissitudes of Indian Civilization*, p. 121.

and hurling them on India as our vanguard under the banner of blood and rapine, thus bring back the days of Tamerlane."

Teunyson, in his recent poem, thus refers to Tamerlane, or Timur :—

" Ages after, while in Asia, he that led the wild Moguls,
Timur built his ghastly tower of eighty thousand skulls."

A brief account of Tamerlane's doings in India will explain what Skobeloff proposed.

In 1398 Timur (Tamerlane) entered India at the head of a vast Tartar horde. He defeated Mahmud Tughlak under the walls of Delhi, and entered the capital. For five days the city was given up to plunder and massacre, during which Timur was employed in giving a grand entertainment to his officers. Some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead. Part of the inhabitants had fled for safety to old Delhi. The Muhammadan historian says that Timur's men followed them, and "sent to the abyss of hell the souls of these infidels, of whose heads they erected towers, and gave their bodies for food to the birds and beasts of prey. Never was such a terrible slaughter and desolation heard of." Timur and his army next took Meerut. The same Muhammadan writer says, "They flayed alive all the infidels of this place, they made slaves of their wives and children; they set fire to everything, and razed the walls; so that this town was soon reduced to ashes."*

During last century, in the space of twenty-three years, six inroads took place on a large scale.

"The first was led by a soldier of fortune from Persia, who slaughtered Afghan and Indian alike; the last five were regular Afghan invasions.

"On this first of the six invasions, 8000+ men, women, and children were hacked to pieces in one forenoon in the streets of Delhi. But the Persian general knew how to stop the massacre at his pleasure. The Afghan leaders had less authority, and their five great invasions during the thirteen middle years of the last century form one of the most appalling tales of bloodshed and wanton cruelty ever inflicted on the human race. In one of these invasions, the miserable capital, Delhi, again opened her gates and received the Afghans as guests. Yet for several weeks, not merely for six hours on this occasion, the citizens were exposed to every foul enormity which a barbarian army could practise on a prostrate foe. Meanwhile the Afghan cavalry were scouring the country, slaying, burning and mutilating in the meanest hamlet as in the greatest town. They took especial delight in sacking the holy places of the Hindus, and murdering the defenceless votaries at the shrines. For example, one gang of 25,000 Afghan horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival, while it was thronged with peaceful Hindu pilgrims engaged in their devotions. They

* History of Timur Beg by Cherefeddin Ali.

• † So Scott. Elphinstone thinks 30,000 nearer the truth.

burned the houses together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and lance, hauling off into captivity maidens and youths, women and children. In the temples they slaughtered cows and smeared the images and pavement with blood.

"The border-land between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste; indeed districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants."*

It was the same on the north-east frontier:—

"The history of the fertile valley of Assam, in the north-eastern corner of India, is one long narrative of invasion and extermination. Anciently the seat of a powerful Hindu kingdom, whose ruined forts of massive hewn stone we find buried in the jungle, Assam was devastated, like the rest of Eastern Bengal, by the fanatical Muhammadan invaders in the fifteenth century from the west. A fierce aboriginal race (the Koch) next swooped down on it from the north. They in turn were crushed by another aboriginal race (the Ahoms) from the east; and these again were being exterminated by the Burmese from the south, when they implored the English to interfere. During the last century, large tracts of Assam were depopulated, and throughout that province and Eastern Bengal 30,000 square miles of fertile frontier districts lay waste.

"The task of reclaiming these tracts has been a heavy one. In the now prosperous districts of Goalpara with its half-million of inhabitants more money was spent, until 25 years ago, by Government in rewards for killing the wild animals than the whole sum realised from the land revenue. Not less than 13,000 square miles of border district have been reclaimed, and yield each year at the lowest estimate eighteen millions sterling worth of produce, or more than the average normal cost of the Indian army and the whole defence of the Indian Empire."

"Even the sea was a source of danger. On the Bay of Bengal, the pirates from the Burmese coast sailed up the great rivers, burning the villages, massacring or carrying off into slavery the inhabitants. On the other side of the peninsula, in the Indian Ocean, piracy was conducted on a grander scale. Wealthy rajas kept up luxurious courts upon the extortions which their pirate fleets levied from trading vessels and from the villages along the coast."†

But India suffered from intestine wars as well as from foreign invasions.

Muhomed Shah, Sultan of Gulburga, provoked a quarrel with the Hindu Maharaja of Vijayanagar, and swore an oath on the Koran that "he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death a hundred thousand infidels." The desolation caused in the war which ensued was terrible. The Muhammadan "historian records, with ill-concealed exultation, that from first to last 500,000 'infidels'

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 7, 8.

† *England's Work in India*, pp. 10, 11.

had fallen before the sword of the true believers, 'and that the Carnatic did not recover this depopulation for ages.' **

Macaulay thus describes the ravages of the Mahrattas:—

"The highlands which border on the western coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race which was long the terror of every native power, and which yielded only to the genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that the wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains. Soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile vicerealties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountain or the jungle. Many provinces redeemed the harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi; another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice fields of Bengal."

Tanks are pointed out in Bengal into which women threw themselves to escape dishonour. Calcutta had to be defended by what was called the "Mahratta Ditch."

When, a few years ago, Sindia and Holkar met in a friendly way, it was remarked that there had not been any similar meeting for more than a century before.

In 1883 the entire cost of the Indian army was £17,440,000. The monthly payment per head was 1 aana 2 pies for protection against all external enemies and to secure internal peace. As mentioned above, the value of the produce of one province reclaimed from ruin would alone meet the whole outlay.

2. Crime has been repressed.—In all countries there are thieves, but the peculiarity of India is that it had over a hundred robber castes, just as there were soldier castes and writer castes, and that men went out to prey upon the property of their fellows—and if need be on their lives—with strict religious observances, strong in the belief that they were only fulfilling their destiny and doing good service to the deity whom they adored. They gloried in their exploits as sportsmen do, and talked over a successful gang-robbery with its attendant murders, as European gentlemen talk over their

* Meadows Taylor. Indian History, pp. 161, 162.

tiger hunts. Besides these there were also robberies committed by men not born and bred to the profession.

After the usual sacrifices, gangs set out in parties of thirty or forty, disguised as travellers or pilgrims. Their principal weapon was the spear. The head was carried about concealed on their persons; the handles served as walking sticks. Scouts or confederates informed them where there was a rich man's house. When all arrangements had been made, they advanced to the attack.

It was always a nocturnal surprise. With flaming torches and spears glittering in the broad light, they came suddenly on the sleeping inhabitants of the doomed house, and either roused them with their noise or pricked them up with the points of their weapons. It often happened that the luckless inhabitants, confused, bewildered, panic struck, like people under the influence of a fearful dream, did all that they were directed to do—pointed out the places where their wealth was hidden, and went like sheep to the slaughter. If the dakoits thought that all the property was not given up, torture was applied. Earrings were sometimes torn away, hands and feet were chopped off as the easiest mode of removing the ornaments. In England a gang of robbers could not exist for a single day when it was known. Every influential man in the neighbourhood and the constabulary would aid in their capture. But in India the reverse was the case. The zemindar, or landed proprietor, and the headman of the village, harboured the robbers and shared in their spoil.

The gangs were not limited to thirty or forty. In 1773 it was reported that a whole body of sepoys and their English leader were cut off by a robber horde. The Pindaris sometimes went in bands of 20,000 horsemen, carrying off immense booty. To surround them, Lord Hastings had to employ not less than 115,000 men.

Thuggism was another peculiar Indian institution.

Thugs were professional murderers who worshipped the goddess Kali, or Devi. They existed in large numbers in many parts of India for more than two thousand years. Divine sanction was claimed for their horrible trade. It was said that the goddess gave their ancestors waistbands with which to destroy, first demons, and then men, by strangulation. "I am a Thug of the royal records," said one of these murderers; "I and my fathers have been Thugs for twenty generations."

The Thugs, for the most part, belonged to particular villages, where they left their wives and children; and they outwardly followed some peaceable calling. They cultivated the fields—rented a few acres of land—or employed labouring men to work under them. A Thug set out on his dreadful journey, and every one in the village knew the cause of his departure. A certain amount of

hush-money was paid to the zemindar or headman, and the police officials, in the same manner, were bribed into silence.

Before going on their expeditions, Thugs made offerings to the goddess, and carefully attended to the omens through which they supposed that she made known her wishes. They assumed many different disguises, and played many different parts. There was nothing to distinguish them from ordinary travellers. A party of them would accost a wayfarer going homewards from a journey. Cheerful talk and song would win his heart, and he would tell them freely of his private affairs, of his wife and children he was going to meet, after long years of absence, toil, and suffering. Watching a favourable opportunity on the skirts of some jungle, one of the Thugs would throw his turban cloth round the neck of their victim. Another, seizing the other end of the cloth, would draw it tightly round; whilst a third would seize the man by the legs, and throw him on the ground. There could be no resistance. The work was quickly done. The body was then stripped, the property secured, and very soon the corpse was buried. The Thugs would afterwards kindle a fire beside the grave, and feast as heartily, sing as merrily, and sleep as soundly as if they had committed an act of the greatest merit. No compunctions visited the Thugs. An English officer asked one of them, "Did you never feel pity for the old men and young children whom you murdered while they were sitting quietly by you?" "Never," was the answer.

Such was the confidence of the Thugs in the protecting power of the goddess, that they believed that she would not only, if religiously served, shield them from harm, but visit with her wrath all who injured them. But this claim did not stand the test. When Thuggee was brought under the notice of the British Government, Lord William Bentinck appointed Colonel Sleeman, with several assistants, to take measures for its suppression. Within a few years this abominable system was destroyed. Colonel Sleeman established schools of industry at Jubbulpore, with a view of affording employment to adult approvers, and of educating their children.*

The late Maharaja of Gwalior thus bears testimony to the former and present state of things:—

"Your *prestige* fills men's minds to an extent which to men who know how things were carried on scarce fifty years ago, seems beyond belief. Within that period when Mahrattas went from time to time from Gwalior to the Deccan, small bodies were not safe. The departure was an epoch in the year. Their friends parted from them knowing that they had to set out on a journey of danger—perils through thugs, robbers, spoliation and black-mail levied on them by the states through which they must pass: these things

* Chiefly abridged from Kaye's "Administration of the East India Company."

men not old still speak of. Now all pass to and fro without danger or hindrance—the poorest traveller feels as safe as the richest—for you make as much effort to protect the poor as the rich. I never put myself on the mail-cart, unattended and perhaps unknown, without appreciating the strength of your rule. It is a substance—I leave Gwalior without apprehension, and my absence occasions no distrust.”

It was the same throughout India. An old American friend who resided at Madura, in the Madras Presidency, told the writer that when he first came to the district there were old men who remembered the time when no one could venture after dusk beyond the walls of the city without being stripped to the “skin of his teeth.” Even in English mansions in Calcutta the outer door had to be locked at the commencement of each meal to prevent the plate from being stolen.

It was the insecurity of property which led to burying valuables, although often this did not avail against dakoits, torture being applied to obtain possession of the hoards.

It is impossible for any Government to put an entire check to robbery and violence; but there is now less crime in India than in England. It also goes on diminishing. There were 25 per cent fewer prisoners in gaol in 1882 than in 1867, notwithstanding the increased population. Considering the vast extent of the country, the security is perfectly marvellous.

In 1882-3 the Police* numbered 137,377, the cost amounting to Rs. 23,751,433. On an average, each person paid 2 pies ($\frac{1}{4}$ d.) monthly for protection against robbery and murder.

3. Agriculture has been promoted by the greatest Irrigation Works in the World.—As an example of the gross misrepresentation to which the British Government is exposed, the following may be quoted from a Native who aspired to be the historian of India:—

“No irrigation work of public utility has as yet been undertaken by the Government, whose policy is such as it would not allow the nation to prosper, but it allows the country to be frequently visited by famine, and the people to perish in thousands by sheer want and hunger.”†

“The real cause of the distress and poverty of the cultivators in many parts of India,” says Sir E. C. Buck, “is to be found, not in the export of food, not in the oppression of taxes and rents, not in the administration of the country, but in the uncertainty of the one great source of agricultural wealth—the rainfall of the country.” English farmers, he adds, “would be taken aback, if they were asked to cultivate farms in which it was a mere chance whether the outturn would be nothing, or twenty bushels an acre.”†

Irrigation works are the great remedy for this state of things.

* Exclusive of Village Police.

† *Statistical Atlas of India*, p. 20.

The crop is certain even in seasons of drought, and the yield is increased. There are, however, limits to their extension. There must be sources for the water supply. But over large tracts of India the rainfall does not exceed one or two inches a year, and even that sometimes fails. The British Government has spent large sums on irrigation works. In most cases they have been successful; in one or two the water supply has proved insufficient.

It is cheerfully admitted that Hindu rulers formed numerous tanks in Southern India and took off some canals from the Cavery. No works for irrigation had been constructed in North India before the time of Firoze Toghluq (1351—1387 A. D.) He excavated three canals, which, however, through neglect, afterwards became useless.

Besides restoring the Hindu and Muhammadan canals, new works of this description have been carried out in different parts of the country. The Ganges canal is the greatest irrigation work in the world. It takes about half the water of the Ganges, where it issues from the mountains, and distributes it over the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna. The Bari Doab Canal, from the Ravi, waters the country between that river, the Beas, and the Sutlej. Other similar works are either completed or in progress.

The large rivers of South India formerly rolled great volumes of water uselessly to the ocean. Anicuts, or bunds, have been constructed across the most important, as the Godavari, Kistna and Cavery, by which extensive tracts of land are irrigated.

The *Statistical Atlas of India* gives a list of the Irrigation Canals in India during 1884. The main Canals were 9095 miles in length, the Distributaries 19,730 miles, making a total of 28,825 miles. The entire cost till the present year was 24½ crores of rupees. The number of acres irrigated during 1884 was 7,205,700, and the estimated value of the crops nearly 18 crores of rupees. The produce for 18 months would pay the entire outlay.

While, of course, the land without irrigation would have produced a certain amount of crop, these works have added every year crores to the wealth of the country, and in seasons of famine lakhs of lives have been preserved.

4. The Annual Produce of the country has been greatly increased.—Suppose the value of the crops of a ryot gradually rose from Rs. 200 a year to Rs. 600, could it be said that he was getting impoverished? This exactly represents the condition of India. Large tracts formerly lay uncultivated from the ravages of war or the incursions of the Mahrattas. About 120 years ago there was a terrible famine in Bengal. It is estimated that 10 millions of people perished; even 19 years later one-third of Bengal was a "jungle inhabited only by wild beasts."

It must be confessed that the information about Indian agricul-

ture, though improving, is still very defective.* It is only of comparatively late years that details in some cases have been received regarding the area under cultivation. They are still not available with regard to several large Zemindaries, one of them half the size of Oudh. The *Madras Manual of Administration* gives the area of ryotwari holdings as having risen from 12,078,535 acres in 1852-53 to 19,095,867 in 1882-83 (p. 298). In round numbers, taking the ratio of increase to have been the same for the previous 60 years, we have about 6 million acres under cultivation in 1792-3.

Hereafter, both the extent of cultivation and the nature of the crops can be more readily compared. The *Statistical Atlas of India* gives in detail the crops cultivated 1884-85. The principal items in acres are quoted below:—

| Provinces. | Rice. | Wheat. | Millets, &c. | Oilseed. | Cotton. | Cultivated Area. |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Madras ... | 5,630,106 | 30,916 | 12,877,978 | 1,160,079 | 1,320,718 | 21,331,674 |
| Bombay ... | 2,031,304 | 2,211,459 | 17,761,225 | 1,976,867 | 2,156,768 | 25,966,024 |
| Bengal ... | 37,500,000 | 850,000 | 8,750,000 | 2,000,000 | 300,000 | 54,503,010 |
| N. W. P. and Oudh ... | 4,894,344 | 5,031,330 | 19,897,475 | 623,298 | 1,677,049 | 32,553,701 |
| Punjab ... | 621,214 | 7,819,509 | 13,084,232 | 1,061,518 | 792,996 | 22,553,701 |
| Central Prov. | 3,091,625 | 3,541,467 | 4,299,482 | 1,632,822 | 459,348 | 13,035,299 |
| British Burma | 3,630,340 | 2,644 | 6,764 | 30,013 | 8,621 | 4,039,246 |
| Assam ... | 1,070,390 | ... | 47,507 | 146,837 | 579 | 1,512,026 |
| Coorg ... | 73,616 | ... | 1,577 | ... | ... | 137,362 |
| Berars ... | 21,784 | 819,057 | 2,646,513 | 842,955 | 1,959,402 | 6,472,956 |
| Ajmere ... | 608 | 21,842 | 150,583 | 7,500 | 8,761 | 199,617 |
| * Total... | 58,565,331 | 20,328,254 | 79,523,386 | 9,490,889 | 8,690,212 | 181,815,644 |

The figures for Madras exclude Zemindaries; those for Bengal are approximate; those for the North West Provinces and Oudh are for "temporarily settled districts only." The total area cultivated is estimated at 199,500,000 acres. Rather more than 170 million acres are devoted to food crops, and the remainder to cotton, indigo, &c.

Live stock are an important item in judging of the wealth of a country ; but the statistics are too incomplete to enable an estimate to be presented.

The *mineral wealth* of India has to some extent been developed. The soil in any place is chiefly composed of the underlying rocks, which largely determine its value and show its capabilities. There is another great reason for acquiring a knowledge of the geology of a country. When looms were wrought by hand, the weavers of India could compete successfully with any in the world. Steam-power revolutionised weaving, and wherever handlooms were employed, the workmen suffered. Coal is wanted both for steam and many other purposes. India is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged upon the geological survey of India. Already some valuable coal fields have been discovered. The East Indian Railway uses Bengal coal, costing only Rs. 2 per ton, while imported coal costs Rs. 15. The saving in 1885 alone amounted to upwards of 30 lakhs. The gold mines of South India are again being worked.

On the most moderate estimate, the value of the annual produce of India has increased three fold since the country came under British rule. It is probably very much larger.

5. **A network of Roads and Railways has been provided.**—It must be admitted that the utility of railways is questioned by some leaders of Native public opinion—nay, whether they are not a curse instead of a blessing.

Mr. Ginwalla of Bombay says: "The question of filling up the country of India with a network of railways is principally beneficial to the English manufacturer and merchant."* *The Hindu* says: "It is by no means certain that the extension of railways has been an unmixed blessing to India; that it has not carried in its train effects that have been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people."†

For passenger traffic the advantages of railways are very great. Formerly in India poor men travelled on foot by day, and rested under trees by night. The rich rode on ponies, or were carried in palanquins at the rate of four miles an hour. Travellers were exposed to fatigue, to the weather, to robbers, to sickness, and sometimes had to lie down and die alone. What a difference to be whirled along smoothly, quicker than a race horse! Rivers, even like the Ganges and Jumna, have been bridged. In 1884 the railways carried nearly 74 millions of passengers. Such a National Congress as was held in Calcutta the present year would have been impossible except for the lines of railway.

* Quoted in Journal of National Indian Association, Sept. 1885.

† January 23, 1885.

Roads and railways promote cultivation. Some parts of the Central Provinces are very fertile. The people are nearly all cultivators. They formerly raised so much grain that they did not know what to do with it. Nobody wanted it. They therefore sometimes let their cattle eat the ripened grain, lest it should rot on the ground. There were no roads, and a bulky article like grain can be carried only a short distance with any profit by oxen. A cart has a great advantage over pack oxen. A pair of bullocks will draw a load three times as heavy on a good road as on a bad one, reducing the cost to one-third. But railways are far superior even to the best roads. Salt and other articles are now cheaper in the interior than they were before, and farmers can get a better price for their produce.

• Railways are of great value in extending cultivation. The following proof of this is taken from the *Reis and Rajet* :—

“Raja Sheoparshad Singh of Gidhore, who died on the 2nd of September 1885, was the son of the late Maharaja Joymungul Singh, K.C.S.I., who was virtually the founder of the raj. His ancestors had long ruled in those wilds in a sort of feudal way, paying a nominal revenue for a large tract of country. The railway opened that part to civilisation and the world, and Joymungul helped to bring the iron horse into his country. He gave the East Indian Railway Company all the lands they required free of charge, and obscure, unknown, insignificant Gidhore is in consequence one of the best properties in Bengal. Joymungul, before he had passed his grand climacteric, had not only won riches, but found himself famous and honoured of his sovereign. He received the title of Maharaja Bahadoor, and was created a Knight of the Order of the Star of India. Gidhore itself is now a fine little country town, although without the advantages of an official station, and the palace of the raj is an imposing structure, the only residence of any pretension throughout a long tract of neglected and uninteresting country.”

Railway are of great service in mitigating famines.

“Famine,” says Dr. Hunter, “is now recognized as one of the most difficult problems with which the Indian administration has to deal. A hundred years ago it was regarded not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man. When the rains on which the crops depended fell short, no crops were reared, and the people perished. The earth had yielded no food, and so the people, in the ordinary and legitimate course of things, died.”

It very rarely, if ever, happens that famine extends over the whole country. While one province may have suffered severely, another has had an abundant harvest. Before British rule the country was without roads. Goods were conveyed by pack oxen, or by rude carts. Until recently there were tracts where a cart excited almost as much curiosity as a locomotive at present. Carriage by pack oxen is exceedingly expensive ; even by cart it is high.

When famine prevails over a wide range, pack oxen and carts become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder, which cannot be supplied in famine districts. On the other hand, a railway train carries its own supply of water and fuel, while it conveys as much as a thousand oxen at ten times the speed. Thus railways are one of the best means of mitigating the severity of famines. It is true that about five millions of people perished in South India during the famine in 1877 and 1878; but it was the most severe for a whole century, and railways were not sufficiently extended to distribute the food provided. The Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of the Madras Presidency, was indefatigable in measures of relief. Mr. Hornaday, an American naturalist, in a recent work, bears the following testimony:—

“It would be impossible to say too much in praise of the energy and activity displayed by the Madras Government in fighting for the lives of the millions under its charge. I do not see how a Government could have done more. Month after month a perfect torrent of grain was poured into Madras, from seaward, and for months the entire resources of the Madras Railway systems were strained to the utmost to carry it into the famine districts fast enough to keep the people from dying by thousands.”†

It is alleged that railways throw out of employment cart drivers and men who carried into the interior salt and other goods on pack oxen. If some suffer in this way, millions are benefited. The price of salt has fallen greatly since the introduction of railways. But railways provide work for many more than they throw out of employment. There are yet only what may be called trunk lines. From one hundred to four hundred miles on each side of them, goods must be taken from the stations and carried to them by pack oxen or carts. The railways themselves give direct employment to a large body of men. In 1884 their staff consisted of 4,069 Europeans, 4,250 East Indians, and 189,429 natives.

Of necessity at first all the drivers were Europeans; but they are gradually, in many cases, being replaced by Natives. On the East Indian Railways there are 224 Native drivers and shunters. The whole of the Punjab Northern Railway is now worked by Natives.

6. **Commerce has been greatly developed.**—As in the case of Railways, the editor of *The Hindu* is inclined to regard this as a curse.

“The enormous growth of foreign trade does not in the least indicate growing prosperity in the condition of the people, although Anglo-Indian writers are never tired of appealing to it as an evidence of such prosperity. It simply indicates the indebtedness of India and her growing material exhaustion.” Jan. 16, 1885.

* England's Work in India, p. 22. † Quoted in *Madras Mail*, Dec. 19th, 1885.

The total amount of exports and imports per head is a very good test of the wealth of a country. They show how much a people have to sell, how much they can afford to buy. A King of France asked a traveller about the condition of a foreign country which he visited. His reply was "Sire, it produces nothing and consumes nothing;" on which the King justly remarked that this was saying much in few words. Such was the condition of Australasia when discovered by Europeans. The aborigines neither bought nor sold anything. Now, from about 3 millions of people a revenue of 22 millions sterling is raised, while the commerce amounts to 114 millions sterling a year, equal to about £35 per head. England ranks next with £20 per head.

"Early in the last century, before the English became the ruling power in India, the country did not produce a million sterling a year of staples for exportation. During the first three-quarters of a century of our rule, the exports slowly rose to about eleven millions in 1830. During the half century which has elapsed since that date, they have quickly multiplied by sixfold. In 1880 India sold to foreign nations 66 millions sterling worth of strictly Indian produce, which the Indian husbandman had reared, and for which he was paid. In that year the total trade of India, including exports and imports, exceeded 122 millions sterling.

"When we obtained Calcutta in 1686, it consisted of three mud hamlets, scarcely raised above the river slime, without any trade whatever. After a century and a half of British rule, the total value of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta in 1820 was 12 millions sterling. In 1879, it had risen to over 61½ millions sterling, besides 45 millions of trade with the interior, making a total commerce of 106 millions sterling a year at a town which had not ten pounds' worth of external trade when the British settled there."*

In the year ended 1883, the total Imports and Exports amounted to 150 crores, against 93 crores in 1873. This increase is largely due to railways enabling bulky articles to be exported. Taking the population as 240 millions in 1873 and 253 millions in 1883, the trade per head rose from about Rs. 4 in 1873 to Rs. 6½ in 1883.

It is lamentable in how many ways reckless assertions are made, calculated to poison the minds of the people against the English. The *Liberal* makes the following statement:—

"Doubtless, English enterprise and capital are seeking out the valuable products of India which can be worked for the markets of the world. But the result is that the whole gain in these enterprises goes with the English capitalist, while the Native labourer is left to appropriate whatever he can pick up in gleaning." Nov. 8. 1885.

Two of India's exports, tea and coffee, are due entirely to English enterprise and capital, and indigo to a considerable extent. Still,

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 39, 40.

in 1883, out of a total export of 83 crores, they amounted only to about 9 crores against 74 crores of purely native produce. Instead of English capitalists getting "the whole gain," there are numbers of coffee-planters who invested their all in their estates, laboured on them for years, and in their old age found themselves destitute.

The following notice of the great increase in the commerce of India appeared last year in the *Madras Mail* :—

"Few persons, probably, are aware of the vast increase of Indian trade during the last decade as compared with the other nations of the world. The following table sets this in a striking light;—Percentage of increase or decrease of foreign trade in 1884 as compared with 1873.

| | | |
|---------------|-----|-------|
| England | ... | 0·6 |
| Italy | ... | 3·14 |
| France | ... | 7·27 |
| Germany | ... | 7·89 |
| United States | ... | 21·4 |
| India | ... | 59·49 |

The exports of some articles have increased as shown below:—

| | 1875. | 1884. | <i>Increase.</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>Indigo</i> ... | £2,576,302 | £4,640,991 | £2,064,689 |
| <i>Rice</i> ... | 4,765,334 | 8,363,280 | 3,597,946 |
| <i>Wheat</i> ... | 491,451 | 8,895,811 | 8,404,360 |
| <i>Other Grain</i> | 231,384 | 364,491 | 133,107 |
| <i>Gums</i> ... | 179,015 | 397,201 | 218,186 |
| <i>Hides and Skins</i> | 2,677,767 | 4,666,788 | 1,989,021 |
| <i>Horns</i> ... | 79,012 | 156,558 | 77,546 |
| <i>Jute</i> ... | 3,246,882 | 4,592,635 | 1,345,753 |
| <i>Lac</i> ... | 254,011 | 555,360 | 301,349 |
| <i>Oils</i> ... | 354,259 | 520,474 | 166,215 |
| <i>Seeds</i> ... | 3,235,950 | 10,294,460 | 7,058,510 |
| <i>Spices</i> .. | 197,891 | 400,930 | 203,039 |
| <i>Sugar</i> ... | 394,384 | 1,179,720 | 785,336 |
| <i>Tea</i> ... | 1,963,550 | 4,134,221 | 2,170,671 |
| " <i>Other Articles</i> " | 1,258,082 | 2,142,921 | 884,839 |
| | £21,905,274 | £51,305,841 | £29,400,567 |

The objection may be raised that the export of grain has diminished the food supply in the country. It is thus answered in the *Statistical Atlas of India* :—

"It seems a mistake to suppose that the available food supply is

diminished by the impulse given to the export of wheat or any other product. In the four prominent wheat-producing tracts recent enquiry has proved that while the food-supply has not diminished with the increase of exports, the food-purchasing power of the cultivating population has considerably increased; and lastly, that if the demand for wheat were to decline, its place would be taken by cotton, oil seeds and other exportable products. Thus it has been shown that in Oudh the ordinary amount of cheaper grains required by the people has still been kept in the province, but that the value of the grain exports has been nearly doubled by the development of the wheat trade. In the North-Western Provinces it is reported that nearly a million acres have been brought under cultivation within the last five years, but that the area under other food-crops has not only not diminished but has actually increased. The reports from the Central Provinces show a similar state of things. The Panjab, in which province alone wheat is the staple food of the agricultural population, owes its chief prosperity to the export of its surplus wheat. On the other hand an enormous quantity of cheap food grains has been made available to the cultivators of the wheat-producing provinces by connecting them by rail with those out-of-the-way tracts to which they had formerly no access, and in which surplus food-grains were so useless to the population that they could actually find no purchasers and were quoted accordingly at nominal prices." P. 19.

Some of the imports show the improvement in the general condition of the people. The substitution of brass for earthenware utensils is one of the first signs of this. The imports of copper, tin and zinc increased from Rs. 6,707,880 in 1874 to Rs. 22,803,700 in 1883. The people care more for their personal comfort. In 1874 umbrellas were imported to the amount of Rs. 902,460; in 1883 to Rs. 2,328,290. Between 1877 and 1886 the import of clocks and watches increased from 3½ lakhs to 11 lakhs.

With some the grand proof of India's impoverishment is the supposed excess of her exports over her imports.

The excuse ought to be made that perhaps with regard to no science do "doctors differ" more than in the case of political economy. Conflicting views are held on some points by the highest authorities. Until quite recently, great importance was attached to the "Balance of Trade." A country was supposed to be prosperous when its exports exceeded its imports. England was thought to be "going to the dogs," because the case with her was the reverse. The fallacy of this was lately shown. All the circumstances must be taken into account before a correct estimate can be formed. According to the reasoning of *The Hindu*, the United States, the richest country in the world, is on the "road to ruin" as well as India. The *American Almanac* for 1882, the latest in the possession of the writer, is edited by the Librarian of Congress. The total Imports and Exports for the five years ending in 1881 for the United States and England are given below:—

| | | | | United States. | | England.† | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|----------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| | | | | Imports. | Exports. | Imports. | Exports |
| | | | | Dollars.† | Dollars.† | £† | £† |
| 1877 | ... | ... | ... | 492 | 658 | 431 | 272 |
| 1878 | ... | ... | ... | 467 | 729 | 401 | 260 |
| 1879 | ... | ... | ... | 466 | 735 | 387 | 266 |
| 1880 | ... | ... | ... | 761 | 852 | 427 | 298 |
| 1881 | ... | ... | ... | 753 | 922 | 414 | 311 |
| | | | | 2,939 | 3,896 | 2,060 | 1,407 |

It will be seen that the great Western Republic has been "bleeding to death" as rapidly as India—her exports in five years exceeding her imports by 957 million dollars, and that although no "immense" foreign "vampire has been draining her heart's blood."

The explanation of the apparent great increase in the Exports of India over her Imports is simple. In 1861 and 1862 they were nearly equal; why did they differ so much in 1881 and 1882?

| | | | | Imports.§ | Exports.§ |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|
| | | | | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1861 | ... | ... | ... | 341,707,980 | 340,901,540 |
| 1862 | ... | ... | ... | 372,724,170 | 370,003,970 |
| 1881 | ... | ... | ... | 621,049,840 | 760,210,430 |
| 1882 | ... | ... | ... | 604,361,550 | 830,681,980 |

In 1861 the rupee was worth 2 shillings; it gradually fell to its present value 1s. 6d. The exports are still estimated at the old rate of 2 shillings to the rupee, whereas Imports have the gold standard. If the former were reduced to the latter, the difference would not be very great. Still, as already shown by comparing the United States and England, great caution is necessary in drawing conclusions. India has large transactions with China which may be adjusted, to some extent, in England.

Connection with England is supposed to have ruined Indian manufactures. A native writer in *The Hindu* explains the true reason: "European competitors, who, cowards as they are, substitute the power of *steam* for the more dignified and delicate labour of the hand."* Englishmen are "cowards" because they use steam!

The introduction of steam power and spinning machines beggared hand-loom weavers in Europe, as well as injured many in this country. In England some of them held on, working sixteen hours a day for a mere pittance; but at last they wisely gave up the unequal contest. The same course is being followed in India. Europeans first started Spinning and Weaving Mills in this country, and for a time

† In both cases only millions are given. ‡ Statistical Abstract, 29th No., 1882.
§ Statistical Abstract of British India, 18th No., pp. 253 259.

* Quoted in *The Fellow Worker*, Sept. 1886.

they were conducted by them. Now there are many founded with Native capital and entirely controlled by Native agency.

India at present exports more of her own manufactured goods than ever she did under Native rule. The value of the outturn of Indian cotton mills exported to foreign countries during 1883-4 was 285 lakhs of rupees; five years ago, it was 162 lakhs. Jute goods were exported to the value of 133 lakhs.*

7. India has been enriched by public and private buildings.—Under Muhammadan rule there were no suitable buildings as courts of justice.

“The Police were an undisciplined half-starved soldiery who lived upon the people. The prisons were ruinous hovels, whose inmates had to be kept in stock, or fetters, or were held down flat under bamboos.” “The English have had to build up, from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilised government. The material framework for such a government, its court houses, public buildings, barracks, jails, hospitals, and schools, have cost not less than a hundred millions sterling.”

“There is more accumulated wealth held by natives in two cities of British India, Calcutta and Bombay,—cities which a couple of centuries ago were mud-hamlets,—than all the treasures of the Imperial and local courts under the Mughal Empire.†

The water supply of Calcutta is an illustration of the improvements effected. Until a few years ago,

“To nine-tenths of the inhabitants clean water was unknown. They drank either the filthy water of the river, polluted with every conceivable abomination, or the still filthier contents of shallow tanks. The river, which was the main source of supply to thousands of people, was not only the receptacle for ordinary filth; it was the great grave-yard of the city. I forget now how many thousand corpses were thrown into it every year.”‡

8. India now absorbs one-fourth of the gold and one-third of the silver produced throughout the whole world.—Fifty years ago the gold and silver annually imported came to about 2 crores a year; now it averages 9 crores. In 1883, after deducting exports, it amounted to nearly 12½ crores. Since 1801, after deducting exports, India has received gold and silver to the amount of 450 crores.

Yet Mr. D. Naoroji asserted that the “employment of a foreign agency” disabled India from “saving any capital at all”!

The Hindu, after demolishing the English fallacy that an increase of commerce denotes an increase of wealth, proceeds to refute another:—

“Others again mention the increase in the import of gold and silver as a sign of growing prosperity of the people. This is again fallacious.

* *Trade of British India*, p. liv.

† *England's Work in India*,

‡ *Cunningham's British India and its Rulers*, p. 116.

Gold and silver are imported only in exchange for our exports, and imply no addition to our wealth." Nov. 15th, 1885.

Let this be tested in common life. A farmer, at the age of 30, has 100 acres of land and Rs. 100 in the Bank. When 50 years of age, he has the same quantity of land, but Rs. 2,000 in the Bank. According to *The Hindu* this is "no addition to his wealth," for he gave the produce of his farm in exchange for the money!

"Money," says *The Edinburg Review*, "is property in its most condensed, least perishable, and most available form." But it is simply means to an end. Of itself it produces nothing. Properly used, it is the seed corn of money. In India, where capital is so much needed, robberies and murders form one of its harvests.

Since 1835 gold has been imported to the amount of 128 crores. In England gold coins are in daily use; in India they are scarcely ever seen. The gold, as soon as it is imported, is melted down into ornaments. Since 1835, silver has been coined to the amount of 299 crores. The Government Cash Balances average about 14 crores; the remainder is held by the people. Some of it is in current use. Some of it is hoarded. One prince is reputed to have a crore in his treasure vaults. Tear and wear occasion some loss; but, as in the case of gold, a large proportion of the silver coinage is melted into ornaments.

At the very lowest estimate the amount hoarded or locked up in jewels is not less than 200 crores. At 12 per cent interest, it would more than pay the entire Land Revenue.

India Past and Present.—Dr. Hunter draws the following contrast:—

"I have often amused myself, during my solitary peregrinations, by imagining what a Hindu of the last century would think of the present state of his country if he could revisit the earth. I have supposed that his first surprise at the outward physical changes had subsided; that he had got accustomed to the fact that thousands of square miles of jungle, which in his time were inhabited only by wild beasts, have been turned into fertile crop-lands; that fever-smitten swamps have been covered with healthy, well-drained cities; that the mountain walls which shut off the interior of India from the seaports have been pierced by roads and scaled by railways; that the great rivers which formed the barriers between provinces, and desolated the country with their floods, have now been controlled to the uses of man, spanned by bridges, and tapped by canals. But what would strike him as more surprising than these outward changes is the security of the people. In provinces where every man, from the prince to the peasant, a hundred years ago, went armed, he would look round in vain for a match-lock or a sword. He would find the multitudinous native states of India, which he remembered in jealous isolation broken only by merciless wars, now trading quietly with each other, bound together by railways and roads, by the post and the telegraph. He would find, moreover, much that was new as well as

much that was changed. He would see the country dotted with imposing edifices in a strange foreign architecture, of which he could not guess the uses. He would ask what wealthy prince had reared for himself that spacious palace? He would be answered that the building was no pleasure-house for the rich, but a hospital for the poor. He would inquire, in honour of what new deity is this splendid shrine? He would be told that it was no new temple to the gods, but a school for the people. Instead of bristling fortresses, he would see courts of justice; in place of a Muhammadan general in charge of each district, he would find an English magistrate; instead of a swarming soldiery, he would discover a police.”*

EXISTING POVERTY AMONG CERTAIN CLASSES.

Dr. Hunter, the highest authority, thus states the case:—

“Two-fifths of the people of British India enjoy a prosperity unknown under native rule; other two-fifths earn a fair but diminishing subsistence; but the remaining fifth, or 40 millions, go through life on insufficient food. It is those underfed 40 millions who form the problem of over-population in India. The difficulty of solving it is intensified by the fact, that in spite of the hard struggle for life, their numbers rapidly increase. ‘In ten years’, says Mr. Caird, ‘at the present rate of growth, there will be 20 millions more people to feed.’”

CAUSES.—Two causes of the increasing poverty of certain classes may be noticed under this head. Others will be mentioned subsequently.

1. Over-population.—Dr. Hunter says:—

“The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil.”

The Hindus marry as a religious duty. The popular idea is, that their happiness in a future state depends upon the performance of certain rites by a son. *Put* is a hell to which childless men are said to be condemned, “a name invented to explain the word *putra*, son (hell-saver.)”†

The “underfed forty millions” consist chiefly of agricultural labourers and their families. They live from hand to mouth. When the rains fail, there is no employment for them, and they have no credit on which they can borrow. Under Native rule, when no crops were raised such men died as a matter of course, and with them some of the small farmers.

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 3, 4.

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 79, 80.

† *Dowson's Hindu Mythology*, p. 271.

The population was also thinned by war as well as by famine. After the slaughter of half a million Hindus by Mahomed of Gulburga, there would be, for a time, plenty of good waste land. Mr. S. M. Hossain allows that there is some truth in the ideas of the Oudh ryots. There were frequent fights between the landholders themselves and rebellions against government. In these struggles, the ryots had to desert their huts, and hide themselves for months in the jungle. Thus the land had rest, and when cultivated it bore more than at present; the cows had a better supply of fodder, and gave more milk. A century ago, it is estimated that Bengal had only one-third of its present population.

At the last census the United States had 14 inhabitants to the square mile; British India had 211. Oudh had about 470 to the square mile, Behar, 500. There are districts with 800 or more.

Irrigation works, roads, railways and the expenditure of millions diminish the mortality during famines; the *Pax Britannica* prevents the ravages of war; vaccination, hospitals, the introduction of cinchona, &c., lessen the deaths from pestilence and disease. Still, the very preservation of life under British rule increases, in some cases, the severity of the struggle for existence.

2. The Craving for Public Service.—A comparatively small class is affected by this cause of poverty; but it is both important and rapidly increasing.

While the employment of some persons in public offices is useful to the whole community, their number ought not to be in excess of what is wanted. So far as food, clothing and shelter are concerned, they are *consumers*, not *producers*.

The Hon. A. Mackenzie, a Madras merchant, said to the students of Pacheappa's College.

“Does it never occur to you that to depend for your livelihood on a salary drawn out of the taxes paid by your countrymen cannot add to the wealth or prosperity of your country?”

It was at first a necessity for Government to establish Colleges to provide educated officers. As the students were comparatively few, most of them, on the completion of their course, obtained good appointments. Now, however, the supply far exceeds the demand.

At the distribution of the prizes in the Presidency College last year, Mr. Justice Muthuswami Aiyar, who presided, said,

“When I left the College 32 years ago, then were about 75 highly educated men, whose attainments may be said to be co-extensive with those of our graduates. At present there are upwards of 1500 B. A.'s, besides 17,000 undergraduates and matriculates.”

* The English Schools and Colleges furnish an army of candidates

more than two hundred thousand strong, and daily receiving accessions to its ranks.

The craving extends, more or less, even to vernacular schools. Mr. Nesfield, Inspector of Schools, Oudh, says that he was once present at a "large gathering of pupils from primary schools (vernacular). The Deputy Commissioner asked them why they came to school at all. Fifty voices answered at once, *to get employment*. He then asked, what employment? and the answer immediately was, *Government*. The desire to obtain employment, and thus escape from the paternal plough or workshop, is almost universal among our Vernacular students." &c.*

The late Maharaja of Travancore, in a lecture, "Our Industrial Status," delivered when he was First Prince, referring to the scholars in the State schools, says:—

"Almost without exception, all these, I suspect, look to Government employment. If our Government must provide for all the youths that receive education, our public offices will have to be extended miles, and public salaries to be increased by thousands of rupees, and after all to entertain a host of discontented, disobedient, and sometimes troublesome young men. The sooner the idea that Government employment is the *Ultima Thule* of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths, the better. Be assured that the wielding of a spade or the driving of a plough, or the treading of a watering lever, in one's own interest, is not a whit less honourable than scratching foolscap with goose quills, taken by itself."

The British Government is often blamed because educated Hindus cannot get employment; but it will be seen from the foregoing, that it is the same in a Native State. As remarked, public offices would require to be "extended miles" to receive candidates, and larger and larger additions would be necessary every year.

Warning upon warning has given, but with little effect. Years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton, of Madras said,

"This reliance upon Government, and seeking after its employ, to the exclusion of all other legitimate and honourable means of obtaining a livelihood, has to the present moment been the principal bane and curse of Native society."

Sir Madhava Rao, at a distribution of prizes, spoke as follows:—

"At the present day the cultivator, the weaver, the trader, the soldier, the artisan, the Brahman, and perhaps even the barber, one and all were fired with a desire to train their sons for government employment or other sedentary intellectual employment. Hence the schools were crowded and more schools were called for. The phenomena was the effect of a huge popular delusion, and not the effect of a genuine thirst for useful know-

* *Calcutta Review*, 1883, p. 310.

ledge. Government could not possibly find employment for such vast numbers. Even the best educated men were already finding it difficult to get a footing in the public service, and some of them would be glad to have wages equal to those of a good carpenter maistry."

Peons sometimes sell or mortgage their jewels to give an English education to their children in the hope of their obtaining some high office.

Even a smattering of English raises the recipient in his own imagination so much above his fellows, that it is beneath him to follow any manual occupation. Sir Richard Temple, in his last Report as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, says,

"It is melancholy to see men who once appeared to receive their honours in the University Convocation, now applying for some lowly-paid appointment, almost begging from office to office, from department to department, or struggling for the practice of a petty practitioner, and after all this returning, baffled and disheartened, to a poverty-stricken home, and then to reflect how far happier their lot might have been had they while at school or college been able to move in a healthier atmosphere of thought and freer walk of life. Nevertheless, with these examples before their eyes, hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, persist in embarking on the same course which can only lead to the same ending. And one reason, among several reasons, is this, that they still dread and dislike the thought of manual labour, even though it be accompanied with mental training. This unhappy prejudice though not perhaps avowed nor even admitted, is palpably existent and banefully influential."

Like gamblers in a lottery all the young men who enter college hope to be successful.

Stronuous opposition has been put forth when it has been proposed to close any of the English Arts Colleges. It has been attributed to a desire on the part of the "bureaucracy" to discourage the higher education, that they may retain all the good appointments for themselves. Indeed, the matter has got beyond the power of Government. If every State College were shut, Private Colleges would take their place.

Most is to be expected from the teaching of experience. According to the laws of Hindu society, every man possessing any means is bound to provide for all his relatives. Even in former times it was often abused. Persons were tempted thus to obtain the necessaries of life without labour. English education will swell their number to an intolerable extent. It must be acknowledged that under Native rule some of these men would have been better off as farmers, mechanics or traders.

In some districts the over-supply of educated men may not be so great as in others; but every year the difficulty will increase unless other employments than Government service are sought for. False

ideas with regard to labour should be given up. Educated young men in India should be willing, like some of England's noblest sons, to engage in any occupation which offers an honest livelihood. Their superior intelligence gives them, in some respects, a great advantage. It is humiliating to them to live in idleness upon their friends.

Some of the ways in which educated men may develop the resources of the country will afterwards be noticed.

ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, IS INDIA POORER OR RICHER UNDER BRITISH RULE?

It seems scarcely possible for any sane man to affirm that India was wealthier while without roads and railways, suffering from dakoiti and thuggi, devastated by internal wars and foreign invasions than at present, with profound peace, great facilities for commerce, and a largely extended area under cultivation. It may also be affirmed that India never made such progress in wealth as during the last half century.

At the same time it is freely allowed that the very excellence of English rule, by increasing the many millions of India, renders the task of providing them with food the more difficult. There is the further obstacle that many of them will not emigrate. Even the education imparted has had the effect of raising up a large class of candidates for public employment, diminishing the labour which ought to go to the fields or the workshop, and adding to the non-productive classes, already far too numerous in India.

The conclusion drawn is, that the country, instead of being impoverished, is getting richer; that the condition of the majority of the people has improved; but that there is still a considerable number underfed, whose circumstances require earnest consideration and vigorous effort for their improvement.

The Alleged Selfishness of the English.—This is supposed by some Hindus to be at the root of India's Misery. The opinion of *The Hindu* is given at page 6.

The *Madras Mail* quotes the following from the *Sarabhi*, a Bengali paper:—

"English merchants have come here to turn a penny by fair means or foul. They are perfect masters of envy, intrigue, and malice." Dec. 13th, 1885.

Professor Huxley says that "the English conception of Paradise" is "getting on." No doubt this is what brought the great majority of them to India, as it is the cause why some Hindus go to England.

Human nature is much the same all the world over. Selfishness is not confined to the English. Eighteen centuries ago the Apostle

Paul wrote, "All seek their own." While such a spirit is to be condemned, selfish people may yet be of much benefit to a country. Unjust wars have sometimes been the means of conferring great blessings upon the conquered nation. In ordinary life, through the wise arrangement of Providence, men may do the greatest service to the public when they are thinking of nothing but their own interest.

A farmer raises grain simply for his own profit, although other people would starve if he did not. A shopkeeper does not commence business for the benefit of the public, and he sells the best articles at the lowest rates he can simply to attract custom. A lawyer studies hard to attain a high rank in his profession merely to secure more clients.

Granting that the English are the "most avaricious and selfish people in the world," that English merchants come here simply "to turn a penny," it is for their own interest that the people of India should be rich and prosperous. The more the people have to sell, the more they are able to buy, the better it will be for the merchants. The capital they introduce is the life's blood of commerce. They have opened up fresh sources of industry; through their competition ryots get higher prices for their produce, and can purchase goods at cheaper rates. No men have done more to increase the wealth of India than the maligned English merchants. It is equally advantageous to the "bureaucracy" that India should be rich. More new "useless offices" with "extravagant salaries" could thus be created to provide for their poor relations. The greater the quantity of blood in the victim, the more there would be for the "immense vampire to drain off."

The truth is that the real interests of the English and Indians are identical. Both are benefiting one another, even when merely seeking their own gain.

An old book says, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." Suppose a skilful superintendent takes charge of a badly managed estate, and in few years increases its productiveness fivefold. In sharing the profits, there may be selfishness on the part of the proprietor as well as in the superintendent.

Countries peopled by Englishmen and their descendants are the richest in the world; as England herself, the United States, and Australia. Wherever they go, by their intelligence and industry they develop the resources of a country. Already they have done much for India, and they will yet do more.

Mr. Digby asserts that "the attitude which the majority of Anglo-Indians always assume is that of ecstatic admiration of themselves and their doings." While they do not take his pessimist view of everything where his countrymen are concerned, on the other hand, they assume no much attitude. Sir John Strachey may justly

be considered a representative of the "Indian bureaucracy." What claim does he make?

"It is not pretended that, unlike any other country, the social, material, and political conditions of India now leave no room for improvement. Defects of many sorts can readily be pointed out. But it is through the very progress that these become known. In the arts of administration, as in all other applications of knowledge, our views widen with each successive step we take; and the emphatic recognition that much yet remains to be done for the people of India neither dims the lustre of what has been accomplished, nor should cool the ardour of those who there continue the strife with human misfortune, weakness, or ignorance."*

It is acknowledged that in British rule "defects of many sorts can readily be pointed out." One object of the following pages is to endeavour to indicate them. The feeling of all thoughtful men connected with Government, far from being that attributed to them by Mr. Digby, is one of grave anxiety regarding "India in Transition." Under every aspect, social, moral, and religious as well as material, the country requires earnest, well-directed effort.

But while Government may and ought to do much, far more rests with the people themselves. They have "defects" as well as Government, far more injurious and far more difficult to remove. To these attention will also be directed. The words of Dr. Hunter should be indelibly impressed on the minds of true lovers of their country:—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

REMEDIES FOR THE EXISTING POVERTY.

Measures proposed to alleviate the existing poverty will now be considered. Some will be noticed only cursorily, as they are intended to form the subjects of separate "Papers."

1. REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

The National Congress, while admitting that Government was "contemplating certain palliatives," recorded "its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."

Probably nearly forty centuries have passed away since the Aryans first invaded India. During all that time they never had "Representative Institutions." There is an old Roman proverb,

* *Finances and Public Works of India*, p. 12.

"Every thing of which we are ignorant is taken for something magnificent." Long experience has moderated expectations in Europe.

Smiles, the author of *Self-Help*, may be taken as an unexceptionable witness. He wrote without the remotest idea of throwing cold water on the political aspirations of "Young India." What is his opinion? "In all times men have been prone to believe that their happiness and well-being were to be secured by means of institutions rather than by their own conduct." It is a delusion like that of a past Golden Age. Johnson says,

"How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find."

The folly of expecting beneficent changes in society, except as the result of wide preparatory changes in individual character, is well expressed in these words of Herbert Spencer:—

"Just as the perpetual-motion schemer hopes, by a cunning arrangement of parts, to get from one end of his machine more energy than he puts in at the other, so the ordinary political schemer is convinced that out of a legislative apparatus, properly devised and worked with due dexterity, may be had beneficial state-action, without any detrimental re-action. He expects to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct."*

England has had "Representative Institutions" for at least 500 years, yet she was lately startled by the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London." Kaye, referring to the Houses of Parliament in London, says, that from their windows "our legislators may look out upon hundreds of miserable dwellings, overcrowded with squalid and hungry tenants, whose sufferings surpass any endured by the inhabitants of a village in Bengal."

France and Germany have "Representative Institutions" yet Mr. Hyndman, author of "Bleeding to Death," says that,

"Recent official reports in France prove beyond the possibility of question that the landholding peasantry are suffering terribly, and that they actually fare worse than our agricultural labourers. Similar truths in respect to small properties have been made manifest by the reports of the Imperial Commissions on the impoverished condition of the small cultivation in Baden-Baden and Alsace-Lorraine."†

In England there is almost a growing feeling of disgust with parliament—*party*, not the *good of the country*, is the grand consideration with many. Macaulay, referring to the trial of Warren Hastings by the Peers, says, "They are all politicians. There is hardly

* *Study of Sociology*, p. 6.

† *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885.

one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined." Much more does this apply to the House of Commons. Mr. Harrison says, "In practice nine out of ten parliamentary speakers do not mean to convince, and nine out of ten of parliamentary voters do not mean to be convinced, and are incapable of being convinced, and mean to vote, convinced or not."*

It was English "Representative Institutions" which made India sacrifice her Import Duties, and which now forbid their re-imposition.

In a new country like the United States, where the population is sparse and good land abundant, there is yet little poverty; but "Representative Institutions," with universal suffrage, have not by any means been, even there, a complete success.

The term "carpet-bagger" is of American origin. The *Imperial Dictionary* defines it as "A needy political adventurer who goes about the country pandering to the prejudices of the ignorant with the view of getting into political power and place." "Lobby member" is another expressive Americanism. New York is one of the largest cities in the world, and its inhabitants are second to none in keen intelligence; yet notwithstanding its "Representative Institutions" the *Bombay Guardian*, edited by an American Missionary, says,

"Some most disgraceful revelations have been made concerning the Corporation of the City of New York. No less than 13 Aldermen entered into a solemn compact to vote for the Broadway Company, on condition that they received 22,000 dollars each. Never was there such a revelation of iniquity in men charged with the interests of a great city." Jan. 1, 1887.

This is not the first time New York has been victimised. Some years ago under "Boss" Tweed, there was a most gigantic system of swindling.

The reason why New York suffered so terribly is, that the best men, in many cases, do not care to come forward as candidates for municipal offices. Nearly all the 13 Aldermen were Irish tavern-keepers, elected by those who frequented their saloons. High-minded men will not go about canvassing for votes.

"Carpet-bagger," though newly coined, expresses an old class. They flourished in the Greek republics more than twenty centuries ago. They were called demagogues, "mob-leaders." Their tactics in all ages have been the same. They pose as patriots of the purest water. They mourn over the poverty and oppression of their countrymen, caused by an ignorant, unsympathetic, selfish rule.

* *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1881.

Place them in power, then every wrong would be righted, every burden lightened, peace and plenty would everywhere prevail.

The soil of India is peculiarly favourable to the production of such men. There is the race prejudice against the Mlechchys; the prevailing ignorance accepts gross misrepresentations as truth; while there is a large class of half-educated men unemployed. The sturdy old Tory, Dr. Johnson, called "patriotism the last refuge of a scoundrel." Eastern Aryans must be pre-eminently virtuous if they do not suffer from a class who are the pest of their Western brethren.

While individual Englishmen may be opposed to Representative Institutions, the Government of India has had them in view for years. Sir Richard Temple says,

"Thoughtful Englishmen may remember that self-government among the Natives is one of the goals to which many of the administrative arrangements of India are tending."

The only question is with regard to the speed with which changes should be made.

Some years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton reminded "Young Madras" that "events do not succeed each other in the history of a nation with the same rapidity as they crowd into the life of an individual."

He adds:

"We have recently introduced very grave changes in India. Our policy is to watch how they work, rather than to press for more innovations. We must see that our present-standing-ground is safe before we attempt to advance further. Our chief danger arises from a wish to go too fast, not too slow. Patience, not precipitation, should be our watch-word now."*

The Hon. Justice Muthuswami Aiyar gives the following advice to a young Indian journalist:—

"Whilst he should earnestly suggest and advocate reforms and improvements, his verdict on public acts and measures should not ignore the principle of statesmanship that no statesman will and ought to make a second step in advance before the first step made by him is an unqualified national and political success."†

Lord Ripon extended Municipal Institutions. The great aim at present should be to look after their working. Perhaps Lord Dufferin, before he lays down the viceregal office, may be able to take another step in advance.

Dr. Hunter, a distinguished member of the "Indian bureaucracy," says:—

"I do not believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished

* Speeches, p. 132.

† Lecture at Trichinopoly, p. 19.

from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races, among whom we raise a taxation of 35 millions sterling, and into whom we have instilled the maxim of, 'No taxation without representation,' as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances." p. 135.

At Delhi, Lord Dufferin said to the Municipal Commissioners :—

"Without giving any pledge on the subject as to times and seasons, I can assure them that no one will be more personally gratified than myself at the arrival of the day when a still fuller measure of independence may be granted them."

• In his reply to the address of the British India Association, Lord Dufferin said :—

"I have already stated that the India of to-day is in many respects a different India from that which existed 20 years ago, when the constitution of the Government of India received its present shape. Since then a class of highly educated men has come into existence, well acquainted with the political and economical literature of Europe, who have assimilated Western ideas and who naturally consider that it would be advantageous to the country if they had an opportunity of becoming more largely associated, than has hitherto been the case, with their British fellow subjects in the task of administration. I fully recognize that this is a very legitimate, and laudable ambition, and I must remind you, as I have reminded others, that successive Governments at home have admitted the desirability of re-examining the working of the Act of Parliament of 1858, with the view, it is to be presumed, of ascertaining whether its provisions ought not to be more closely adapted to the altered conditions of the present day."

At Calcutta, still more recently, Lord Dufferin showed his sympathy with the late Congress.

Viscount Cross, now Secretary of State for India, said, when Under Secretary, that *the* principle of our rule in India was this, "so far as the people of India could be entrusted with the government of their own country it should be extended to them."*

The drift of the foregoing remarks is, not to oppose the introduction of Representative Institutions, but to dispel false hopes regarding them as if they were *the* cure for the poverty of India, while all other measures were mere "palliatives." Gradual change is also recommended.

As an "irresponsible pamphleteer," the writer may state his own opinion.

The number of official members in the Local Legislative Council might be increased by the addition of one of the High Court

* Digby's *India for the Indians*, p. xxi.

Judges, the head of the Public Works Department, and the Director of Public Instruction.

There might be seven unofficial members elected by the following bodies :—

- The Presidency Municipality.
- The Presidency Chamber of Commerce.
- The University Graduates.
- The Muhammadan Association.
- Two members by Mofussil Municipalities.
- One member representing the Landholders.

It should be seen how the change worked in the Local Legislative Councils before extending it to the Imperial Legislative Council.

The writer shares in the enthusiasm with which Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, one of India's most distinguished scholars, greeted the National Assembly lately held in Calcutta. It was an unique event in the annals of the country and a splendid result of English rule. Still, he may be permitted to offer a remark on one proposal—to refer all disputed points to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. This would be a small body of politicians, in most cases without any special knowledge of India, and who might be changed twice in a single year.

The proper course at present is to revise the constitution of the India Council, appointing members for only five or seven years, without re-appointment, and introducing some Indian members.

But the aim should be gradually to make India self-governing, like Canada or Australia. If the advocates of any reform in England are defeated, they simply try to make out their case more clearly, and to influence public opinion on the subject. So should it be in India.

Some may be disposed to wait till "Young India" gets a little older. While some European Universities have celebrated their ter-centenary or even their quincen-tenary, the Indian Universities date only from 1857. "Young India," like all others of the same age, has a good opinion of himself, and thinks he is already quite competent to sit in the box with Lord Dufferin and assist him in guiding the State Coach. Only "old fogies," like the members of the India Council, and envious bureaucrats doubt his qualifications. Let us hope that he will soon have "an old head on young shoulders."

2. REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

Incidence of Taxation.—A young Madras politician suggests that the first way "in which England could strengthen the feelings of gratitude in the hearts of the Indian population," is by "stopping the over-taxation under which India is now groaning." "Young

Madras" is a fair exponent of the current Native ideas on the subject.

Mr. J. S. Cotton, brother of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, author of *New India*, carefully reviewed the condition of India during the ten years ending in 1882-83, and analysed the taxation. The following is a summary.

During 1882-83 the gross revenue raised in India was Rs. 692,932,410. This, however, gives a very erroneous idea of the actual weight of taxation. Railway and other productive Public Works yielded Rs. 122,241,000, the Post Office and Telegraph gave Rs. 17,089,940. Neither railway fares nor postage can be considered taxes. Opium realised Rs. 94,995,940, but this was nearly all paid by the Chinese. Native States contributed for military charges, &c., Rs. 6,899,450.

Mr. Cotton gives the following estimate of the amount of taxation actually falling upon the people per head† :—

| | Total. | | | Per Head. | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|------------|-----|-----------|----|------|-----|----|----|
| | £ | | | £. | s. | d. | Rs. | A. | P. |
| Salt | ... | 6,123,984 | ... | 0 | 0 | 7·4 | 0 | 4 | 11 |
| Stamps | ... | 3,343,048 | ... | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 8 |
| Excise | ... | 3,569,779 | ... | 0 | 0 | 4·3 | 0 | 2 | 10 |
| Provincial | ... | 2,666,437 | ... | 0 | 0 | 3·2 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Customs | ... | 1,243,927 | ... | 0 | 0 | 1·5 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Assessed Taxes | ... | 496,836 | ... | 0 | 0 | 0·6 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Registration | ... | 284,143 | ... | 0 | 0 | 0·4 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Land Revenue. | ... | 21,784,576 | ... | 0 | 2 | 2·3 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | <hr/> | | | | | | | |
| | | 35,512,531 | ... | 0 | 3 | 11·7 | 1 | 15 | 10 |

"These figures include every form of taxation, imperial, provincial, and local, excepting only municipal taxation." The average amount of taxation per head is Rs. 2 a year, or 2 as. 8 p. (4d.) per month. If an agricultural labourer does not go to law nor use intoxicants, the only imperative tax which he has to pay is 5 annas a year for salt. "He is no doubt a very poor man, but his poverty can scarcely be said to be grievously enhanced by the exactions of the State."

What does an Indian get for 2 as. 8 p. in taxes? The late Archbishop Whately, writing for home, thus explains it:—

"Many are apt to think taxes quite a different expense from all others, and either do not know, or else forget, that they receive any thing in exchange for the taxes..... Were it not for this, you could be employed scarcely half your time in providing food and clothing, and the other half would be taken up in guarding against being robbed of them; or in working for some other man whom you would hire to keep watch and fight for you. This would cost you much more than you pay in taxes;

and yet you may see, by the example of savage nations, how very imperfect that protection would be."

There is no civilised country in the world where the incidence, of taxation is less per head than in India. Sir James Caird, in a letter to *The Times* in reply to the writer of "Bleeding to Death," says :—

"India is not expensively governed..... Compared with other countries the government expenditure of India per head of the population is 1-24th that of France, 1-13th that of Italy, 1-12th that of England, and 1-6th that of Russia." Jan. 31st, 1883.

Tribute of Thirty Millions.—*The Hindu* makes the following assertion :—

"India sends away 30 millions of money as her tribute to England, and this tribute for which not a penny is received in return is, it has been said over and over again by competent writers, one of the chief causes of India's poverty." Jan. 17, 1887.

So far as *The Hindu* is concerned, this certainly justifies the condemnation of the Native Press by Baron Hubner, the Austrian statesman who visited India. "The Native Press," he says, is characterised, by "intemperance of language, a great confusion of ideas, coupled with extreme ignorance of the matters handled."

The above assertion in *The Hindu* is grossly untrue. England pays no tribute to India. All payments are either interest on money lent or for services rendered.

Money was required in India to construct Railways and dig Irrigation Canals. The people of this country foolishly preferred melting their gold and silver into ornaments to lending it on interest ; so the money had to be borrowed in England. The rate is only 4 or 5 per cent at the outside. To call reasonable interest "tribute" is the trick of a demagogue, and it is still more outrageous to assert that "not a penny is received from it in return."

The question of salaries to Englishmen will be noticed afterwards.

Two proposed means of reducing taxation may be noticed.

The Army.—"The army," says Sir George Campbell, "is not only vastly important as the means of that security, without which the best government would be of little avail, but is also the overwhelming financial item, on the regulation of which our financial prosperity principally depends."*

The British Government wishes to place the Indian army on the lowest footing compatible with safety to the Empire. The continent of Europe, however, is one vast camp, and the power which has both the largest number of soldiers and is most aggressive, is rapidly approaching the Indian frontier. A railway was pushed

* *India as it may be*, p. 335.

on night and day to the territory recently acquired. The plan for the invasion of India, by one of Russia's most celebrated generals, has already been noticed.

When Lord Dufferin came to India, we were almost within "measurable distance" of a war with Russia. His tact had a great share in preserving peace.

In the "good old times" of Bengal and Oudh, the Zemindars settled their disputes by bands of *lathials*, or club-men. Suppose one Zemindar organises a band of 50 men to attack his neighbour, the other, although most peaceably disposed, is obliged to maintain an equal number for his defence. The rapid approach of Russia to the North-Western frontier has most unwillingly obliged Government to increase the military expenditure. The "Indian bureaucracy" now pay income tax. Would this have been imposed if it could have been avoided?

Lord Dufferin has been attacked by the Native Press for nothing so much as the annexation of Upper Burma. They preferred that the Burma should be under the benign rule of King Theebaw to that of the Empress of India. But the chief ground of complaint was burdening India with the expense. For years past Lower Burma has yielded a surplus. The revenue for the ten years ended in 1883, was £20,729,416, while the expenditure was £11,228,282.* Upper Burma, in a few years, will amply repay all the outlay upon it.

In reality, the annexation of Upper Burma was made in the interests of India. Take the case of the peaceable Zemindar mentioned above. It was hard enough upon him to be obliged to keep 50 *lathials* to protect himself from a Zemindar on his west side; but his difficulties would be greatly increased if he had to maintain as many more to guard against another to the east.

The great cause of the war with Burma was the reported treaty which the King had made with France. It would be most injurious to India for the French to have a Protectorate over Upper Burma. Their ships of war would require to sail up the Irawadi, through British territory. The approach of Russia on the West has entailed an additional expenditure of two crores a year; it would require as much more to protect the Eastern frontier, if France got a footing in Upper Burma.

The ultimatum sent to Theebaw was that he should receive a British Resident, and that England should have the control of foreign affairs. This was rejected, and Theebaw issued a proclamation that he would himself, at the head of his army, march against the *Kullahs* (barbarians) and annex their country. One of his

* *Statistical Abstract*, 18th No. p. 55.

generals on leaving Mandalay promised to bring back the heads of General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen in a fortnight. The very different result is well-known.

The course has been followed which was best for the interests both of India and the people of Upper Burma.

The Madras young politician proposed to stop the "over-taxation under which India is now groaning" by forming "the army entirely of natives of the country." Russia would soon make short work of such an army; but there are other reasons for a strong European force.

In 1856 Lord Dalhousie wrote in his last Minute:—

"No prudent man, who has any knowledge of Eastern affairs, would ever venture to predict the maintenance of continued peace within our Eastern possessions. Experience, frequent, hard, and recent experience, has taught us, that wars from without, and rebellion from within, may at any time be raised against us, in quarters where they were the least to be expected, and by the most feeble and unlikely instruments. No man therefore can ever prudently hold forth assurance of continued peace in India."

The truth of this was shown the following year by the terrible Mutiny. For more than a century the Indian sepoy had eaten the salt of the British Government; his prejudices had been respected, yet when new cartridges were introduced, simply glazed to pass more easily through the gun, it was believed that they were smeared with pig's fat and cow's fat to destroy the caste both of Mussulmans and Hindus. Base treachery in some cases was also exhibited. At Allahabad the sepoys made the loudest protestations of loyalty in the morning, and shot down their officers at mess in the evening. Whole provinces were thrown into a state of anarchy; the Mutiny cost 46 crores to suppress it, and many thousand lives were sacrificed.

India is a slumbering volcano which may burst forth at any moment. The animal worship of the ancient Egyptians prevails to some extent among the Hindus. The cow is an object of special reverence, while the Muhammadans eat beef. A few years ago at one of the principal cities in the Panjab, a large military station, a serious riot took place from the exposure of beef. The Hindus destroyed a celebrated mosque, while the Muhammadans retaliated by pulling down Hindu temples. Last year when Hindu and Muhammadan festivals happened at the same time, there were some riots attended with loss of life. A fanatic of either religion may at any time set a province in a blaze. Were it not for a strong European army, there would be an immediate struggle on the part of the Muhammadans to recover their former supremacy.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

The following is an abstract of the strength and cost of the Indian army in 1850 and 1883 :—

| | Europe ^{ns.} | Natives. | Total. | Cost. £ | Entire Expenditure. £ | Percentage. |
|------|-----------------------|----------|---------|------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1850 | 49,280 | 228,448 | 277,728 | 11,390,000 | 26,850,000 | 41 |
| 1883 | 63,071 | 127,405 | 190,476 | 17,440,000 | 69,320,000 | 25 |

It will be seen that the European army has been considerably increased, and the native force reduced nearly one-half. These changes were necessitated by the Mutiny. Although the total cost has risen, the percentage on the revenue has fallen from 41 per cent to 25 per cent.

As already mentioned, the average cost of the army per head is about 1 anna 2 p. per month.

• **The Substitution of Native for European Agency.**—Few, except a youth in his teens, would support the proposal of the Madras Glaukon,* but nothing is more frequently urged than the above proposal. Cato, a Roman, on whatever subject he spoke in the Senate, always ended his speech with, “and Carthage must be destroyed.” This point is the Indian *delenda est Carthago*.

The Bombay Delegate made the following remarks in England :—

“During 40 years the national debt had increased from 36 millions to 159 millions. During the last three years India had to borrow 13 millions sterling. This was a most unsatisfactory state of things. They knew what to think of an individual who lives by borrowing (cheers). The same conclusion must apply to governments and to countries (cheers).”

The cause of the increased debt was explained as follows :—

“The reason why the national debt was increasing was owing to the high salaries paid. The Government had several times pledged itself to employ a proportion of native officials, but in every department every province nearly all the officials were still Englishmen, and the one or two natives employed were paid miserably low salaries. (‘shame.’)”

No doubt it is foolish and wicked to borrow money at high interest to spend it on empty show as is so often done in this country ; but to borrow money may also be a mark of great wisdom.

Let the reasoning of the Delegate be applied to Australia.

When the English landed on the island-continent, they found it occupied by a few wandering savages, who gained a precarious living by hunting, fishing, and wild fruits. There was not a single fixed habitation in the whole country. The settlers introduced cattle, sheep, and horses ; they began to cultivate the soil, and

* A young Athenian who wished to make a speech on the management of the republic, but whom Socrates stopped by showing him his gross ignorance.

to work the rich mines of coal, copper, and gold. To convey the produce to the coast, roads and railways were required. The settlers had not sufficient capital of their own to provide what was wanted; so they borrowed in England, where money can be obtained at a low rate of interest. These young colonies, with a population of 3,100,000, in 1884 had a debt of 100 millions sterling, or at the rate of Rs. 322 per head,—fortyfold the Indian rate, which is only Rs. 8 per head. Was “this a most unsatisfactory state of thing?” Chiefly through their industry, but largely through borrowing, the colonists are, in proportion to their numbers, the richest people in the world. A great part of the interest of the debt is met by railway fares.

The increase in the debt of India during the last quarter of a century has been mainly caused by Government pursuing the same course as Australia.

Although money had to be borrowed for the construction of railways, the excess of income over expenditure will gradually clear off the debt, and they will become the property of the State. The largest of them, the East Indian Railway, from Calcutta to Delhi, was taken over in 1879. It now yields an annual profit of about a crore a year.

Cost of the Indian Civil Service.—The writer has not information available for the whole of India, but the Madras Presidency may be taken as an average.

The Asylum Press Almanack for 1887 gives the following details : Number of Civilians serving in the Presidency or on furlough, 157, of whom 7 were Indians. Their salaries and allowances came to about Rs. 233,754 per month. The population in 1881 was 30,839,181. The burden of “over-taxation” under which the people of Madras were “groaning” from the “Indian bureaucracy,” was 1 p. ($\frac{1}{3}$ d.) per head per month. To the above, it is true, should be added pensions, details regarding which are not available. At the outside, the expense is not more than 2 pies ($\frac{1}{3}$ d.) a month. Suppose all the 150 Madras European Civilians got notice to leave, “bag and baggage,” at the close of the next financial year, and that as many B. A.’s were appointed on two-thirds of their salaries, the saving on the whole Civil Service would be only 8 pies (1 d.) a year per head ! Truly this is a case of “much cry and little wool.”

Nor would it materially diminish the ranks of the unemployed. The 150 B. A.’s and their poor relations would be benefited; but what about the 1350 B. A.’s + 17,000 undergraduates and matriculates? Less than one year’s crop of B. A.’s would bring them up to their former strength. Then, the interests of the 30 millions of taxpayers have to be considered.

Scale of Salaries.—The average salary of a Civilian in the Madras Presidency, with allowances, is about Rs. 1,500 a month.

To an Indian who pays less than 3 as. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ l.) a day to an agricultural labourer, this seems high. In England an agricultural labourer earns two shillings—five times as much. Rs. 1,500 to an Englishman is, on this scale, equivalent to Rs. 300 to an Indian, which he does not consider at all extravagant.

“Petty economies” form the only idea of statesmanship on the part of many; but in some cases a wise expenditure is far more economical in the end.

Suppose a Shipbuilding Company was started in Calcutta by Bengali shareholders, and that a manager was obtained from a first class building yard in England on a salary Rs. 600 a month. One of the shareholders says, “Why do you give so large a salary to a foreigner? It takes away all the profit. My brother will do the work for half the salary.” “My son,” says another, “will be content with Rs. 200.” Whose management would be most profitable to the Company, notwithstanding the difference in salary?

Take another case. The Maharaja of Burdwan is understood to have a monthly income of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs: would it be economical in him to appoint a manager of his estates on a low salary? Some Collectors have charge of as much revenue. Judges should be both able and above suspicion. Their salaries, as a rule, should be equal to the income of lawyers having the best practice.

The salaries of Indian Civilians were fixed high in the hope of attracting superior men. Sir Evelyn Baring says:—

“I am strongly of opinion that it would be false economy to reduce the pay of European members of the Covenanted Civil Service. If Europeans are necessary, it is of the highest importance that they should be competent men, that is to say, that they should have good constitutions, that they should be honest, and at least of good average ability. These qualities cannot be obtained unless the Government chooses to pay for them. An Indian career possesses less attraction than is often supposed. The work of administration in India is so difficult that it requires the cream of our schools and colleges to carry it on efficiently.”*

Practically, through the depreciation of silver, Indian salaries have been considerably reduced during the last few years. Civilians who have children to educate at home find the difference very serious. The recent income tax is a further deduction.

The preceding remarks are intended to show that the country does not “groan from over-taxation” through the employment of a limited European agency, and that the substitution of Indians for them would scarcely make any appreciable difference in diminishing it. There is also the further question of efficiency.

The Indians have just grievances with regard to admission into the Civil Service. The question of the training of Civilians also requires reconsideration. Sir George Campbell says that under the

old system the East India Company had some "bad bargains," "men known and ascertained to be fools before they left England."* Such men are excluded by the present system; but further changes are necessary. "Boy magistrates" are not required.

The late Governor of Madras, in his Convocation Address, thus stated the right view of the case:—

"We must have many more good natives in office, and we must have a far higher average of statesmanlike acquirement than we have ever yet had in the Covenanted Civil Service, though we may very possibly a good deal diminish its number. But if you want men of mature, trained ability, and of a much higher order of merit than the very fair average of merit we have got, what you want must be paid for, and it is a costly article."

As the whole question is now under consideration by a competent Commission, no further remarks are here necessary.

Judicious Expenditure preferable to Reduction of Taxation.—

The writer, of course, does not defend "useless offices extravagantly paid" which "continue to flourish," nor should higher salaries be given than wise economy requires; but he thinks people are on the wrong scent who hope to benefit India by reducing taxation. The proposals of the Finance Commission have not yet been published, but from rumours current they may do more harm than good. The average taxation in England is twelvefold as great as in this country. It will be a sign of growing wealth in India when the present "over-taxation" is doubled.

The condition of the poor is to be ameliorated, not by "petty economies," not by cheap and less efficient officers of Government, but by making the toil of the labourer more remunerative. His lot in life is to be bettered, not by reducing the 2 as. 8 p. a month he has to pay, but by increasing his earnings, if possible, to Rs. 4 or 5.

3. AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT.

India is essentially an agricultural country. About 80 per cent. of the people depend upon the soil for a livelihood. While manufactures should be fostered, the main reliance should be upon improved agriculture to supply the underfed population.

Past Neglect and Mismanagement.—The greatest "sin of commission" of which the Government of India was ever guilty was selling for nought the ryots of Bengal and Behar into the hands of Zemindars. Perhaps its greatest "sin of omission" has been the neglect of *agriculture proper*. The trigonometrical and geological surveys, irrigation works and railways, are noble monuments of

* India as it may be. p. 256.

a wise liberality; but so far as the soil itself is concerned, the watchword has been revenue! revenue!! Its chief officers are "*Collectors.*" With the largest land revenue in the world, the proportion spent on the improvement of agriculture has been lamentably small, and even that has not always been judicious. Of late years a good deal more attention has been given to it; but still far less than it deserves.

The following are a few illustrations of the ways in which things have been mismanaged.

Experimental Farms have been established at different times; but "too often," says the Famine Commission Report, when the men in charge of them "were beginning to learn the elements of the problem before them, the Government has thrown up the attempt as expensive and a failure."

The most continuous agricultural experiment has been the Madras Saidapet Farm and College, where W. R. Robertson, Esq. has laboured for twenty years. Its early history, however, is by no means creditable to the Madras Government.

A piece of worthless waste land was given for the farm. It resembled the island of Malta, the soil of which had to be brought from Sicily. It took five years to consider the building estimates. An Experimental Farm is as necessary to an Agricultural College as a hospital to a Medical College, yet it was taken away for a time. The Director of Public Instruction, to whose department the College was transferred, has been sympathetic and friendly; but the regulations of the Madras University are such that the students whom it is most desirable to benefit cannot now be admitted.

While the results at Saidapet, with its College of nearly 100 students, are gratifying, far more might have been accomplished years ago, if adequate support had been given.

The Madras Government has frequently imported seed. It has been sent to the Collectors, who handed it to their Tahsildars, who give it to their subordinates, who passed it over to some ignorant ryots. The Madras Administration Report for 1884-5 thus states the outcome:—

"The following table shows the amounts of various seeds distributed gratis by the department during the year:—

(Here follows a list of 10,311 lbs.)

"The results recorded were in almost all cases unsatisfactory; it is questionable whether any good results can be hoped for from the distribution of seed for experimental cultivation until a local agency exists capable of looking after the experiments made." p. 73.

There is, in some cases, a fatuous combination of Revenue Settlement and Agriculture. This, it has been remarked, is like uniting the policeman and missionary in one person. The ryot

looks upon the Revenue Settlement Officer as his natural enemy. To have an Agricultural officer connected with the same Department, is the best means to render his efforts futile. For this, however, as will afterwards be shown, the Secretary of State was primarily responsible.

Want of Agricultural Knowledge.—The writer endeavoured to obtain information on what may be called the Agricultural “constants,” *e. g.*, the average produce per acre of “dry” and “wet” lands, the percentage of the Government tax; but found that the best authorities differed.

Dr. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics, says,

“It has been my duty to find out precisely what account of information exists with regard to the agriculture of India; and to compare that information with the facts which the Governments of Europe and America supply on the same points. I have come to the conclusion that no central Government stands more in need of agricultural knowledge than the Government of India, and that no Government has a smaller stock of such knowledge within its central body.”*

Compare with the above the “Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture,” for the United States. The volume for 1885 contains 640 octavo pages. It includes the Reports of the Commissioner, the Superintendent of Garden and Grounds, the Chief of the Seed Division, the Botanist, the Microscopist, the Chemist, the Chief of the Division of Forestry, the Entomologist, the Statistician, and the Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, with numerous illustrations. Of this volume 331,000 copies were printed for free distribution, that the information it contains might be diffused all over the States. The advocates of “petty economies” would think this a waste, but in an agricultural country like the United States, with crops of enormous value, it was a wise expenditure.

In contrast with the foregoing distribution, an example of Indian cheese-paring may be given. The writer wrote to the Director of Agriculture, Poona, for a copy of his Report as he was collecting materials on the subject. He received, in reply, a courteous note from the Acting Director, informing him that he could obtain a copy by sending 7 as. 6 p. to the Collector of Bombay!

Some progress has been made since Dr. Hunter’s book was published in 1881. It must also be acknowledged that with regard to Bengal the collection of statistics involves very great difficulty. Still, the fact remains that more complete and exact information is a desideratum.

Need of Agricultural Improvement in India.—W. R. Robertson, Esq., in a paper read before the Society of Arts, says,

“A primitive system of husbandry, which sufficed to meet the wants of

* England’s Work in India, p. 93.

a scanty population, when there was plenty of good land available, no longer suffices, now that the demand for human food has become so great, and such a large area of poor soil has to be tilled."

Sir James Caird, probably the highest agricultural authority in England, says,

"The agricultural system, except in the richer and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion, to that which is taken away.....Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion." *Famine Report*, p. 8.

The following illustration, with regard to cattle, is from the *Statistical Atlas of India* :—

"Sir James Caird, in comparing the agricultural condition of Egypt and India, noticed the much larger proportion of the cultivated land in Egypt which is annually employed in the growth of fodder for cattle, and the consequent maintenance of a powerful working stock, capable of deeply stirring the land, and supplying good manure. 'There is nothing of the kind,' he wrote, 'in India. The cattle in most parts are half starved, and their manure is used as fuel.' This is true unless we except some few fully irrigated tracts. One of the saddest sights in India as we travel for hundreds of miles by rail, through that belt of monsoon shrinkage in the second quarter of rainless months, is to see the cattle standing without food, and almost without shade, exposed to a scorching heat, which imagination fails to realise, in the midst of arid plains bare of all sustenance. But when the period of desiccation is prolonged beyond its normal limits in the third quarter, the sufferings of the poor beasts are awful. Meanwhile, the strength of the agricultural machine on which the operations of the forthcoming season depend is, of course, frightfully diminished by every day's delay. Sometimes the delay is, as in 1877, so great that the cattle die in thousands, and even millions. In one district, for instance, 250,000 disappeared out of 500,000. Unfortunately neither railways nor (as a rule) irrigation bring food for cattle. Both railways and water are wanted to sustain the human part of the machine." p. 21.

Government Aid necessary.—Dr. Hunter justly remarks :—

"The principle of *laissez faire* can, in fact, be safely applied only to self-governing nations. The English in India are now called upon, either to stand by and witness the pitiless overcrowding of masses of hungry human beings, or to aid the people increasing the food supply to meet their wants." p. 130.

Practicability of Improvement.—Sir R. Temple says that "eleven bushels of grain per acre are produced in India as compared with thirty in England." This rate in England was obtained only gradually. In the days of Queen Anne it was about 15 bushels ;

towards the close of last century the yield was about 20 bushels. In England the average yield according to Mark Lane Returns is now about 32 bushels; in Scotland it has advanced to 40.*

Dr. Hunter admits that it is not possible at one bound to introduce scientific agriculture; but he thinks sufficient progress might be made to meet the exigencies of the case. According to Sir James Caird, if one bushel an acre could be added to the produce of Indian fields it would feed 22 millions. Dr. Hunter shows that to meet the increase of population all that is required is to add $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year to the produce.

The Times had, not long ago, an interesting notice of the Agricultural School at Nancy. The following is a quotation. Mr. Grandeau, to whom reference is made, is, "without question the most able professor of agricultural science in France" :—

"At the present time the average yield of the 17,000,000 acres sown in wheat is only about 16 bushels, or little more than half of the English average, while in some of the southern departments it is actually only six bushels an acre. M. Grandeau points out that, in the first place, nearly 20,000,000 bushels might be saved by using a drill instead of sowing by hand, as is now so generally done. This is, however, the comparatively small side of the question, and what M. Grandeau is mainly desirous of impressing upon French cultivators is that their soil is upon the whole as suitable for wheat growing as that of England, and that by improved methods of cultivation, and by a more liberal use of manure, there is no reason why they shou'd not raise the average to 25 or 30 bushels. He tells them that the extra manure apart, it costs as much to grow a bad as a good crop, just as a bad horse costs as much to keep as a good one, and that, the extra cost of manure is very small compared with the increase in value of the crop. His figures are convincing to all intelligent persons, and English readers may consider that he is only enunciating what they regard as a simple truism long since passed beyond the reign of demonstration; but the French cultivator is, as a rule, very backward and obstinate."

The above contains the startling statement that the French might save nearly 20 million bushels a year by using a drill instead of sowing by hand. The Saidapet College of Agriculture contains a collection of native agricultural implements. There are one or two native drills, but the use of them is not universal. The tubes are bamboos, so that they can easily be made.

The native plough is very unsatisfactory. It simply makes a V shaped furrow, and does not turn over the soil. Numbers of light Swedish ploughs have been imported, and improved ploughs have been made in different parts of India.

Bones are one of the most valuable manures; but as a rule they are exported or allowed to decay. The Trade Statement for last

* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885.

year says, "There is a fairly large but fluctuating trade done in *animal bones* (7·9 lakhs last year), although it would be much more profitable in the end to apply the bones to Indian fields." p. liii.

• Mr. A. Q. Hume says,

"Outside each village is a *golgotha*, where the bones of all cattle and animals that die whiten and slowly decay in ghastly piles. At present this enormous supply of phosphates is absolutely wasted." p. 60.

The Hindus consider themselves polluted by handling bones. The late Mr. Krishnasawmi Mudaliyar of Shiyali spread bone manure with his own hands to set the ryots an example.

What should be done and by whom, will next be considered.

1. *Duty of Government.*

1. The establishment of a completely organised Agricultural Department.—Lord Mayo was probably the only Governor-General of India who ever farmed for a livelihood. "Many a day," he used to say, "have I stood the livelong day in the market selling my beasts." He felt that improved agriculture was the greatest need for the "material" progress of India, and drew up a most comprehensive and well-devised scheme for the agricultural development of the country.

The following extract from the valuable pamphlet by Mr. A. O. Hume on *Agricultural Reform*, explains Lord Mayo's proposals:—

"The Director-General was to have immediately under him a small staff of experts, and was to keep up only just such an office as was absolutely unavoidable. There was to be as little writing and as much actual work as possible. Directors of Agriculture were to be appointed in each province, also to be aided by experts. They were to work partly through the direct agency of farms and agricultural schools, and partly through the revenue officials of all grades down to the village accountants. The Director-General was to be moving about generally whilst the crops were on the ground. He was to confer personally with all the Provincial Directors and their Governments, go thoroughly with the aid of his staff into all their projects and schemes, make himself fully acquainted with local wants and wishes, and then during the hot season join the Government of India, and lay before it as succinctly as possible all that was desired with his (and his experts') opinions and recommendations. He was to watch closely all the schemes and experiments carried out by the Provincial Directors, to furnish them with suggestions, information, and advice; to procure for them, if they wished it, chiefly through the Agricultural Societies of Europe and America, any information, seeds, cattle, sheep, models of implements, &c., that they required; to keep all fully informed through the medium of his journal of what all the rest were doing; and as his experience and practical knowledge increased, and alternate failures and successes gradually indicated these, to lay

down the broad lines of the general policy in regard to agricultural matters that the Government should pursue.

"In connection with the Provincial Directors were to be model and experimental farms which were to be at the same time agricultural schools of one grade or another, some of the farms being more specially devoted to the improvement of seed by selection, others to the introduction and acclimatisation of exotic staples, others to the trial of implements, and mechanical appliances, others to stockbreeding, others to the purposes of tuition, and so on. Mechanical engineers were to be employed in connection with some of these farms and schools, whose special duty it was to be to adapt the results (where implements of all kinds were concerned) of European and American science, to the wants and means of the Indian husbandman. At first the best civil officers available were to be picked out as Directors, and the best available trained European agriculturists were to be got out to direct the schools and farms, and act as advisers to the Director-General and Directors. Continuity was to be secured by making the service one; Directors were to be promoted to Director-General, experts and heads of farms and schools were to be promoted to Directorships. Gradually, as the expert element acquired knowledge of the country, people, and language, the non-expert element of civilians was to be allowed to disappear. There was to be constituted a compact agricultural service in two divisions, the lower and larger one recruited entirely from the Indian schools, the smaller and higher division recruited to a certain extent from the lower, but, at any rate for many years, mainly from home.

"Under the Director-General a Journal of Agriculture was to be issued. A separate and competent editor was to be employed, but the Director-General was to be responsible, and he was to secure for it the aid of all his own and all the Provincial Agricultural Officers. The collection of agricultural statistics was to be the work of the local Directors, but the further tabulation of these statistics, and the preparation from the provincial reports of a monthly or fortnightly summary of the prospects and progress of the crops on the model of those issued by the Bureau at Washington—then, I believe, a new thing—was to be done by the Director-General or his immediate subordinates. The prices in Europe and elsewhere of important articles of Indian produce in which no trade already existed, were to be carefully enquired into by the Director, and published from time to time, and, if necessary, experimental shipment of articles in which a profitable trade seemed probable, undertaken. As the scheme developed itself, Government revenue officials were to be instructed to use their utmost endeavours to lead the landholders of each district to constitute Agricultural Associations: they were to be urged and encouraged to send some of their relatives to the schools. Exhibitions were to be held, prizes given, and every effort made to give dignity in the eyes of the natives to the pursuit of agricultural science." pp. 26-29.

The Secretary of State ruled that *Revenue*, not *Agriculture*, should be the main object of the new Department. Lord Mayo's scheme

was so mutilated that the poor rump became an object of derision, and finally received the *coup-de-grace*. This shows the evils of an ignorant interference on the part of a mere English politician.

The Famine Commission again urged upon Government the carrying out of Lord Mayo's plans :

135. " A Director of Agriculture should be appointed for each Province as executive head of the Department, chosen for his knowledge of the condition of the people, and particularly of the agricultural classes. He would directly control the special statistical officers and would be the adviser of the Local Government in all matters relating to agriculture and statistics. In ordinary times he should discharge these duties and superintend all measures designed to improve the agriculture of the country, and in times of famine he would be the officer responsible for warning the government as to the agricultural outlook and for preparing such a forecast as should guide it in issuing instructions and setting on foot measures of relief. A corresponding officer should perform analogous duties under the Government of India, assisting it in its dealings with the Local Governments in the Agricultural Department and in the supervision of the Local Directors of Agriculture. All these officials and a certain proportion of the special officers in each district should have been prepared for their duties by a technical training in scientific and practical agriculture."

Some progress has since been made. An efficient Forest Department was organised several years ago, by Dr. Brandis. Exclusive of this, the principal Agricultural officers of Government at present seem to be the following* :—

Sir E. C. Buck, c.s., Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department.

M. Finucane M.A., Director of the Agricultural Department, Government of Bengal.

E. Stack, c.s., Director of Agriculture, Assam.

D. M. Smeaton, c.s., Secretary, Revenue and Agricultural Department and Director of Agriculture, Burma.

D. M. Smeaton, c.s., Director of Agriculture and Commerce, N. W. P.

E. C. Ozanne, c.s. Do. Bombay.

J. B. Fuller, c.s., Commissioner of Settlements and Agriculture, C. P.

W. Wilson, c.s., Director of Revenue Settlement and Agriculture, Madras.

W. R. Robertson, Esq., Principal, Madras College of Agriculture.

It will be seen that in four cases Revenue and Agriculture are combined, while in the same number the latter is distinct.

The writer's information is imperfect. He has seen only the Madras and Bombay Reports. The second gives much interesting information. The Director, a civilian, went through a full course at

* *Asylum Press Almanack* for 1887. Mr. Smeaton's name occurs twice. He was probably transferred.

the Royal College of Agriculture, Cirencester, and is a member of the Royal Agricultural Society.

The following proposals are made, based on the commendations of Lord Mayo and the Famine Commission :

1. **The Separation of Revenue and Agriculture.**—Each Department is amply sufficient to occupy the entire time of the ablest officer, and to give Agriculture the second place is preposterous.

2. **The appointment of a Director General of the calibre of Sir James Caird.**—Sir E. C. Buck is an excellent officer who has done good service and is well acquainted with the country. The writer does not know what agricultural training he has had ; but his experience is worth a great deal. He should elect either Revenue or Agriculture.

A distinct Agricultural Department is preferable to the temporary employment of civilians. They may be glad to get the appointments at a certain stage, but will wish to leave them at a later period for others more lucrative. This also has an injurious influence upon the permanent members of the Department. The Government of India lately passed a Resolution on the subject with regard to Directorships of Public Instruction. It should be applied to all Departments.

3. **An Agricultural Survey.**—A leading feature of the Famine Commission Report is the stress laid upon obtaining full and reliable information. The absence of this has been the cause of most failures.

Perhaps the first desideratum is a full and correct account of the indigenous agriculture. It is necessary to know this accurately, to retain in it whatever is valuable, and to decide how improvements can best be introduced. It should be obtained for each important nationality.

The following remarks by Mr. Hume with regard to superstitious practices of ryots apply to every part of India. After giving the ryots credit, in many respects, he adds :—

“ On the other hand, we must not over-rate their knowledge ; it is wholly empirical, and is in many parts of the country, if not everywhere, greatly limited in its application by tradition and superstition. Innumerable quaint couplets, to which a certain reverence is attached, deal with agricultural matters. These, in Upper India, at any rate, are true ‘household words’ amongst all tillers of the soil. These govern their actions to a great extent, and often lead them wrong against their better judgment. They take omens of all kinds to guide their choice of crops and other operations of husbandry, and though some few of the more intelligent only act upon the results of these divinations when they coincide with their own views, the masses are blindly guided by them.

“ So, then, it is not only external disadvantages against which the Indian cultivator has to contend, it is not only that his knowledge is still

in the primary experience stage, but that even this knowledge is often rendered of no avail by the traditions of an immemorial religion of agriculture.

"It is necessary to realise this (of which few Europeans ever even hear), as it is one great practical difficulty against which agricultural reform in India will have to contend." pp. 9, 10.

In the Appendix to his Pamphlet, Mr. Hume gives examples of the "quaint couplets" by which ryots in North India are mainly guided. One or two may be quoted :—

From about the 16th to the 29th August is called *Mugha*. It is considered the most critical time of the year. The couplet runs thus :

"Jo Kahin *Mugha* burse jul,
Sub najon men honge phul."

"If only *Mugha* give us rain,
Every field will teem with grain."

On the other hand, rain at *Poorba*, from about the 30th August to the 11th September, is considered injurious.

"Jo kahin *Poorba* pani dewen,
Jinson sub ko keera khawen."

"Whenever *Poorba* brings us rain,
In every crop, worms mar the grain."

One is reminded of the couplets by which our own forefathers were guided. It would be interesting and valuable to ascertain whether each Indian vernacular has its couplets. Where they exist, a collection of them might be given in the account of the Agriculture of each Province. Any of value might be retained in an Agricultural Handbook for ryots, and new ones added, in the same style, pointing out the value of manure, &c.

The Director-General might visit China with great advantage. The conditions are somewhat similar to those in India. Models of Chinese farm arrangements and specimens of agricultural implements might be obtained for Indian Museums. If the Indian ryot could be induced to follow the example of his Mongolian brother in the use of manure, an immense step would be gained. Japan might also yield some valuable suggestions.

4. **A careful Review of the Land Revenue System.**—Of all classes in India, the ryot is entitled to most consideration. An American Missionary, travelling in the Konkan, the Coast district of the Bombay Presidency, and writing the spot, remarks,

"The first thought after entering a village of this kind is one of commiseration for the people's poverty. Up before the sun, they toil through the cold and heat until dark, and this goes on year in and year out. And this all for only enough to keep soul and body together."

One of the chief causes of this deep poverty mentioned by the

same missionary will be noticed under another head. The point urged at present is, that Government should do every thing possible to alleviate this hard lot.

The proportion of the crop claimed by Government as 'tax' cannot be considered as exactly known. The estimates by Settlement Officers have been disputed by men well-qualified to form an opinion.

Besides the *amount*, the mode of collection has also to be considered. A complaint was made, at least in the Madras Presidency, that the ryot had to pay his tax before he reaped his crop, thus necessitating his going to the money-lender. An alteration has been made which affords some relief.

The Statistical Atlas of India refers to other important changes:—

"The Government of India, as well as the ruling authorities of those provinces which are most subject to oscillation of out-turn, have introduced measures for the prompter relaxation of the Government demand whenever failure of harvest, partial or complete, may render that course necessary for the relief of the agricultural population. A closer return has thus in some degree been made to the old native practice of taking a share of the crop of the year,—a practice which, though requiring a very costly machinery and productive of much corruption and harassment to the *raiyyat*, is in theory based upon a sound principle." p. 22.

Still more, perhaps, might be done in the same direction.

Dr. Hunter says,

"It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum still prevails."*

Such a rate, it has been remarked, "would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country."

Under the present system, the ryot is at the mercy of the money-lender, who not only charges enormous interest, but takes over the crop at his own valuation. The poor ryot simply becomes his slave for life.

Sir E. C. Buck, Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, says,

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one. The money-lender has taken the place of Government."†

Agricultural Banks have been proposed, but they would require an expensive machinery, and it would be impossible to work them on the requisite scale.

* *England's Work in India*, p. 42.

† Quoted in *Calcutta Review* for 1883, p. 153.

The Famine Commission Report says:—

“It should therefore be the policy of the Government to advance money freely and on easy terms on the security of the land, wherever it can be done without serious risk of ultimate loss.” p. 56.

A full statement of the case by Mr. A. Harington, C. S., will be found in the *Calcutta Review* for 1883.

No doubt there are difficulties. A Bombay paper says, “We have known cases in which the borrower had to pay so much to the kulkarani and patil and security and witnesses that hardly fifty per cent of the loan remained in his hand.” Days are also lost in arranging for the loan.

The Famine Commissioners notice several changes, which would render the system of Government advances more popular.

5. **The provision of Manuals of different grades, showing what improvements in Agriculture are practicable.**—Something has already been done in this direction. There is an excellent *Agricultural Class Book*, prepared by Mr. Robertson for his students. He is at present engaged on other Manuals, one more elementary and the other further advanced. Perhaps what is most needed is one of a few pages for an ordinary ryot. There should not be any allusion to oxygen, nitrogen, phosphates, &c., nor should the improvements suggested be beyond his means. The aim ought to be to raise him, “step by step,” not proposing too much at first. The late Governor of Madras advocates the “South Indian three F’s, i. e., fuel trees, fruit trees and fodder-crops.”

There might be a second Manual for ryots in better circumstances, who could afford to purchase superior implements. A third treatise should be provided for Zemindars who have means at their disposal and wish to improve their lands. In addition, there should be monographs on the cultivation of certain important crops.

Mr. Mill, the Madras Veterinary Inspector, has published a valuable treatise on cattle diseases, which is being translated into the principal vernaculars.

The preparation of thoroughly satisfactory Manuals of the above description must be a work of time. Even the best men are yet, on some points, only feeling their way.

Other measures might be mentioned, as Agricultural Colleges and Schools, Model Farms, Exhibitions, &c.; but they will not be discussed at present.

2. *Duty of the People.*

It is as much the duty of the people to seek agricultural improvement as it is of Government, and any complaints of its laches come with a very bad grace from men who do nothing themselves.

Besides the ryots, two classes are specially called upon to exert themselves.

1. **Zemindars.**—Mr. Justice Cunningham says :—

"Niebuhr's sneer at the Permanent Settlement 'as one of the most unfortunate, but best intentioned, schemes that ever ruined a country,' seems scarcely to exaggerate the deplorable condition into which large portions of the Bengal tenants have been reduced by a century's experience of a measure which its authors believed would make them the happiest peasantry in the world."*

The Zemindars, instead of improving their estates as was hoped for, have, except in a very few cases, done nothing. A number of them are absentees, their estates being handed over to rack-renting agents. All the lands are let and sublet, while the unfortunate ryots have often to suffer from illegal exactions.

As a rule, it might as well be proposed to a leopard to change his spots as to suggest to a Zemindar that, instead of a life of idleness and sensuality, he should endeavour to improve the condition of his tenants. Still, all are not hopeless, and in course of time a larger and larger number will take a benevolent interest in their fellow-countrymen.

2. **The Educated Classes.**—Sir M. E. Grant Duff said in his Convocation Address :—

"I should like to see a much larger proportion of the educated intelligence of South India directed towards the land, and engaged in what is, alike from its historical associations and from the nature of things, one of the most dignified of all occupations, far more dignified, for example, than all but the higher grades of scriptory labour."

"It is the educated, or relatively educated, people of the land, that must drag South India, as they have dragged England, originally an incomparably poorer country, out of the slough of poverty."

A "Plea for Agriculture," addressed to the two classes above-mentioned, may perhaps form the subject of a separate Paper. At present only an example is added of the spirit which is sought to be awakened.

Babu S. P. Chatterjee, of the Victoria Nursery Gardens, Calcutta, in the pursuit of his business, has visited all parts of India, the Straits, China, the Philippine Islands, Australia, and lately he went to England. Sir Richard Garth, formerly of Bengal, gave him an introduction to Sir Joseph Hooker, the greatest English botanist, and Sir Ashley Eden gave him an introduction to Lord Hartington. During his stay at Covent Garden he was allowed to assist in preparing the bridal bouquet for the Princess Beatrice. He has returned to India with 40 cases of South American orchids and other plants.

* *British India and its Rulers*, p. 182.

The mode of obtaining funds for carrying out the foregoing proposals is noticed at the end of the next section.

4. DEVELOPED MANUFACTURES.

The encouragement of Manufactures is important on several accounts. One thing which struck Sir James Caird was the number of idle people in India :—

“In no agricultural country that I know of, are so many people to be seen strolling idly about during the hours of labour as in India. The streets and court-houses and yards are full of idlers ; the roads are never empty, and the railway stations and natives’ railway carriages are crammed with people. Entering a village at any hour of the day you are surrounded by idlers. Much of this arises from the absence of other occupation than agriculture.” pp. 8, 9.

The Famine Commissioners begin this section of their Report by saying :—

“We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete, which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support.”

The Commissioners conclude by thus reiterating their opinion :—

“To whatever extent it is possible, however, the Government should give assistance to the development of industry in a legitimate manner, and without interfering with the free action of the general trading community, it being recognised that every new opening thus created attracts labour which would otherwise be employed to comparatively little purpose on the land, and thus set up a new barrier against the total prostration of the labour market which in the present condition of the population follows on every severe drought.” p. 176.

Encouragement of Manufactures.—The plans proposed by the Commissioners are as follows :—

“In treating of the improvement of agriculture we have indicated how we think the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by help of specially trained experts, and the same general system, may, we believe, be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation for the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. Nor does there appear any reason why action of this sort should stop at agricultural produce, and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a rude form, and which, with some

improvement, might be expected to find enlarged sales, and could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries.

"Among the articles and processes to which these remarks would apply, may be named the manufacture and refining of sugar; the tanning of hides; the manufacture of fabrics of cotton, wool, and silk; the preparation of fibres of other sorts, and of tobacco; the manufacture of paper, pottery, glass, soap, oil, and candles." p. 176.

The foregoing remarks are admirable. It is also acknowledged that they have already been acted upon to some extent. The Commissioners add: "Some of these arts are already practised with success at Government establishments, such as the tannery at Cawnpore which largely supplies harness for the army." The Resolution of the Government of India that, "In all cases where Indian manufactures can be obtained as good in quality as imported articles and no dearer in price, they shall be substituted for them," is an encouragement to their production.

Proposed Industrial Survey.

It has already been stated that a marked feature of the Famine Report is the great stress justly laid upon obtaining full and accurate information before carrying out supposed improvements. If there is any lesson the history of our Indian administration teaches, it is this. The worst evils under our rule have arisen from its neglect.

Five years ago, the writer, in vain, sought to draw the attention of the Marquis of Ripon to Technical Education. Since that time a great advance has been made. It is now one of the most prominent questions of the day. The establishment of Technical Schools is perhaps the favourite proposal for commemorating the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria.

It cannot be disguised, however, that it will require great knowledge and wisdom to avoid failure. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, when Director of Public Instruction, remarked in reference to the Madras School of Arts, "It is no easy matter to determine what manufactures may be most usefully taught in an establishment of this description." The selection must differ to some extent in different provinces, according to the facilities or demand for each industry. Certain manufactures will succeed only under certain conditions. The richest iron ore may be abundant in a locality, but if materials for smelting it are not available within easy reach, it is practically valueless.

Even in England there are important unsettled problems with regard to Technical Education. Government appointed a Royal Commission, composed of some of the most competent men, who

gave three years' inquiry to the subject. While their voluminous Report contains much valuable information,

“They have thought it wise in many cases to abstain from drawing any definite conclusions, feeling that experience alone can show the system of education which is best adapted to the various grades of persons engaged in industry in this country.”

Mr. Philip Magnus, after stating the above result, says :—

“In the teaching of industrial art we may be said to be still groping our way, and to have arrived at no definite conclusions.

“We cannot point to any country in Europe in which the problem we are trying to solve at home has found a thoroughly satisfactory solution.”*

About twenty years ago the writer met at the India Office, Dr. Forbes Watson, Reporter on the Products of India, who has done so much to diffuse a knowledge of Indian manufactures. He gave the writer a copy of his proposed “Industrial Survey of India.” The following extracts will give some idea of its contents :—

Dr. Watson thus points out the information needed :—

“It is intended in the following pages to direct attention, in the first place to the want of a really exhaustive and systematic knowledge of the various products of India in their raw and in their manufactured condition. There are certainly abundant materials for a general superficial knowledge of Indian products, but in order to render such knowledge really useful and applicable to trade and industry, much more precise and comprehensive information is required. Each kind of produce must be accurately described, the different varieties and species distinguished, the places and the methods of production ascertained, the commercial and industrial value investigated, and the question of supply and utilization discussed. And when all this is accomplished, provision must be made for rendering the knowledge easily accessible and available for immediate reference, not only by Government authorities, but by agriculturalists, manufacturers and men of business generally.”

Dr. Watson next shows that this accurate knowledge would promote the influx of European capital :—

“For the last half century it has been on all sides constantly urged, that no radical reform in the agricultural or industrial condition of India can take place without an influx of European capital and European enterprise, and it has often been made a matter of surprise that neither of them has been supplied by England in the amount which could have been utilized by a country of such vast natural resources as India. It has been considered remarkable, that a country under British rule, with full guarantees for the protection of life and property, has not attracted more of the superabundant capital and enterprise of England, although the means of

* International Conference on Education, Section B, p. 12. Lord Reay was Chairman of the Committee of Organisation.

communication have recently been so much extended. The reason is, that however important all the conditions just enumerated may be, there is a still more indispensable requirement which must be satisfied before private capital and skill will come forward without a Government guarantee. This requirement is such a precise knowledge of the industrial resources and of the conditions of production of the country as will allow of a reasonable forecast of the success of the enterprise."

Why the Government of India should not leave the work to private enterprise is thus shown :—

"Such a knowledge of the country, as is here demanded for India, is in Europe the accumulated result of the efforts of many successive generations, the work of legions of pioneers of enterprise, who pushing on from experiment to experiment, and from failure to failure, have revealed to the country by their final success the secret of its resources.

"The whole of the advanced portion of Europe is, in consequence of the development of commerce, covered by a network of private agency, the express purpose of which it is to indicate to the consumer the best sources of supply, and to offer to the producer the best means of realizing his products. A similar organization exists, of course, in India also, but only in a rudimentary state and restricted to some principal towns, and to a few of the principal staples, although no doubt it would grow in time by its own efforts."

"To shorten, however, in India, the period of preliminary trials, and unavoidable failures, and to hasten the advancement of the country appears to be in the power of the Government, which, although unable to take the place of individual enterprise, may promote inquiries which will facilitate its task. Public, as distinguished from private, action, assumes, therefore, in India much larger proportions than it does here, and it will be acknowledged that this has always been the admitted policy of the Government of India. Much has already been effected with respect to opening up the country by means of information. The trigonometrical, topographical, revenue, and geological surveys, have been undertaken on a scale of perhaps unprecedented magnitude. It remains to complete them by an industrial survey which shall take stock of all the various productions of the country—agricultural, forestal, pastoral, and mineral—of manufactures, of the localities of production, of the varieties, qualities, and values of produce, its supply, mode of distribution and consumption."

Dr. Watson further points out the benefits of the Survey in promoting internal commerce, and its political advantages as tending to raise up a middle class.

This admirable scheme was never carried out, owing to the opposition from the "old fogies" of the India Council. Sir Louis Mallet was the Permanent Under Secretary at the India Office. The following quotation from him is given in the Famine Commission Report, App. I, Page 135.

"If there is any one thing which is wanting in an investigation of

Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. There is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts. I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us. Now I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles. The only occasion upon which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement opposition of some Members of Council, for whose opinions and experience I have the most unfeigned respect, was in my advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposal for an Industrial Survey."

No doubt, *general* information is becoming more and more available. The "Administration Reports," the "Statements of the Trade of British India," the "Statistical Abstracts," &c., are all useful in their place. The late Exhibition will also yield some useful materials. But what is wanted is a *Special Industrial Survey, directed by a fully qualified head, to ascertain where each manufacture may be developed with most advantage.* The writer would most strongly urge upon Government to carry out the proposal supported by which high authorities as Dr. Forbes Watson and Sir Louis Mallet.

Minister of Commerce.—England has its "Board of Trade." The leading civilized Nations have Ministers of Commerce—even Japan has one in prospect. Next to a Director-General of Agriculture, a Minister of Commerce is needed. Like him also he should rank as a Member of Council. A man somewhat like Sir Lyon Playfair is required. He should have little office work, but be free to move about the country, inspecting every thing *in situ*, and consulting all on the spot able to afford information. Civilians, officers of the geological survey, merchants, and others, could be turned to valuable account.

In addition, competent Provincial Directors are required.

Technical Education.—Each Presidency should have a Technical College, under a well-qualified European Principal. Attached to it there should be two or three European workmen, thoroughly acquainted with special industries. Institutions, like the Madras School of Arts, already exist and are doing excellent service, but they require to be strengthened.

Each District should also have an Industrial School, under Native management, where instruction of a humbler character might be given. The development of agriculture and manufactures will lead to an increased demand for improved implements, &c.

Some efforts are being made to introduce industrial training into Grant-in-Aid Rules.

The Hon. A. Mackenzie, an English merchant, when addressing

the students of Pacheappa's College, Madras, gave the following example of what might be done:—

“India pays Europe every year about 50 lakhs for paper alone. Every rupee of that money ought to be kept in this country. Material for making far more paper than India wants is rotting away in your jungles, your fields, by your roadsides. India should sell paper instead of buying it. There are many other articles of which I could tell you, but there is not time, nor perhaps is this the right occasion to go through a Custom House schedule of imports.” *Madras Mail*, April 15th, 1884.

It is satisfactory that progress is being made. There are now in India about 90 cotton mills, with a capital of 7½ crores, consuming annually 235 million pounds of cotton, and giving employment to 70,000 operatives. Paper mills are increasing in number. The following is an extract from a Poona paper:—

“We have now two paper mills in a fair way towards completion—one near Mandwa, on the railway line, and the other near Karakwasha, both of which, it is expected, will shortly be placed in active working order. Some local soap works have been doing good work in the way of supplying the Commissariat Department, besides disposing of large quantities to both Bombay and Madras dealers. Lastly, it refers to the erection of factories for the production of lead-pencils and matches.

Need of Effort.—Dr. Hunter, recently in Calcutta, thus pointed out the necessity of using every means of improving Indian manufactures:—

“It is no use in disguising the fact that India has to compete with other countries in her industries in a way which she has not done before. India has to compete with Australia for wheat, &c., with China for tea, with California and with other countries, and she will only be able to do this if she gives her children the same kind of education as the people of those places have. That lies at the root of all technical education. We wish that our agriculture shall beat the agriculture of other countries, that our artisans in metals shall beat the artisans of other countries, that our *employés* in cotton-mills shall beat those of other countries, and if you are to enable them to go so far, you must give them the education of those in the other countries, and I sincerely hope that the country will take hold of this feeling.”

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at a meeting of the Imperial Institute, gave a similar caution in England:—

“You are aware that the competition of industry all over the world has become keen, while commerce and manufactures have been profoundly affected by the recent rapid progress of science and the increased facilities of intercommunication afforded by steam and the electric telegraph. In consequence of these changes all nations are using strenuous efforts to produce a trained intelligence among their people.”

Ways and Means.

Where is the proposed expenditure on Agricultural and Technical Education to come from? will probably be the first question that suggests itself to the Finance Minister, already perplexed to make both ends meet. The Famine Commission Report hints that it might be "fairly chargeable against the Special Famine Surplus." P. 63.

There was an impression that a Famine Insurance Fund was to be formed of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores a year, one moiety to go towards protective works and the other to reducing the debt; but this was a mistake. No separate Fund exists.

The cost to the Supreme Government would be comparatively small, consisting mainly of the salaries of the two heads of the Departments and their offices. The remaining expenditure would be borne by the Provincial Administrations. Their outlay would require to be increased, but it would take place only gradually.

The Famine Commission estimated the expense of its recommendations at £100,000, a year. If the money cannot possibly be obtained in any other way, it might be borrowed, as for a work both "Productive" and "Protective." No loan would yield richer returns.

Even politically, the organization of the two Departments is important. Government, chiefly through its own agency, has raised up a large semi-educated proletariat. Men of this class, poor, soured, and discontented, are ready to accept and propagate any report against British rule. Many of them labour under the hallucination that it is only the employment of Europeans which prevents their obtaining good appointments. Already sufficiently numerous, their ranks are strengthened every year by drafts from an army more than two hundred thousand strong. Both for their own sakes and for State considerations, careers should be opened out to them upon which they might enter with benefit to themselves and the country.

But there are still stronger reasons—the claims of the "underfed 40 millions," who are also increasing. Dr. Hunter's earnest appeal may again be quoted: "The English in India are now called upon, either to stand by and witness the pitiless overcrowding of masses of hungry human beings, or to aid the people in increasing the food-supply to meet their wants."

During the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty, Lord Dufferin has conferred a great boon upon the educated classes by the appointment of a Civil Service Commission. Let him signalise it by two other boons, far more important and benefiting the entire population—well-organized Departments of Agriculture and Commerce.

The people, perhaps, have never shewn greater earnestness in their wish to develop the material resources of the country, and Government should do every thing in its power to guard against misdirected effort. In no other way also can it do more to further the objects of the Imperial Institute.

5. REDUCTION OF MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL EXPENSES.

The conduct of the people of India with regard to these is foolish in the extreme. Although demagogues do not refer to it, next to the uncertainty of the seasons, it is the chief cause of Indian poverty.

The Hindus are a strange compound. Generally speaking they are thrifty, but as the *Indian Mirror* says, "It is well known that common sense and prudence leave the Native, whether educated or uneducated, when he has any social ceremonies to perform. On such occasions he is sure to go beyond his means and involve himself."

The *Oudh Akhbar* draws the following picture of marriage customs amongst the Muhammadans :

"The luckless man who has to celebrate a marriage has to issue his invitations on powdered and tinselled paper a month before the day : if he leaves out an enemy, he runs the risk of being vilified in a vernacular newspaper. Nor can he calculate the probable number of his guests by the number of invitations he has sent. An invited guest will be sure to bring his brothers and his nephews, and not improbably a friend or two to whom he owes a kindness. Meantime the feelings of the giver of the feast are of a very mixed nature. He cannot quite avoid the thought that for a few brief hours of popularity he has wasted his substance and irretrievably beggared himself and his children. Still the sight of so many hungry friends and the evident thankfulness of the diners buoys him up. He runs into his wife and tells her what a name he has won in the town. She is proud of her husband, and tells him that a good name outweighs mortgaged lands and heaps of bills. At last the great day is over, the account has to be met, and the dinner-giver finds himself a ruined man. He is turned out of house and home, and his wife is received with black looks and blows by the neighbours from whom she begs a crust."

The Hindus are just as bad. A quotation was given from an American Missionary at page 59, showing the sad lot of the ryots. The next paragraph should be read along with it :—

"The connection between their poverty and their marriage customs is plain. A poor man who is struggling for an existence told us to-day that his father owned six acres of land, but that when his three boys became of a marriageable age he said, 'Come what will, even if I lose my land, my boys must be properly married ;' so he mortgaged the land, spent

several hundred of rupees, was happy for two days, and then lost every thing he owned."*

• From the Hindu joint family system "there is always somebody to be married or buried; and the scale of expense does not depend upon the share of the individual, as it would in the case of a separation, but upon the magnitude of the joint family fortune."

The third volume of the Famine Commission Report on "The Condition of the Country and People," contains a great deal of information. At Rohtak, in the Panjab, it is stated that the average cost of a funeral ceremony for an old member of a Hindu family is Rs. 500. "For a son's marriage on an average Rs. 400 are required, to pay to the bride's father; until this sum is paid, the marriage is not allowed to take place." p. 241.

• It is well known that some of the Rajputs murdered their infant daughters to avoid the ruinous marriage expenses. The British Government had to employ a special agency for years to suppress the practice.

The late Governor of Madras justly said in his Convocation Address:—

"He who could persuade his countrymen to give up their, to us, astounding expenditure on marriages, would do more for South India than any government could do in a decade."

6. FORESIGHT, INSTEAD OF RUNNING INTO DEBT.

Getting into debt has been common in India from the earliest times. The Rig Veda contains the following prayer:

"9. Discharge, Varuna, the debts, (contracted) by my progenitors, and those now (contracted) by me; and may I not, royal Varuna, be dependent (on the debts contracted) by another."†

Manu's Code has the following rules:—

"140. A money-lender, to increase his capital, may take the interest declared (legal) by Vasistha, (namely) an eighteenth part of one hundred a month.

"141. Or, reflecting on the duty of good men, he may take two per cent, for (even) taking two per cent, (a month) he does not become a wrong-doer for gain.

"142. He may take a monthly interest of two per cent, three per cent, four per cent or five per cent, according to the order of the castes (beginning with the Brahman)."‡

The lowest rate, 15 per cent a year, was charged when a pledge was given. Sudras had to pay up to 60 per cent. Poor debtors at

* *Dnyanodaya*, Feb. 4, 1886.

† Wilson's Translation, Vol. III, p. 180.

‡ Burnell's Translation, pp. 200-201.

present often pay one anna on the rupee monthly, or 75 per cent a year.

The late Dr. Carey came out to Bengal about the close of last century, and for several years he was an indigo planter. Warmly interested in the condition of the ryots, he urged the establishment of an Agricultural Society for Bengal. In 1821 he wrote thus in the *Quarterly Friend of India* :

“There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers, and to entail misery where there is every preparation for the enjoyment of happiness.

“Among the numerous causes which contribute to exclude happiness from the natives of India is the *universal tendency to borrow* which pervades the country.... It is scarcely possible to assume a greater contrast than between the honest, upright, English peasant, and the Hindu, dragging out an inglorious existence between debt and disgrace, borrowing in one quarter to pay in another, and reluctant to pay in all cases, making no provision for old age, and sitting content beneath the burden of an endless prospect of embarrassment to the last hour of life.

“This disposition to borrow is not confined to one province, to one town, or to one class of individuals. It pervades the whole country with all the inveteracy of a second nature.

“The country is separated into two classes, the borrower and the usurer; the industrious though exhausted poor, and the fat and flourishing money-lender.”

Sixty-six years have passed away since the above remarks were written, but they are still true.

Dr. Carey's remarks referred to ryots in Bengal, where the land tax is the lightest in India, although this advantage is reaped only by the Zemindars. But it is the same elsewhere. Mr. Hume says :

“Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burdened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces, the evil is all-absorbing—a whole population of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the webs of usurers.” p. 62.

The Famine Commissioners say :—

“No subject has been more strongly and frequently pressed on our attention than the evils which spring from the degree to which the land-owners are sunk in debt, the asserted rapid increase of their indebtedness, and the difficulty they find in extricating themselves from such burdens.

“We have no reason to believe that the agricultural population of India have at any known period of their history been generally free from debt, although individuals or classes may have fallen into deeper embarrassment under the British rule than was common under the Native dynasties which preceded it.” p. 180.

The reason why debt prevails to a greater extent among certain classes under British than Native rule, is thus explained by the *Pioneer* :—

• “ ‘Expense,’ says Bacon, ‘ought to be limited by a man’s estate;’ but according to Indian notions it ought not to stop short of one’s credit with the money-lender.”

The increased value of the land to the ryot has, in some cases, been a positive curse.

“In native territory proprietary right is unknown while in British Bundelkhand Government, with the best possible intentions, conferred at one blow the proprietary right in their villages on the Zemindars. This perilous gift has been of great disservice to them. Instead of rising in the social scale, and standing out as a comfortable yeomen class, they found their newly obtained rights useful only as a security upon which money might be borrowed. The Marwaris and others were ready to lend money to an extent before unknown, and when the famine came they freely signed away their birth-rights for a morsel of bread.”*

The same result has followed in other parts of India. Government has been trying to devise a remedy.

Men with fixed salaries get into debt just as well as ryots. Nor does the amount of the income make any difference. Mr. Wilson of Gurgaon says :—

“The Ahir landholders of Tahsil Rewari, hitherto notoriously heavily assessed, are much less indebted than the lightly assessed Meos of Ferozpur.”

“The Meo landowners are rapidly becoming practically reduced to the position of tenants. It is pleasant to turn from this state of things to that of the Ahirs in Rewari. With all their disadvantages, their industry reduces the evils of a year of drought to a minimum, and their thrift supplies them with a means of tiding over it, and reduces their expenditure for the time.”†

Marriage and funeral expenses are one of the chief reasons why people get into debt, and when once they are within the clutches of the money-lender, escape is well nigh impossible.

The following are illustrations of the ruinous effects of borrowing :—

A man in Calcutta, on a debt of Rs. 50, paid Rs. 3-2-0 a month for three years, and at the end of that period, having paid over Rs. 100 as interest, the debt of Rs. 50 remained undischarged.

The following case, in another part of India, came under the writer’s own notice. Twelve years ago, a subordinate in an office, drawing Rs. 10 monthly, borrowed Rs. 200 for his marriage expenses, for which he was to pay Rs. 6 a month, or at the rate of 36 per

* Journal of the National Indian Association for 1878, p. 241.

† Famine Commission Report, Vol. III, p. 240

cent a year. Sometimes he did not pay interest, so that now his debt amounts to Rs. 400, although he has paid much more in interest than the original debt.

The Famine Commission Report mentions ryots who have to pay as much to money-lenders as the Government tax.

The condition of the Deccan ryots has for years occupied the earnest attention of Government. If the writer is correctly informed, one of the best officers in India, the Hon. G. M. Ranade, has been appointed Judge under the Deccan Agriculturist Act, and the condition of things is improving. There is, however, great truth in the remark of the Bombay *Dnyanodaya* :—

“Until a moral reformation takes place in the characters and habits of the farmers and borrowers generally, we fear it is impossible for any act or any body to help them much. If hard experience and suffering do not teach the borrowers prudence and economy, special favors will not do this.”

Foresight and prudence with regard to expenditure, are what is wanted.

A separate “Paper” will appear on DEBT, *How People get into Debt, and how to get out of it.*

7. A STOPPAGE OF MELTING MONEY INTO ORNAMENTS.

A fondness for show is characteristic of children. The Hindu women as a class and most of the men have not got beyond this stage of intellect. An Indian lady, in the simple national dress, looks very graceful; loaded with jewels she is a gey. Thomson says,

“Loveliness
Needs not the foreign aid of ornament,
But is, when unadorned, adorned the most.”

During the “Zenana Day” at a recent Lucknow exhibition, “Native ladies, wrapped in costly *chaddars* and tinkling with their gold and silver ornaments, were gaping astonished as they beheld Lady Dufferin in her plain black costume, and asked in loud whispers, ‘What! is the plainly dressed woman *the Lady*, the Viceroy’s wife?’”

Their surprise at the appearance of the Empress of India, except on State occasions, would be equally great.

The people of India have no idea of the enormous annual loss they sustain through this insane custom, like caste peculiar to them, of melting down their money into ornaments. They are affected by it in different ways.

In the first place, there is the expense of making jewels. At the last census there were 401,582 goldsmiths in India against

384,908 blacksmiths. Estimating the average earnings of the goldsmiths at Rs. 6 each month, this gives an annual outlay of 289 lakhs of rupees. The Covenanted Civil Service contains, in round numbers, one thousand members. Their Indian salaries and allowances, taking the Madras average, amount to about 150 lakhs a year—little more than half of what is spent on goldsmiths. This is commended to the attention of Mr. Naoroji, when he next addresses Englishmen about “the employment of a foreign agency causing a large drain on the country.”

What a difference it would make if, instead of pandering to a childish perverted taste, the goldsmiths were changed into blacksmiths, and were employed in making improved ploughs and other agricultural instruments!

This large annual expenditure of 289 lakhs is devoted to rendering useless the capital which the country so much needs. Money can be lent out on interest; jewels, as a rule, cannot. Money-lenders get from 12 to 36 per cent a year. All this is lost when the money is melted into jewels.

Of the Government debt of 159 crores, it is said that only $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores represent native capital. Several crores a year are thus lost to India which might have been retained.

Compare two cases:

A. has Rs. 100 which he places in a Post Office Savings Bank. He does not get much interest for it, $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, but it is safe, and he can withdraw it at any time. Suppose he requires Rs. 100 and takes out his money; he loses Rs. 3-12-0 of interest, but he has nothing to pay.

B. invests Rs. 100 in ornaments. He paid some money to the goldsmith to begin with, and he gets no interest, while his jewels are liable to be stolen. If he needs Rs. 100, he borrows the amount on his jewels, for which he has to pay Rs. 12 a year at least.

The yearly circumstances of the two men may thus be represented:

| | |
|----|-----------------------|
| A. | Rs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ —0 |
| B. | 0—Rs. 12. |

But this is not by any means the only loss. As has been remarked, money, properly used, is the seed-corn of money. One great cause of poverty in India is that people hoard their capital instead of turning it to account. Some illustrations may be given.

A., a ryot, gains Rs. 18. He spends this on the purchase of a good plough which will do more than twice the work of the one in ordinary use.

B., another ryot, gains Rs. 18, but he purchases with it a bangle, and continues to use his inefficient old plough.

C., a merchant, gains Rs. 100. He spends this in purchasing a larger stock of goods, and gets them at a discount by paying cash.

D., a merchant, gains Rs. 100, but he spends it on a gold bangle. He cannot increase his stock of goods, or he must purchase on credit, losing the discount, and perhaps being unable to buy in the best market.

Lastly, melting money into ornaments leads to many robberies and to the murder every year of a number of women and children.

What an immense impulse would be given to the prosperity of India if the 200 or more crores, now yielding no return in jewels, were converted again into money to pay off debts, to purchase good farm implements and cattle, or to increase the stock in trade of merchants! This, however, is a "counsel of perfection," which is not likely to be followed.

But the reader may be asked to open an account with a Post Office Savings Bank, and instead of spending any more money on jewels, let him place in it whatever he does not require in business. He will then have enough laid past to withdraw when needed on an emergency, and avoid the heavy interest he would otherwise require to pay to a money-lender.

The practice of burying money or melting it into ornaments might be necessary under native rule when no invested capital was safe from spoliation; but now it is very injurious and should be abandoned.

Franklin truly says: "We complain of the taxes imposed on us by Government; but we are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly."

8. REQUIRING IDLEES TO WORK FOR THEIR LIVING.

Though well-directed charity is highly commendable, indiscriminate almsgiving, so common in India, does more harm than good. If a shopkeeper fed every day a strong beggar, supporting him in idleness, would this be true charity? Much of the almsgiving in this country is similarly injurious in its effects. Lazy men are encouraged to depend upon the industrious, instead of supporting themselves. Wealth is thus diminished. Much more grain would be raised if able-bodied beggars worked in the fields.

Many idle vagabonds are entirely supported by the caste feasts and gifts so frequent in this country. They go from place to place to be present on such occasions. No respectable persons attend, so the whole is spent on the unworthy. If there were no such customs, lazy men would be compelled to work for their living, to their own great benefit. In 1881, the number of beggars in India was 1,256,559.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar says:—

"Are there not in the town of Madras people of all castes and classes

who have chosen to subsist by begging from door to door, and that as a hereditary profession and not as a necessity forced on them by adverse circumstances? And while these beggars by choice deem it no disgrace to beg, do they not consider it a great dishonor and a great hardship to do honest work for daily wages? The thousand and one ways in which a wealthy native is called upon to contribute towards the support of worthless relations and able-bodied beggars are known to every one of my Hindu hearers."

There are still more serious evils connected with indiscriminate almsgiving. Industry is a safeguard against temptation. When a man is busy, he has no time to think of sinful pleasures, while the idle often give way to vice. Some of the worst men in India are the professed devotees of Siva, who wander about the country as beggars. They stupefy themselves with bhang, and are so dissolute that they dare not remain long in one place. They frequently extort alms from ignorant people, who foolishly dread their curses, though these only harm their utterers.

It will readily be admitted, that if alms were given to thieves, enabling them to spend their whole time in robbery, no merit would accrue to the donor. To support men in idleness and vice, is an act much of the same character.

Many, however, give mainly from ostentation. Their object is to get a name for liberality. Jesus Christ says, "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven."

The Hindu family system, while it has some advantages, fosters idleness. "There is scarcely a married man in the country who has not some of his own or his wife's kindred dependent on his bounty. These he cannot shake off, and they will seldom drop off themselves, but will continue to draw nourishment from his labour while a single meal of rice remains in the house."

If such drones, instead of preying upon the industrious, had to work for their living, there would be much less poverty.

9. DISUSE OF SPIRITS AND OPIUM.

There is no doubt that drunkenness prevailed to a considerable extent among the old Aryans. One whole book of the Rig-Veda, containing 114 hymns, is filled with the praises of the intoxicating soma juice.

Intoxication was regarded as inspiration. Most of the leading characters in the *Mahabharata* were addicted to strong drink. Taverns seem to have been numerous in the days of Kalidasa, for in the drama of *Sakuntala*, it is proposed to spend half the money given to the fisherman at the nearest liquor shop.*

* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.

After a time the evils of intemperance were so much felt, that strong efforts were made, with considerable success, to repress the vice. Drunkenness has always prevailed in India among certain classes; but, as nations, the people have been temperate for many centuries.

It is deeply to be regretted that, of late years, drinking habits have been acquired by some educated Hindus, whose forefathers never touched intoxicating liquor. This is largely attributable to European example.

The multiplication of liquor shops is another fruitful cause of intemperance. Cowper thus refers, in sad irony, to drinking as a source of revenue in England:—

“Drink and be mad then. ’Tis your country bids,
Gloriously drunk, obey the important call.
Her cause demands the assistance of your throats,
Ye all can swallow, and she asks no more.”

Some young men give up Indian virtues and acquire only European vices. The proper course is to retain whatever is good in old habits; to add whatever is commendable in Europeans, but to avoid whatever is wrong. Of all European vices, none is more dangerous and destructive than drunkenness. Even the strong constitution of Europeans succumbs to its influence. Among educated Hindus, its effects are as injurious as “fire water” among the American Indians, causing them to sink into an early grave.

At page 38 reference is made to the frightful poverty and wretchedness of certain classes in England. What is the grand cause of it? Drunkenness. The expenditure on intoxicating liquors in Britain is estimated at 140 millions sterling. It is also the chief source of crime in that country.

In India, intemperance has not yet made such ravages as in England, but it is growing. The revenue from Abkari (the Iniquity Department, as it has been justly called) increased from £2,287,689 in 1874 to £3,609,561 in 1883.* This represents a loss of probably 5 crores a year, taking into account the price paid for the liquor. Here is one cause of increasing poverty in India—the increasing consumption of intoxicating liquors. The remedy rests with the people themselves.

The Hindus, for many centuries, did not use intoxicating liquors: why should they be necessary now? Has any change come over their constitution? The Greeks had a saying, “Water is best.” Let the reader abstain entirely from intoxicants, and try to induce all his countrymen to do the same.

The Temperance Movement will form the subject of one of the Papers.

* Statistical Abstract, 18th No. P. 70.

10. PRUDENCE WITH REGARD TO MARRIAGE.

The custom of child-marriage is almost peculiar to India. The rule in other parts of the world is that marriages should not be contracted till both parties attain adult age. Intelligent, thoughtful persons do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. Foresight in this respect conduces to the happiness of a nation, while recklessness must lead to misery.

Professor Rungauatha Mudaliyar, of Madras, says :—

“I may feel that the best thing I can do for my stupid son is to keep him single, until such time at least as he is able to shift for himself and earns enough to maintain a wife and children with ; but such is the tyranny of custom that he must be married as soon as he arrives at man’s estate, even though I have the burden of supporting, it may be to the last day of my life, my worthless son and his wife and all the creatures that they may bring into existence.”

At page 31 a quotation is given from Dr. Hunter showing that prosperity is impossible if people “marry irrespective of the means of subsistence.”

The movement against child-marriage, in which Mr. B. M. Malabari has taken so active a part, has a vital bearing on the material welfare of the country. All true patriots should help it forward.

11. EMIGRATION.

If a number of rabbits were shut up in a field surrounded by a high wall, they would multiply till they starved. If the high wall were removed, would they remain within the limits of the field ? They would have more sense ; they would scatter.

The above represents the condition of India, only many of the people do not act like the sensible rabbits. There is no high wall confining them ; but as Dr. Hunter remarks, “millions cling with a despairing grip to their half acre of earth a piece, under a burden of rack-rent or usury.”

The surplus population of Britain is absorbed by removal to America, Australia, &c. In this way both those who go and those who remain are benefited. The Brahmans sought to keep the Hindus in subjection to their authority by threatening with expulsion from caste all who left India. Partly on this account, partly from ignorant fear and want of energy, the great bulk of the people will not leave their own province.

The remedy is plain. Dr. Hunter says :—

“Natives must equalize the pressure on the soil by distributing themselves more equally over the country. There is plenty of fertile land in India still awaiting the plough. The Indian husbandman must learn

to mobilize himself, and to migrate from the overcrowded provinces to the underpeopled ones." pp. 135, 136.

Upper Burma, recently annexed, presents an excellent field for emigrants. Although as large as Bengal, it has only about 4 millions of inhabitants, while Bengal has 63 millions. Large tracts of fertile land remain unoccupied.

It is true that Indian coolies go at present to different English Colonies, but emigration is required on a much larger scale. Government aid is also necessary.

12. SELF-HELP.

Hercules, in the fable, came only to the assistance of the waggoner who was trying to help himself. Blaming Government and neglecting their own duty, will not profit the people of this country. The perusal of the valuable work by Smiles, *Self-Help*, is strongly recommended. The subject, it is hoped, will be taken up in any early "Paper."

13. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL REFORM.

Demagogues, in all ages, have tried to make the people believe that the panacea for the evils under which they labour is to place them in power. *The cure for the poverty of India is true religion—everything else would follow in its train.* "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." The burning words of Kingsley should be stamped upon the memory:—

"Foremost among them stands a law which I must insist on, boldly and perpetually, a law which man has been trying in all ages, as now, to deny, or at least to ignore; though he might have seen it if he had willed, working steadily in all times and nations. And that is—that as the fruit of righteousness is wealth and peace, strength and honour; the fruit of unrighteousness is poverty and anarchy, weakness and shame. It is an ancient doctrine and yet one ever young. The Hebrew prophets preached it long ago, in words which are fulfilling themselves around us every day, and which no new discoveries of science will abrogate, because they express the great root-law, which disobeyed, science itself cannot get a hearing."*

In England high wages did not profit many of the working classes one whit. It merely led to the increase of drunkenness and prodigality.

"As is the God so is the worshipper." So long as a people bow down to stocks and stones instead of the great Creator, so long must they occupy a low position in the scale of nations in every

* Limits of Exact Science applied to History.

respect. Many of India's worst evils either originate in or are intensified by Hinduism. Caste, child-marriage, the cruel treatment of widows, &c., all have its sanction.

REVIEW OF REMEDIES.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that least is expected from the grand remedy urged by political reformers—Representative Institutions.

It is also shown that so far from India being ground down by "over-taxation," she is the one of the most lightly taxed countries in the world.

It is notorious that under every former Government in India, the King looked upon the state as his private property, and its revenues were appropriated by him at his pleasure. The "Reign of Law" began with the British. It is fully admitted that "defects" still exist, as is the case with every thing human; but attention has simply to be strongly directed to them, to lead to a remedy.

Raja Sir Madhava Rao is no member of the "Indian bureaucracy," interested in the "distortion of facts." Of all Indians he is the most competent to form an opinion, and he has only the good of his country in view. After a long and honorable career, he has retired from public life. What does he say?

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!"

The motto from Dr. Hunter on the title page is equally true:—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

JUBILEE APPEAL.

The year of Jubilee was a Jewish institution. Every fiftieth year all lands which had been alienated returned to their original owners, and all slaves of Hebrew origin were set free. In 1887 the Jubilee Year of the Queen-Empress of India is being celebrated. One of the most useful memorials proposed is that suggested, if the writer recollect aright, by *The Liberal*, viz. for Europeans and Indians to let "bygones be bygones," to bury the tomahawk and hand around the calumnet of peace.

The *Indian Mirror*, in 1874, had the following remarks:—

"Any one who will go through the weekly reports on the Native papers, cannot help thinking that in the current vocabulary of our contemporaries, education means the loss of respect for the Government;

public spirit is synonymous with empty bluster; patriotism is hatred of Englishmen, and impartiality is gross abuse."

Things have apparently not much improved during the last dozen years in Bengal. The results are what might have been anticipated. *The Hindu* quotes the following:—

"A Calcutta contemporary advocates the advisability of checking the unhealthy growth of political agitation amongst school-boys and students. . . . It strongly contends that, if this course is not followed something must be done to check the mendacious scurrility that is sapping the foundation of the society which in a few years, will take the place of that which now constitutes the educated society of Bengal."*

A gentleman in Calcutta who has lived much among the people writes:—

"Boys and youths, not a few, refuse to go to school, and refuse to work; they disobey their parents and openly defy authority; they go where they like, associate with whom they like, and spend what time they like at home."

It is admitted that more or less of the same spirit may be seen in other parts of the world, and that various causes may have contributed to it in Bengal; but undoubtedly it is due, in no small measure, to the tone of the Native press.

The British Government is strong enough to treat with contempt the attacks made upon it, and few Europeans see Native papers; but the welfare of the people themselves requires moderation in criticism. Pseudo-patriots are applauded by unthinking Hindus for their supposed courage. Just the opposite is indicated. The greatest cowards and the meanest flatterers are the most insolent and abusive when they think they can thus act with impunity. Such men are in reality the worst enemies of their country. They may say to the feeling which they are endeavouring to create, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further,"—only Europeans are to be despised—but it will laugh them to scorn. Their own sons will not be slow to act in a similar way, and look upon their fathers as old fools. No one ever wronged another without doing a far greater wrong to himself.

The remarks of Lord Napier, addressed to the graduates of the Madras University, apply with peculiar force to the Editors of Native Newspapers.

"Remember, gentlemen, that you, the adopted children of European civilization, are the interpreters between stranger and the Indian, between the Government and subject, between the great and the small, between the strong and the weak; that you walk armed with a two-fold knowledge between two nations that do not know each other, that cannot

* October 31st, 1885.

know each other except through you. Will you carry a faithful or a deceitful message? If you are the ingenuous and careful representatives of England's good-will to India and of India's claims on England, then you will put your talent to a noble use; if on the other hand you hesitate, misconstrue and conceal, if you show the Government in false colours to the country and the country in false colours to the Government, then you do a double wrong, a wrong to England and a wrong to India, you widen what you ought to close, you alienate where you ought to reconcile, you continue distrust and perpetuate misconception where it is your mission to spread mutual confidence and mutual light. I charge you to lay this future in your position particularly to heart. Be true Englishmen to Indians—be true Indians to Englishmen, with rectitude and single-mindedness as becomes faithful interpreters.”

The following sound advice is given by the Hon. Justice T. Muthusawmi Aiyar, of the Madras High Court:—

“The art of public criticism is still in its infancy in this country, and many of the elderly members of the educated classes are in the public service, and at least for some time to come it is our young men who will be our journalists: a few suggestions to them may not be out of place. So long as they collect facts and place them before the public they render to the country real service, and they should only see that their statement of facts is scrupulously correct. In forming and expressing opinions upon them they should take care that those opinions are not one-sided and sectarian, but fair and impartial, and that they do not overstep the bounds of sobriety and moderation in them. As public men will seldom attach weight to rabid utterances, the tone, the diction and the spirit of the young Editor should always be those of the gentleman. It was once observed by an eminent statesman, that before all things and above all things he was an English gentleman, and the qualification of being a gentleman in tone, thought, feeling and diction is indispensable in every honorable profession. He should always shrink from imputing unworthy motives to public men.”*

It is true that there is sometimes most disgraceful writing in a few Anglo-Indian journals, as in that quoted in *New India* from the *Bengal Times*.† There is still worse writing in some London papers, but as Sir George Birdwood remarks, “We treat them simply as lepers, and put them altogether out of the camp of journalism.”

Race antagonism, as already mentioned, threatens to become one of the greatest evils in India. Whether it will increase or diminish will depend largely upon the Anglo-Indian and Native Press.

There have been faults on both sides. Each must make the confession,

“For I have sinn'd; oh, grievously and often;
Exaggerated ill, and good denied”

* Lecture at Trichinopoly, pp. 18. 19.

† *New India*, p. 89.

The poet adds,

“Be wiser, kindlier, better than thou art.”

Western and Eastern Aryans are now united somewhat like husband and wife. For the present at least, there is no prospect of a divorce. Dwelling together, it is far better that they should be as friendly as possible, indulgent to each other's weaknesses, instead of making them the ground of incessant fault-finding. Both are equally interested in the prosperity of the household.

It is to be hoped that *Concord*, a new Monthly Review, with a Bengali editor and contributors of different nationalities, is an omen of future unity.

It would be best for England and India to remain in friendly alliance, each members of a mighty, self-governing Confederation; but even if not, may the eloquent words of Justice Cunningham be realized:—

“Whenever it is fated that we are again to part company, and history writes *fiat* upon the British Raj, she will record how the English found India impoverished and left her opulent; found her the home of ignorance and superstition, placed the sacred torch of knowledge in her hand; found her the prey of the untamed forces of nature, turned these very forces to enrich and embellish her; found her the monopoly of a despotic few, left her the common heritage of all; found her a house divided against itself, and the prey of the first comer, left her harmonious and tranquil; found her a mere congeries of petty tyrannies, with no principle but mutual distrust and no policy but mutual extermination; left her a grand consolidated empire, with justice for its base and the common happiness of all its guiding star.”

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

DEBT
AND
THE RIGHT USE OF MONEY.

PREVALENCE OF DEBT; ITS CAUSES, ITS EVILS, HOW TO GET
OUT OF IT; WITH FRANKLIN'S WAY TO WEALTH,
JOHN WESLEY'S USE OF MONEY, ETC.

MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

PRINTED AT THE S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPEERY.

1888.

2ND ED.]

[2,000.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| Desire of Happiness | 1 |
| Prevalence of Debt in India | 1 |
| Causes of Debt | 3 |
| The Evils of Debt | 8 |
| How to get out of Debt | 10 |
| Illustrative Examples | 15 |
| Savings Banks | 18 |
| Advantages of being free from Debt | 20 |
| Franklin's WAY TO WEALTH | 21 |
| John Wesley on the Use of Money | 25 |
| False and True Charity | 27 |
| The Great Debt | 29 |

DEBT

AND

THE RIGHT USE OF MONEY.

DESIRE FOR HAPPINESS.

All men wish to live comfortably with their families. The feeling is natural, and, in most cases, it can be secured, if there is no bad management. Unfortunately, in this country, the opposite generally holds good. Many persons lead an anxious troubled life from youth to their dying day, and leave a like heritago to their children. This may arise from various causes, but one of the chief is the habit, almost universal, of *running into debt*.

Some lay the blame of their misfortunes upon fate. Indian political reformers try to persuade people that representative government is the grand remedy for the evils of the country. England has had representative institutions for centuries, yet numbers of its people are miserably poor. Our happiness depends far more upon ourselves than upon Government. Reform should begin at home.

Foresight, looking forward to the future and preparing for it, is one great distinction between a savage and a civilised man. The savage thinks only of the present. To-day he may be gorged with food; to-morrow he may be suffering from the pangs of hunger. Similarly, many persons spend at once all that they earn, and when sickness or any extraordinary expense comes, their only resort is to borrow. A prudent man has a reserve fund on which he can draw, thus avoiding the heavy charge of interest.

Some remarks will now be made on the PREVALENCE OF DEBT, ITS CAUSES, ITS EVILS, HOW TO GET OUT OF IT, and the RIGHT USE OF MONEY.

PREVALENCE OF DEBT IN INDIA.

In all countries of the world and in all ages, getting into debt has been more or less general. Three thousand years ago, Solomon gave the warning, "The borrower is servant to the lender." To the present day there are people in England who borrow money

weekly on their clothes, redeeming them on Saturday when they get their pay.

Getting into debt has been common in India from the earliest times. The Rig Veda contains the following prayer :—

“9. Discharge, Varuna, the debts, (contracted) by my progenitors and those now (contracted) by me; and may I not, royal Varuna, be dependent (on the debts contracted) by another.”*

Manu's Code has the following rules :—

“140. A money-lender, to increase his capital, may take the interest declared (legal) by Vasistha, (namely) an eighteenth part of one hundred a month.

“141. Or, reflecting on the duty of good men, he may take two per cent, for (even) taking two per cent, (a month) he does not become a wrong-doer for gain.

“142. He may take a monthly interest of two per cent, three per cent, four per cent or five per cent, according to the order of the castes (beginning with the Brahman).”†

The lowest rate, 15 per cent a year, was charged when a pledge was given. Sudras had to pay up to 60 per cent. Poor debtors at present often pay one auna on the rupee monthly, or 75 per cent a year.

The habit of borrowing pervades all classes, uneducated and educated, in every part of the country.

The great bulk of the people of India are agriculturists. The evil effects of the practice are perhaps more deeply felt by them than by the other members of the community. The late Dr. Carey, founder of the Agricultural Society of Bengal, bears the following testimony :—

“An independent husbandman, free from debt, and looking forward with delight to the whole of his little crop as his own, is almost a phenomenon in the country. Most of them, through the wretched system which now prevails among them, are in debt perhaps for the seed they sow, are supplied with food by their creditors during all the labors of the field, and look forward to the end of the harvest for the payment of a debt, to which at least forty per cent is added, and which through the way in which it is exacted, is often increased to fifty per cent.”

“We have known many instances in which the crops of two succeeding years have been pledged, before a single clod of earth has been turned up, and this not in the case of a solitary farmer, but of the greater part of a district.”

Formerly in some parts of the country, land was considered to belong to Government, and could not be mortgaged. In British Bundelkhand, Government, with the best intentions, gave proprie-

* Wilson's Translation, Vol. III, p. 180.

† Burnell's Translation, pp. 200, 201.

tory right in their villages to Zemindars. Instead of rising in the social scale, they only used their newly obtained privilege to borrow on their lands. Marwaris were very willing to lend. When famine came and the Zemindars could not pay interest, they lost their all. In this manner, many estates have passed into the possession of money-lenders, who simply allow the ryots enough to keep soul and body together that they may work as their slaves.

There is the excuse for ryots that their income is uncertain, depending upon the seasons. Persons with fixed salaries, however, get into debt with equal readiness. *The Indian Mirror* says :—

“The Indian ryot is notoriously improvident. But he is not alone in this. It is well known that common sense and prudence leave the Native, whether educated or uneducated, when he has any social ceremonies to perform. On such occasions he is sure to go beyond his means and involve himself.”

Some time ago a newspaper paragraph stated that 1,300 clerks in the Government Offices at Madras had to make over a portion of their salaries to the Court in satisfaction of their creditors. This may be exaggerated, but there is no question as to the prevalence of the evil. A Missionary in South India found on inquiry that out of thirty catechists not more than five or six were out of debt.

Domestic servants often borrow from one of themselves who is a money-lender.

CAUSES OF DEBT.

Most men are like children. They think only of the present. If they have only enough for to-day, they do not reflect on the misery to which they will be reduced by their conduct on the morrow. A wise man thinks of the future and prepares for it. “The human species,” says Lamb, “is composed of two distinct races, *the men who borrow and the men who lend.*” These are “the savers and the wasters, the provident and the improvident, the thrifty and the thriftless, the Haves and the Have-nots.” Debt does not depend upon a man’s income. In the same office there are two clerks. One, drawing the higher salary, is deeply in debt; the other has saved so much that he has been able to buy a horse and carriage which he hires out. There are men with families having only 15 Rs. a month free from debt, while there are childless men with 1,500 Rs. a month heavily involved.

Debt may arise from the death of a father on whom a family depended for support, or severe famine may compel a person to borrow money. The causes which will now be noticed are those for which people themselves are mainly responsible. It is very

common to blame others for our own faults, but it is far better to try to amend them.

1. Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages and Funerals.*

An Indian writer thus describes the inconsistency of the Hindu character :—

“Our people certainly are not extravagant, they are, on the contrary, niggardly and covetous. Their sole object is to heap up money, without the slightest idea as to what use to make of it, and when they do spend they rush to the opposite extreme and spend an enormous deal on very trifling things; a marriage, for instance, may be the occasion of spending a great deal. We heard the other day of the sum of 15,000 rupees having been set aside by the parents to be expended on the marriage festivities of their son. Even the poorer classes in India are given to such reckless expenditure, and we know of several families who have been ruined for ever by a hopeless contraction of debts from those veritable Shylocks, the sowkars. And yet, strange to say, these are the very people who are so fond of money and do even the most menial service to add something to their purse.”*

The Rev. W. Stevenson, late of Madras, describes as follows a common marriage case :—

“A father is about to get his daughter married; his income is Rs. 50 a month, and he has saved nothing; but it is the custom for one in his position to spend Rs. 500. He knows he hasn't got the means; he must borrow at exorbitant interest, he must put a load of debt on his shoulders, which may grind him down for long years; but what does he do? Does he say honestly—Well, I hav'n't got the money, it is wrong and foolish to burden myself with debt; I'll only spend what I can properly afford, and mind nothing else? No, he says, 'What can I do, Sir? It's our custom, and if I don't spend all this money, my neighbours will put shame on me.' So he foolishly and cowardly puts his neck under the yoke, rather than face a breath of popular opinion.”

In some parts of the Panjab the average cost of a funeral ceremony for an old member of a Hindu family is Rs. 500. For a son's marriage, on an average, Rs. 400 is required to pay to the bride's father; until this sum is paid the marriage is not allowed to take place. To meet such expenses, land is falling into the hands of money-lenders.

In the Coast District of the Bombay Presidency men have been known, after having lost their lands, to sell themselves to landlords to obtain money for marriage expenses. To avoid the ruinous charges, some of the Rajputs murdered their infant daughters. The British Government had to employ a special agency for years to suppress the practice.

From the Hindu joint family system “there is always somebody to be married or buried; and the scale of expense does not depend

* Thrift, by S. Saththianadhan, M.A.

upon the share of the individual, as it would in the case of a separation, but upon the magnitude of the joint family fortune."

Educated men who know the folly of such conduct practise it all the same. Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar of Madras, says:—

"It may seem to me to be a profligate waste of money to spend hundreds and thousands of rupees in connection with a marriage on gifts to the well-to-do, on food to the pampered, on dancers and songstresses, on processions and illuminations, and on the various shows and festivities that are imagined to be an integral part of marriage; but I must do as others do, or I shall be taunted as a miser, and suspected even by my friends as a possible renegade."

The *Madras Christian College Magazine* has on its title page,

"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

What hope of reform can there be in a nation when its most intelligent men yield to the ignorant rabble, and pursue a course which they themselves allow to be idiotic?

The family motto of a Scottish gentleman is as follows:

They say!
What say they?
Let them say!

The meaning is, do what is right, heedless of the foolish remarks of others.

In order to raise grain, it is necessary to have a certain quantity as seed. Somewhat in like manner, money-making is facilitated by having capital to start with. If a father, instead of squandering a large sum on the marriage of his son, invested it in some profitable way for his benefit, it would add greatly to the future comfort of the young married pair. Not only is the money expended thrown away, but this advantage is lost.

It is quite right to rejoice at marriages. Within due limits, the entertainment of relations and friends is becoming. But let the educated discountenance by every means in their power the foolish and immoral expenditure which now prevails.

2. Investing money in Jewels instead of placing it in Savings Banks.—Before India came under British rule, property was very insecure. The twelve invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni are well known. The Mahrattas plundered the country as far as Bengal. Even Calcutta had to be defended by what was called the Mahratta Ditch. Bands of dakoits, with flaming torches and glittering spears, would surround a rich man's house at night. Torture would be applied if all the property was not at once given up; earrings were sometimes torn away, hands and feet were chopped off as the easiest mode of removing the ornaments.

Under these circumstances the people invested their little savings in jewels which could easily be carried about or hidden. In this way a habit was formed, which has continued to the present day.

India has been well called the "grave of the precious metals." It now absorbs one-fourth of the gold and one-third of the silver produced throughout the whole world.

Since 1801 the net imports of gold and silver into India have been about 450 crores. During the five years ending in 1884-5, the gold received amounted to more than $22\frac{1}{2}$ crores in value; but a gold coin is scarcely ever seen. The gold is made into jewels. The silver received is generally coined. Some of the rupees are in circulation; some are hoarded, but great numbers are melted into ornaments.

The people of India have no idea of the enormous annual loss they sustain through the insane custom, like caste peculiar to them, of melting down their money into ornaments. They are affected by it in different ways.

In the first place, there is the expense of making jewels. At the last census there were 401,582 goldsmiths in India against 384,908 blacksmiths. Estimating the average earnings of the goldsmiths at Rs. 6 each month, this gives an annual outlay of 289 lakhs of rupees.

What a difference it would make if, instead of pandering to a childish perverted taste, the goldsmiths were changed into blacksmiths, and were employed in making improved ploughs and other agricultural instruments!

This large annual expenditure of 289 lakhs is devoted to rendering useless the capital which the country so much needs. Money can be lent out on interest; jewels, as a rule, cannot. Money-lenders get from 12 to 36 per cent a year. All this is lost when the money is melted into jewels.

The late Maharaja Sindia had at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees lying in his treasure vault. It brought no return whatever, and was perfectly useless. The Regency have lent it to the British Government for the construction of railways, and receive in return about 14 lakhs a year.

There cannot be less than 200 crores of rupees hoarded in India or converted into ornaments. At 12 per cent. this would amount to 24 crores a year—equal to the whole land revenue.

In England, as a rule, gold is not made into jewels. Gold coins are met with in numbers every day. When money was required to construct railways in India, English people lent it to the amount of about 160 crores. For this they receive only 5 per cent. or even less, yet about 7 crores have to be sent to England every year to pay the interest. All this money might be kept in India if the people did not foolishly melt their money into ornaments.

Examples may be given showing the differences where even small sums are concerned.

Compare two cases :

A. has Rs. 100 which he places in a Post Office Savings Bank. He does not get much interest for it, $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, but it is safe, and he can withdraw it at any time. Suppose he requires Rs. 100 and takes out his money; he loses Rs. 3-12-0 of interest, but he has nothing to pay.

B. invests Rs. 100 in ornaments. He paid some money to the goldsmith to begin with, and he gets no interest, while his jewels are liable to be stolen. If he needs Rs. 100, he borrows the amount on his jewels, for which he has to pay at least Rs. 12 a year.

The yearly circumstances of the two men may thus be represented :

A. Rs. $3\frac{1}{4}$ —0

B. 0—Rs. 12.

But this is not by any means the only loss. As has been remarked, money, properly used, is the seed-corn of money. One great cause of poverty in India is that people hoard their capital instead of turning it to account. Some illustrations may be given.

A., a ryot, gains Rs. 18. He spends this on the purchase of a good plough which will do more than twice the work of the one in ordinary use.

B., another ryot, gains Rs. 18, but he purchases with it a bangle, and continues to use his inefficient old plough.

C., a merchant, gains Rs. 100. He spends this in purchasing a larger stock of goods, and gets them at a discount by paying cash.

D., a merchant, gains Rs. 100, but he spends it on a gold bangle. He cannot increase his stock of goods, or he must purchase on credit, losing the discount, and perhaps being unable to buy in the best market.

Lastly, melting money into ornaments leads to many robberies and to the murder every year of a number of women and children.

What an immense impulse would be given to the prosperity of India if the 200 or more crores, now yielding no return in jewels, were converted again into money to pay off debts, to purchase good farm implements and cattle, or to increase the stock-in-trade of merchants !

3. **Living beyond one's means:**—"A right-minded man," says Smiles, "will shrink from seeming to be what he is not, or pretending to be richer than he really is, or assuming a style of living that his circumstances will not justify. He will have the courage to live honestly within his own means, rather than dishonestly upon the means of other people; for he who incurs debts in striving to

maintain a style of living beyond his income, is in spirit as dishonest as the man who openly picks your pocket.”*

The foregoing remarks apply chiefly to some of the educated classes in towns. They are not content to begin life in a humble way like their forefathers. Show is considered necessary to gain respect. To keep up appearances, they run into debt wherever they can. The crash comes at last, and their fashionable friends shun them as if they had small-pox.

Getting into debt for liquor is one of the worst forms of extravagance.

4. Suretyship.—The less there is of suretyship the better. There are cases, however, in which it is our duty to help a friend. If you are able to pay the money and willing to lose it, you may; but you have no right to promise what you are unable to fulfil, and which will involve you in debt. Many have brought ruin on themselves and their families by rashly becoming security.

Other causes of debt might be mentioned as idleness, gambling, speculation, &c.

THE EVILS OF DEBT.

Some of these are the following:—

1. Loss of Money.—In 1881 there were 221,000 money-lenders in India, besides many others who did not return themselves as such. The amount paid annually in interest to these men is enormous.

On jewels the usual rate of interest in India is about 12 per cent. Dr. Hunter says:—

“It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum still prevails.”

When poor people borrow money without giving anything in pledge, one anna monthly in the rupee, 75 per cent. a year, is often paid.

A few examples may be given of the loss sustained by getting into debt. A man with a salary of Rs. 140 a month has paid Rs. 30 as interest. Another getting Rs. 20 a month has paid over Rs. 4 a month. A third on a debt of Rs. 50 paid Rs. 3-2-0 a month for three years, and at the end of that period, having paid over Rs. 100 as interest, the debt of Rs. 50 remained undiminished. These instances are from Bengal. One may be given from Madras. About ten years ago a man receiving Rs. 12 a month borrowed Rs. 200 for his marriage expenses, for which he was to pay Rs. 6 a

month as interest. Sometimes he did not pay even that, so that his debt has risen to Rs. 400. His pay has been increased to Rs. 18, but, from this he has to give Rs. 7 monthly, although the rate of interest has been reduced.

Although debtors pay crores of rupees in interest every year, this is not their only loss. A man without capital cannot engage in any profitable trade. If he is indebted to a shopkeeper, he is charged higher rates than if he paid cash. The great hindrance to improved agriculture in India is the want of money on the part of the ryots. With better ploughs and stronger cattle, the produce might be greatly increased.

2. Disgrace.—Longfellow says of his "Village Blacksmith,"

"His brow is wet with honest sweat;
He earns whate'er he can;
And looks the whole world in the face,
For he owes not any man."

The debtor, on the other hand, shuns the face of his creditor, who does not fear to reproach and abuse him for non-payment. Sometimes he tries to hide himself; he may even wander from place to place to avoid being caught. He feels degraded in other men's eyes as well as in his own. His life is a series of mean shifts and expedients, perhaps ending in the gaol.

3. Lying.—It is difficult for a man who is in debt to be truthful. Having borrowed as much as he can from one person, to get credit from another he represents himself as free from debt. To the creditor he says, "I will pay the interest on such a day, and the principal on such a day;" but when the day comes, he pays nothing. These promises are repeated perhaps ten or twenty times, which are as many lies. It is well said,

"Lying rides on debt's back."

4. Slavery for Life.—The proverb of Solomon has been quoted: "The borrower is servant to the lender." The Hindus are so improvident and the rate of interest is so high, that whenever a man gets into the money-lender's books, it is very hard for him to escape. The money-lender does not wish it. He prefers that the unfortunate creditor should toil for his benefit. He takes over the ryot's crops, if he can, at his own valuation, and merely gives him enough to keep him from starving. There are even debts handed down from generation to generation.

5. Dishonesty.—It is dishonest to get into debt for what we know we are unable to pay; but there are still worse forms of it; as, *borrowing without the consent of the owners*. Clerks and others frequently have charge of money belonging to their employers, and may not require to account for it immediately. This is a great temptation to a spendthrift to use some of it for his own purposes.

At first it is returned at once; next the time is lengthened, and the amount taken is increased. It cannot be paid at the end of the month, and so the accounts are tampered with. Detection generally follows in the end, and the "borrower" is tried for embezzlement. Sometimes forgery is committed. Every large prison in the country has convicts, educated men, once in respectable position, tempted to dishonesty when pressed by their creditors.

6. Family Distress.—The debtor's family suffer like himself. He cannot maintain them properly; and they are troubled in mind through fear of creditors and coming want. Sometimes the debtor becomes bankrupt during his life-time. Everything is sold, and the family is turned out of house and home. In other cases the debtor may stave off this, but at his death his wife and children are thrown penniless upon the world.

7. Moral and Spiritual Loss.—The debtor is so harassed that he does not think of his duties either to God or man, and makes no effort for his moral improvement. Any good resolutions he may form are soon choked by the weeds of care and trouble, so that they bear no fruit. It has been shown that the debtor is tempted to dishonesty. Sometimes the bottle is sought as a relief from torturing thought, and the debtor dies a drunkard. "Know ye not," says the Bible, "that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

Few people of this country realize that there is anything actually wrong in running into debt. They do not imagine that they are acting dishonestly, and perhaps imposing cruel burdens upon others.

HOW TO GET OUT OF DEBT.

For the debtor to say, "I am very sorry," will not mend matters.

"A hundred years of regret
Pay not a farthing of debt."

It is easy to roll a large stone down hill, but a very hard task to roll it up. In like manner, it is easy to get into debt, but hard to get out of it. Still, it is possible, and the reward will fully repay the trouble. Let the debtor vow with God's help at once to do what he can to relieve himself of his heavy burden. If the reader wishes to do so, let him observe the following rules.

1. Estimate carefully your income and your debts.—With a fixed salary, the former is known exactly; but some incomes, like those of farmers and shopkeepers, vary. In the latter case, a fair average should be taken, but the income should be rather underestimated than the reverse. There are sanguine people who live

upon the money they intend to make, rather than upon that which is already made. Thus every year they get more and more involved.

An exact account should also be made out of the debts. Some debtors never think of this. They borrow or run up bills in as many quarters as they can, and do not care to know their liabilities.

If the debtor has more creditors than one, he should consider whose claims are the strongest and press most heavily, that they may be first settled.

It is not enough for the debtor to keep the above in his mind. Let him get an account book and enter them with their dates. He can then see what progress he is making in a given time.

2. Determine so to regulate your expenditure that every month you may not only pay the interest of your debts, but reduce part of the principal.

This will be a hard struggle to a spendthrift, but it is the only way to success. Though it has its trials, it has its pleasures. A Telugu proverb says, "Kanjī and salt without debt are good." Suppose a man were in danger of being drowned by a flood, with what joy would he see the water decreasing! So it is with the man who is getting free from debt.

Persons who live beyond their means will be obliged to economise in the end. They will suffer much less if they exercise some self-denial at the proper time.

It is not enough simply to *pay the interest*. The debt remains the same, although an amount equal to the principal may have been paid several times over. If, however, the principal is also being reduced, the debt will be gradually cleared.

Suppose a man has an income of Rs. 30 a month, but owes Rs. 200, on which he pays 12 per cent. or Rs. 2 a month. Let him determine to live on Rs. 26 a month and set apart Rs. 4 monthly till the debt is cleared. It would take a long calculation to give the details monthly, so only a yearly estimate will be given in the nearest rupees.

| | Payments. | | Balance due. |
|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | Interest. | Principal. | |
| End of 1st year. | Rs. 24 | Rs. 24 | Rs. 176 |
| 2nd year. | 21 | 27 | 149 |
| 3rd year. | 18 | 30 | 119 |
| 4th year. | 14 | 34 | 85 |
| 5th year. | 10 | 38 | 45 |
| 6th year. | 5 | 43 | 2 |

It will be seen that in six years the debt would be discharged, the interest paid amounting to Rs. 92. If the debtor only paid interest, in six years this would amount to Rs. 144, while the original debt would be the same. It is of the utmost importance, therefore,

to reduce the principal. If he gave Rs. 6 to clearing off the debt, it would be discharged in less than 4 years, and he would have only about Rs. 58 to pay in interest.

3. If possible, sell your Jewels instead of giving them as security and paying interest on them.—Men suffer greatly from the ignorance in which women have been kept. Jewels are the great object of their desire. Nothing will satisfy a wife unless she gets the same number of jewels as her sister who is married to a richer man. It has been shown how many crores of rupees are lost every year through jewels. It would be like parting with her life's blood for an ignorant woman to consent to sell her jewels; but if the husband showed the folly of borrowing money on them and how much more comfortable they would be, if free from debt, some of them more sensible would agree to the sacrifice. At all events, let the husband try it. In this way perhaps the debt might be discharged in half the time.

A wife should always know the true state of her husband's affairs. Her advice may be useful, and she can better regulate expenses accordingly.

4. Consider how your Income can best be spent.—Every well-regulated State has what is called its *Budget*, an annual estimate of the income and expenditure. An allotment is made under each head to show how much each receives. In this way it can be known whether the revenue is used to most advantage. Every family should have its budget. The principal heads of expenditure will be house rent and taxes, food and articles of domestic use, clothing, education, charities, contingencies, and reserve fund. Each head should be carefully considered, and an allotment made accordingly. A few remarks may be made on the last two items.

Contingencies.—Every month will bring some unexpected little expense. A visitor may come, a lamp may be broken, &c. While some allowance should be made under this head, the expenditure upon it should be carefully watched, for it has a great tendency to increase. Each item may be small, but the total may be large. It has been well said, "Take care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themselves."

Reserve Fund.—The difference between the provident and the improvident is that the one prepares beforehand for extra expenses, while the latter does not. The former may lay aside Rs. 5 monthly; the latter makes no provision, so that besides Rs. 5 monthly for the principal, he may have to pay Rs. 5 monthly as interest in addition, thus suffering doubly.

While a man is in debt his first duty is to seek to discharge it. As soon as he is clear, and in all other cases, a Reserve Fund ought to be formed. The proportion of income to be devoted to this will depend upon circumstances. A young man with only one or two

children might set apart one-third of his income to provide for the education of his family and to make some provision for himself in sickness and old age. When family expenses are very heavy, the proportion will be less. Still, the expenditure should not exceed the income.

The Reserve Fund is most secure in Savings Banks. Their advantages and rules are explained under a separate heading.

5. Keep an account of your expenses.—Locke says, "Nothing is likelier to keep a man within compass than having constantly before his eyes the state of his affairs in a regular course of account." Mark down every day what you spend. Some may excuse themselves from want of time, but this only means want of will. Few men worked harder or did more good than John Wesley, yet till within a year of his death at the age of 87, he kept his accounts exactly. George Washington, while President of the United States, examined carefully his household expenditure. The late Duke of Wellington kept an accurate detailed account of the moneys received and expended by him. Talking of debt he said, "It makes a slave of a man. I have often known what it was to be in want of money, but I never got into debt."

Many poor men think that it is not needful for them to keep an exact account of their income and expenses. This is a great mistake. The poorer a man is, the more care he should take of every pice he receives. The monthly expenditure on each object should be added up. It shows where expenses may be wisely reduced, and where they may be increased. The outlay on tobacco or *pan supari* may be found larger than was supposed, and the question may be asked whether it could not be better spent otherwise.

6. Pay cash for all purchases.—Buying on credit has been the ruin of a great many weak-minded people who cannot resist the temptation of thus taking things which they have not at present means of paying for. When a person has to lay down the money at once, he thinks twice whether the purchase is really needed. It has other advantages. If you run up bills with a shopkeeper, you are expected to go to him, and you must take what he chooses to give. By paying cash, you can go where goods are cheapest and best. Besides, discount, sometimes amounting to 10 per cent., is often allowed for ready money.

7. Consider the quality of articles as well as their price.—A pair of shoes costing six rupees and lasting a year is cheaper in the end than one costing four rupees and lasting only six months. It is better to give a higher rent for a house in a healthy situation than a lower rent for one without that advantage.

8. Avoid attending auctions or going to shops.—When people go to sales, they are inclined to buy articles which they do not require, simply because they are considered "great bargains."

Frequenting shops also leads to unnecessary purchases. When tempted to buy anything, do not say, "Can I afford this?" but, "Can I do without it?" When Socrates saw a great quantity of fine furniture and other valuable articles in Athens, he said, "Now do I see many things I do not desire." Bear in mind the proverb, "He that buys what he does not need, will need what he cannot buy."

9. Do not spend money on intoxicating liquors or tobacco.—The old Greeks had a proverb, "Water is best." For many centuries the people of India, except certain classes, were very temperate. Drunkenness is now unfortunately on the increase, especially among educated men. Many persons have thus gone down to an early grave, and families have been ruined. Let the Hindus adhere to the wise example of their forefathers in this respect. Tobacco is not so injurious as intoxicants and in a few cases in moderation it may be even beneficial; but as a rule, it should not be used. It was unknown in Europe till about 350 years ago. The smallest amount of smoking is hurtful to the young. Never acquire a taste for it, and the want will never be felt.

Opium is worse in some respects than spirits, and should never be used in any form.

10. Avoid Suretyship.—Some remarks have already been made on this point. Special care is needed when the person who asks the favour is not well known to us or is given to speculation. Solomon says, "He that is surety for a stranger will smart for it; and he that hateth suretyship is sure."

11. Learn to say "No."—"It is of great importance," says Smiles, "to a man's peace and well-being that he should be able to say 'No' at the right time. Many are ruined because they cannot or will not say it." When you are inclined to buy anything which you cannot afford, say "No." If you are clearing off your debts, you may feel tempted to stop payment for one month; say "No." Your wife or your children beg you to get them dresses or other articles beyond your means; say, "No." When you are urged to squander your money on empty show, say "No." When vice of any kind allures you, boldly say "No." The only way of meeting temptations to idleness, to self-indulgence, to folly, to bad customs, is to answer them at once with an indignant "No." The first time may require an effort; but strength will grow with use.

Money is wasted and debt incurred in India, because men have not the courage to say "No." Self-control is necessary, not only to save money, but to accomplish any good end we set before us.

People complain that the country is getting poorer and poorer, while the reverse is the case. One great cause of this assertion is that some have acquired new expensive habits, trying to live like Europeans. Were they to retain the customs of their

forefathers, the state of money matters with them would be very different.

12. Be Industrious.—This is essential to success in any undertaking. Solomon says, "The hand of the diligent maketh rich;" "Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty." Industry should be well directed. Punctuality and proper arrangement of time and labour are of great importance. Perseverance is necessary. Spurts of industry are not enough. "The best preservation against idleness," says Blackie, "is to start with the deep-seated conviction of the earnestness of life. Whatever men may say of the world, it is certainly no stage for trifling. Idleness can lead only to wreck and ruin."

13. Ask God's Help.—A moral change is needed to effectual reformation. The evils of debt may be acutely felt, but many a spendthrift, even if relieved of his burden, will fall again speedily under its power, like a sow that was washed to its wallowing in the mire. To lend money to such a man, is worse than useless. As soon as his creditors cease to dun him, he resumes borrowing.

Mere education is not enough. There are university men as wasteful and improvident as ignorant ryots. Culture of intellect has little effect upon moral conduct.

Distrusting your own power to resist temptation, daily say to your heavenly Father, "Hold Thou me up, and I shall be safe." This should be preceded by a humble confession of past misconduct in all respects.

Leaning on Divine assistance and attending to the foregoing directions, most debtors may, by degrees, get free from their liabilities.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES.

How a great Man struggled with Debt.—The most touching story in Sir Walter Scott's life, is the manner in which he conducted himself after the failure of the publishing house of Constable and Co., with which he had become deeply involved. He had built Abbotsford, become a laird (land-owner), was sheriff of his county, and thought to be a rich man; when suddenly the Constable firm broke down, and he found himself indebted to the world more than a hundred thousand pounds. "It is very hard," he said to a friend who expressed his sympathy, "thus to lose all the labour of a lifetime and to be made a poor man at last. But if God grant me health and strength for a few years longer, I have no doubt that I shall redeem it all." Every body thought him a ruined man, and he almost felt so himself. But his courage never gave way. When his creditors proposed to him a composition,* his sense of honour

* Payment of part instead of the whole.

forbade his listening to them. "No, gentlemen," he replied; "time and I against any two." Though the debts had been contracted by others, he had made himself legally responsible for them; and, strong in his principle of integrity, he determined, if he could, to pay them off to the last farthing.

He parted with his town house and furniture, and delivered over his personal effects to be held in trust for his creditors, and bound himself to discharge a certain amount of his liabilities annually. This he did by undertaking new literary works, some of great magnitude.

In two years Scott earned for his creditors nearly £40,000. *Woodstock*, one of his novels written in less than three months, sold for £8,228. His *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, in nine volumes, which cost him much labour, produced £18,000. Even though struck with paralysis, he went on writing, until in about four years he had discharged about two-thirds of the debt for which he was responsible,—an achievement probably unparalleled in the history of letters.

The sacrifices and efforts which he made during the last few years of his life, even when paralyzed and scarcely able to hold his pen, exhibit Scott in a truly heroic light. He bore up with unconquerable spirit to the last. When his doctor expostulated with him against his excessive brain-work, he replied, "If I were to be idle, I should go mad: in comparison with this, death is no risk to shrink from." Shortly before his last fatal attack, when sitting dozing in his chair on the grass in front of the house at Abbotsford, he suddenly raised himself, threw off the plaid which covered him, and exclaimed, "This is sad idleness. Take me to my own room and fetch the keys of my desk." They wheeled him into his study, and put pens and paper before him. But he could not grasp the pen; he could not write; and the tears rolled down his sad cheeks. His spirit was not conquered, but his bodily powers were exhausted and shattered.*

Scott's last words deserve to be remembered. "Lockhart," said he to his son-in-law, "I may have but a minute to speak to you. My dear, be a good man; be virtuous, be religious. Nothing else will give you any comfort when you come to lie here. God bless you all." After this he sank into a very tranquil sleep, and quietly breathed his last in the presence of all his children.

Dr. Johnson on Debt.—Samuel Johnson was a very poor man, and a very brave one. He had early known poverty and debt, and wished himself clear of both. When at college his feet appeared through his shoes, but he was too poor to buy new ones. His head was full of learning, but his pockets were empty. How he struggled

* From *Thrift*, by Smiles.

through distress and difficulty during his first year in London, the reader can learn from his "life." He bedded and boarded for fourpence-halfpenny (three annas) a day, and when too poor to pay for a bed, he wandered with a companion a whole night in the streets. He had a clean shirt only once a week, on which day he went abroad and paid visits. Once he signed himself *Impransus*, dinnerless. He struggled on manfully, never whining at his lot, but trying to make the best of it. The later years of his life were spent in comfort.*

From his own sad experience, no one could speak with greater authority on the subject of Debt than Johnson. He wrote to a friend as follows :—

"Do not accustom yourself to consider debt only as an inconvenience ; you will find it a *calamity*. Poverty takes away so many means of doing good and produces so much inability to resist evil, both natural and moral, that it is by all virtuous means to be avoided. Let it be your first care, then, not to be in any man's debt ; resolve not to be poor ; whatever you have, spend less. Poverty is a great enemy to human happiness ; it certainly destroys liberty, and it makes some virtues impracticable, and others extremely difficult. Frugality is not only the basis of quiet, but of beneficence. No man can help others that wants help himself ; we must have enough before we have to spare. Debt lowers a man in self-respect, places him at the mercy of his tradesman and his servant, and renders him a slave in many respects, for he can no longer call himself his own master, nor boldly look the world in the face. It is difficult for a man who is in debt to be truthful. The habit of living within one's means is also of the very essence of honesty. For if a man do not manage honestly to live within his own means, he must necessarily be living dishonestly upon the means of somebody else."

Johnson avers that the best source of wealth or well-being is Economy. He calls it "the Daughter of Prudence, the Sister of Temperance, and the Mother of Liberty."

How a Child was taught a horror of Debt.—It is of great importance that children should learn this lesson. Charles Spurgeon, the greatest English preacher of modern times, thus shows how his father impressed it upon him :—

"When I was a very small boy, and went to a woman's school, it so happened that I wanted a stick of slate pencil, and had no money to buy it with. I was afraid of being scolded for losing my pencils so often, for I was a real careless little fellow, and so did not dare to ask at home : what then was John to do ? There was a little shop in the place, where nuts, and tops, and cakes, and balls were sold by old Mrs. Dearson, and sometimes I had seen boys and girls get trusted by the old lady. I argued with myself that Christmas was coming, and that somebody or other would be sure to give me a penny then, and perhaps even a whole

* Chiefly from *Thrift*, by Smiles.

silver sixpence. I would, therefore, go into debt for a stick of slate pencil, and be sure to pay at Christmas. I did not feel easy about it, but still I screwed my courage up and went into the shop. One farthing was the amount, and as I had never owed any thing before, and my credit was good, the pencil was handed over by the kind dame, and *I was in debt*. It did not please me much, and I felt as if I had done wrong, but I little knew how soon I should smart for it. How my father came to hear of this little stroke of business I never knew, but some little bird or other whistled it to him, and he was very soon down upon me in high earnest. God bless him for it; he was a sensible man, and none of your children spoilers; he did not intend to bring up his children to speculate, and play at what big rogues call financing, and therefore he knocked my getting into debt on the head at once, and no mistake. He gave me a very powerful lecture upon getting into debt, and how like it was to stealing, and upon the way in which people were ruined by it; and how a boy who would owe a farthing, might one day owe a hundred pounds, and get into prison, and bring his family into disgrace.

"It was a lecture, indeed; I think I can hear it now, and can feel my ears tingling at the recollection of it. Then I was marched off to the shop like a deserter marched into barracks, crying bitterly all down the street, and feeling dreadfully ashamed, because I thought every body knew I was in debt. The farthing was paid amid many solemn warnings, and the poor debtor was set free, like a bird let out of a cage. How sweet it felt to be out of debt! How did my little heart vow and declare that nothing should ever tempt me into debt again! It was a fine lesson, and I have never forgotten it. If all boys were inoculated with the same doctrine when they were young, it would be as good as a fortune to them, and save them waggon-loads of trouble in after life.*"

SAVINGS BANKS.

Savages, as already remarked, are not thrifty. They live from day to day, making no provision for the future. To have no thought of the morrow, to have no regard for the welfare of friends and relatives, to make no provision for old age and sickness, is for a man to act like a savage. The first money saved is a step in the world. "The fact of its being saved and laid by, indicates self-denial, forethought, prudence, wisdom. It may be the germ of future happiness. It may be the beginning of independence."

Formerly, from the insecurity of property, money was buried or converted into jewels. The disadvantages of this have been shown, and it is not now necessary.

Money may be lent out on interest. When good security can be obtained, the return is considerable. But it is often difficult to

* *John Ploughman's Talk*, pp. 69-71.

get borrowers who can be depended on, and who will repay the loan when it is required.

To enable people to place their money in safe keeping, where it will also bear interest and be available at any time, the British Government has established Savings Banks in different parts of the country. Any person can go freely and pay in small sums when he pleases. He will obtain a bank-book, in which these sums will be duly entered. No one but himself, or some person whom he has authorized, can draw the money. Government takes care of the deposits, and allows interest upon them. There is, therefore, no risk of being cheated by fraudulent borrowers. The money lodged can be withdrawn at any time. Government does not allow so much interest as needy debtors, but there are the great advantages that the loan is perfectly safe, and may be called in at any time.

Savings Banks have been opened in connection with many of the Post Offices in India. The smallest sum received is four annas, and every amount must be a multiple of 4 annas, as 8 as., 12 as., &c. A larger sum than Rs. 500 cannot be deposited in one year. A depositor can withdraw money from his account once a week. Interest is allowed for the present at $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent a year. A depositor may have his account transferred free of charge to any Post Office that is a Savings Bank.

The complete Rules can be obtained from the Post Office.

The reader should have a Bank Account. Many people in this country are thriftless. When they are going to get married or when they expect a confinement in their family, they make no preparation beforehand, when it would be much easier to provide the necessary funds. When their expenses will be increased, they borrow, requiring, in addition, to pay interest. Not a few spend their month's pay at once, and there is not a rupee left to meet any exceptional expenses. All this is prevented by a reserve fund in the Savings Bank.

Even children should have a Savings Bank account. Many Indian sweetmeats are unwholesome, and it is teaching children an injurious habit to spend money on them. Sometimes this is done simply to keep them from teasing their parents. This is another bad lesson, which they soon know how to use. They have simply to tease to get what they want.

ADVANTAGES OF BEING FREE FROM DEBT.

The aim is not to make people grasping and grovelling, intent only on scraping together money, and grudging themselves and others the enjoyment of it. The avaricious man makes gold his idol, before which he constantly bows down. The miser is never satisfied. He gathers up wealth which he can never consume, but leaves it to be squandered by others, probably spendthrifts.

The object in view is very different. The right and wrong uses of money are explained subsequently. Some of the advantages of being free from debt and possessing a little capital, are noticed below :—

1. *Saving of Money.*—It has been shown how much of the hard-won earnings of people goes to sowkars. The man not in debt is relieved of all this.

2. *Freedom from Anxiety about money matters.*—The debtor has often sleepless nights from his inability to meet his engagements. The rest of the man who does not owe anything, is not disturbed in such a way.

3. *A hearty Welcome from all who have to do business with him.*—The debtor is met with sour looks by his creditors ; he has to endure many an insult from them. A smiling face greets the person who has no such burdens.

4. *Truth and Honesty are promoted.*—The debtor makes promises which he cannot fulfil ; he dishonestly takes goods for which he is unable to pay. Lying and fraud are thus encouraged, while in the other case the effect is the reverse.

5. *Ability to assist the poor and every good work is afforded.*—To promote the happiness of others, is one of the greatest pleasures of life. We have no right to give, even in charity, what does not belong to us. We must be just before we are generous. As the man not in debt does not require to pay any money in interest, he has the more to spare for deserving objects.

6. *Family Comfort and a good example to Children.*—The sufferings of the debtor's family have already been noticed. There is no happiness at home. Thriftless parents have often thriftless children. A man who is prudent in money matters, not only reaps the benefit at present, but he may also be a blessing to future generations.

While freedom from debt has its advantages, it should be remembered that it is not by any means all that is required. The prophet Micah says :—

“ He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ?”

To do justly should be accompanied by the two other duties.

FRANKLIN'S

WAY TO WEALTH.

Benjamin Franklin rose, last century, from poverty to a high position in the United States. He was distinguished for his desire to promote the happiness of his fellow-men and for his practical wisdom. Under the name of "Poor Richard," he published an Almanac, containing some excellent advice, called *The Way to Wealth*. It has been reproduced in many languages. Some of the allusions refer especially to the United States; but, as a rule, they may be easily understood. He supposes himself giving advice to people who had come to attend an auction, and who then, as now, complained of taxation:—

"COURTEOUS READER,—I have heard that nothing gives an author so great a pleasure as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately where a great number of people were collected at an auction of merchant's goods. The hour of the sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times, and one of the company called to a plain, clean old man with white locks, 'Pray, Father Abraham, what think you of the times? Will not these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we ever be able to pay them? What would you advise us to do?' Father Abraham stood up, and replied, 'If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short, for, A word to the wise is enough, as poor Richard says.' They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

"Friends, the taxes are indeed very heavy, and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us. God helps them that help themselves, as poor Richard says.

"I. It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service; but idleness taxes many of us more; sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears; while, The used key is always bright, as poor Richard says. But, Dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of, as poor Richard says. How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep! Forgetting that, The sleeping fox catches no poultry: and that, There will be sleeping in the grave, as poor Richard says.

"If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be, as poor Richard says, the greatest prodigality; since, as he elsewhere

tells us, Lost time is never found again; and, What we call time enough always proves little enough. Let us, then, be up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence, shall we do more, and with less perplexity. Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy; and, He that rises late must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while, Laziness travels so slowly that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee; and, Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise, as poor Richard says.

“So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We may make these times better if we bestir ourselves. Industry need not risk, and, He that lives upon hopes will die fasting. There are no gains without pains; then, Help, hands, for I have no lands, or, if I have, they are smartly taxed. He that hath a trade, hath an estate; and, He that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour, as poor Richard says; but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious we shall never starve; for, At the working man's house, hunger looks in, but dares not enter. Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter; for, Industry pays debts, while despair increaseth them. What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy? Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry. Then, Plough deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep. Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow. One to-day is worth two to-morrows, as poor Richard says; and, further, Never leave that till to-morrow what you can do to-day. If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master, be ashamed to catch yourself idle, when there is to be so much done for yourself, your family, your country, and your king. Handle your tools without mittens;* remember that the cat in gloves catches no mice, as poor Richard says. It is true there is much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects; for, Constant dropping wears away stones; and, By diligence and patience the mouse cut in two the cable; and, Little strokes fell great oaks.

“Methinks I hear some of you say, ‘Must a man afford himself no leisure?’ I will tell thee, my friend, what poor Richard says—Employ thy time well if thou meanest to gain leisure; and since thou art not sure of a minute, throw not away an hour. Leisure is time for doing something useful. This leisure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man never; for a life of leisure and a life of laziness are two things. Many, without labour, would live by their wits only, but they break for want of stock; whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty and respect. Fly pleasures, and they will follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift; and, now I have a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good morrow.

* Gloves without separate division for the fingers.

“ II. But with our industry we must likewise be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others; for, as poor Richard says,

“ I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family,
That throve so well as those that settled be.

And again—Three removes are as bad as a fire. And again—Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee. And again—If you would have your business done, go; if not, send. And again—

“ He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.

And again—The eye of a master will do more work than both his hands. And again—Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge. And again—Not to oversee workmen is to leave them your purse open. Trusting too much to other's care is the ruin of many; for, in the affairs of this world, men are saved, not by faith, but by the want of it. But a man's own care is profitable; for if you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself. A little neglect may cause great mischief; For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost, for want of a horse the rider was lost, being overtaken and slain by the enemy—all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.

“ III. So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, keeps his nose to the grindstone all his life, and die not worth a groat at last. A fat kitchen makes a lean will; and

“ Many estates are spent in the getting,
Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,
And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting.

If you would be wealthy, think of saving as well as of getting. The Indies have not made Spain rich, because her outgoes are greater than her incomes.

“ Away, then, with your expensive follies, and you will not then have so much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families; for

“ Women and wine, game and deceit,
Make the wealth small and the want great.

And further—What maintains one vice would bring up two children. You may think, perhaps, that a little tea, or a little punch, now and then, diet a little more costly, clothes a little finer, and a little entertainment, now and then, can be no great matter; but remember—Many a little makes a mickle. Beware of little expenses—A small leak will sink a great ship, as poor Richard says. And again—Who dainties love shall beggars prove. And moreover—Fools make feasts, and wise men eat them.

“Here you are all got together at this sale of fineries and nicknacks. You call them goods; but if you do not take care they will prove evils to some of you. You expect they will be sold cheap, and perhaps they may far less than they cost; but if you have no occasion for them they must be dear to you. Remember what poor Richard says—Buy what thou hast no need of, and ere long thou shalt sell thy necessities. And again—At a great pennyworth pause a while. He means that the cheapness is apparent only, and not real; or the bargain, by straitening thee in thy business, may do the more harm than good; for in another place he says—Many have been ruined by buying good pennyworths. Again—It is foolish to lay out money in a purchase of repentance; and yet this folly is practised every day at auctions, for want of minding the almanac. Many a one, for the sake of finery on the back, has gone with a hungry belly and half-starved his family. Silks and satins, scarlet and velvet, put out the kitchen fire, as poor Richard says. These are not the necessities of life; they can scarcely be called the conveniences; and yet, only because they look pretty, how many want to have them! By these, and other extravagances, the genteel are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom they formerly despised, but who, through industry and frugality, have maintained their standing; in which case it appears plainly that, A ploughman on his legs is a higher than a gentleman on his knees, as poor Richard says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left them, which they knew not the getting of; they think it is day, and will never be night; that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding; but, Always taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to be the bottom, as poor Richard says; and then, When the well is dry, they know the worth of water. But this they might have known before if they had taken his advice—If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for, He that goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing, as poor Richard says; and, indeed, so does he that lends to such people when he goes to get his own in again. Poor Dick further advises, and says—

“Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse;
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse.

And again—Pride is as loud a beggar as want, and a great deal more saucy. When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance may be all of a piece; but poor Dick says, It is easier to suppress the first desire, than to satisfy all that follow it. And it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell in order to equal the ox.

“Vessels large may venture more,
But little boats should keep near shore.

It is, however, a folly soon punished; for, as poor Richard says, Pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt. Pride breakfasted with plenty, dined with poverty, and supped with infamy. And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, nor ease pain; it makes no increase of merit in the person; it creates envy; it hastens misfortune.

“ ‘ But what madness must it be to run in debt for these superfluities ! We are offered, by the terms of this sale, six months’ credit ; and that, perhaps, has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money, and hope now to be fine without it. But, ah ! think what you do when you run in debt ; you give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at the time, you will be ashamed to see your creditor ; you will be in fear when you speak to him ; you will make poor, pitiful, sneaking excuses, and, by degrees, come to lose your veracity, and sink into base, downright lying ; for, The second vice is lying, the first is running in debt, as poor Richard says ; and again, to the same purpose, Lying rides upon debt’s back.

“ ‘ And now, to conclude—Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other, as poor Richard says, and scarce in that ; for, it is true, We may give advice, but we cannot give conduct. However, remember this—They that will not be counselled, cannot be helped ; and farther, that, If you will not hear Reason, she will surely rap your knuckles, as poor Richard says.’

“ Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it and approved the doctrine ; and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon, for the auctioner opened, and they began to buy extravagantly.”

JOHN WESLEY ON THE USE OF MONEY.

John Wesley was a very wise and good man who died about a century ago. Among his writings there is a sermon “ *On the Use of Money*,” containing much valuable advice. A summary of it is given below.

Poets, orators, and philosophers in almost all ages and nations, have railed against money ; but all this is absurd. “ The love of money is the root of all evil,” but not the thing itself. The fault does not lie in the money, but in them that use it. It is of unspeakable service to all civilized nations in all the common affairs of life. It is a most valuable instrument in transacting all manner of business and of doing all manner of good. It is food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, clothing for the naked. By it we may supply the place of a husband to the widow, and of a father to the fatherless. We may be a defence to the oppressed, a means of health to the sick ; yea a lifter-up from the gates of death. All should know how to employ this valuable talent.

FIRST RULE.—*Gain all you can.*

We ought to gain all we can without buying gold too dear, without paying more for it than it is worth. No gain should induce us to continue in an employ which is injurious to our health. We may not engage in any sinful trade, any that is contrary to the law of God or of our country. Businesses which require lying or cheating

are sacredly to be avoided. We are to "gain all we can" without hurting our neighbour. We cannot gain his money by gambling; we cannot try to ruin his business to advance our own; we ought not to do anything ministering, either directly or indirectly, to his unchastity or intemperance.

These cautions being observed, "gain all you can." Gain all you can by honest industry. Use all possible diligence in your calling. Lose no time. Every business will afford some employment for every day and every hour. This will leave you no leisure for silly unprofitable diversions. And "whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Do it as soon as possible: No delay! No putting off from day to day, or from hour to hour. Never leave anything till to-morrow, which you can do to-day. And do it as soon as possible. Do not sleep or yawn over it; put your whole strength to the work. Spare no pains. Let nothing be done in a slight and careless manner.

Gain all you can by common sense, by using in your business all the understanding which God has given you. It is amazing to observe how few do this; how men run ever in the same dull track with their forefathers. You should be continually learning from the experience of others, or from your own experience, reading and reflection, to do every thing you have to do, better to-day than you did yesterday, and see that you practise what you learn.

SECOND RULE.—*Save all you can.*

Do not waste any part of so precious a talent, merely in gratifying the desires of the flesh; in procuring the pleasures of sense of whatever kind. I do not mean avoid gluttony and drunkenness only; an honest heathen would condemn these. But there is a luxurious style of living which cannot be maintained without considerable expense. Despise delicacy and variety; and be content with what plain nature requires.

Do not waste money merely in gratifying the desire of the eye by superfluous and expensive apparel or by needless ornaments. (The enormous loss caused to the people of India by melting money into jewels has previously been explained.)

Lay out nothing to gratify the pride of life, to gain the admiration or praise of men. Do not buy their applause too dear; rather be content with the honour that cometh from God. (The large sums of money squandered on marriage expenses in India have already been noticed.)

Nothing can be more certain than this that to gratify these desires is to increase them.

THIRD RULE.—*Give all you can.*

Let not any imagine that he has done anything by "gaining and saving all he can," if he were to stop here. All this is nothing, if a man go not forward, if he does not point all this at a

further end. Nor, indeed, can a man properly be said to save anything if he only lays it up. Not to use is effectually to throw it away. Therefore add the third rule to the two preceding.

When the possessor of heaven and earth brought you into being, and placed you in this world, He placed you here not as a proprietor, but a steward. As such He intrusted you for a season with goods of various kinds. But the sole property of these still rests in Him, nor can ever be alienated from Him. As you yourself are not your own but His, such is likewise all that you enjoy. And He has told you, in the most clear and express manner, you are to employ it for Him in such a manner that it may all be a holy sacrifice, acceptable through Jesus Christ.

If you desire to be a faithful and wise steward, First—Provide things needful for yourself, food to eat, raiment to put on, whatever nature moderately requires for preserving the body in health, and strength. Secondly—Provide then for your wife, your children, your servants, or any others who pertain to your household. If, when this is done, there be an overplus left, then “do good to those that are of the household of faith.” If there be an overplus still, “as you have opportunity, do good unto all men.” In so doing, you give all you can.

Employ whatever God has intrusted you with in doing good, all possible good, and in every possible kind and degree, to the household of faith, to all men.

FALSE AND TRUE CHARITY.

One of the causes of poverty in India is indiscriminate almsgiving. There is a great deal of charity; but most of it is expended in a way to encourage the idle and vicious in their evil courses. Money is given without the slightest thought as to its effects.

Some people give alms simply to get a name for liberality. Jesus Christ says, “Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.” Such men deserve no praise.

There are money-lenders and merchants who give alms in the hope of atoning for their frauds in business and their oppression of the poor.

Others vainly think that they can purchase heaven by giving to beggars. If all who received their alms were truly deserving, it would still be a delusion, but much more so when their money goes to encourage wickedness.

In 1881, the number of beggars in India was 1,256,559.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar says:—

“Are there not in the town of Madras people of all castes and classes who have chosen to subsist by begging from door to door, and that as a

hereditary profession and not as a necessity forced on them by adverse circumstances? And while these beggars by choice deem it no disgrace to beg, do they not consider it a great dishonour and a great hardship to do honest work for daily wages? The thousand and one ways in which a wealthy native is called upon to contribute towards the support of worthless relations and able-bodied beggars are known to every one of my Hindu hearers."

If these able-bodied beggars were obliged to work for their living, instead of preying on the industrious, the wealth of the country would be considerably increased.

Many idle vagabonds are entirely supported by the caste feasts and gifts so frequent in this country. They go from place to place to be present on such occasions. No respectable persons attend, so the whole is spent on the unworthy.

Teach a man that he can get money without working for it, and he soon becomes a professional beggar. But this is not the worst effect. Industry is a great safeguard against temptation. When a man is busy, he has no time to think of sinful pleasures, while the idle often give way to vice. Some of the worst men in India are the professed devotees of Siva, who wander about the country as beggars. They stupefy themselves with bhang, and are so dissolute that they dare not remain long in one place. They frequently extort alms from ignorant people, who foolishly dread their curses, though these only harm their utterers.

It will readily be admitted, that if alms were given to thieves, enabling them to spend their whole time in robbery, no merit would accrue to the donor. To support men in idleness and vice, is an act much of the same character.

The Hindu family system, while it has some advantages, fosters idleness. "There is scarcely a married man in the country who has not some of his own or his wife's kindred dependent on his bounty. These he cannot shake off, and they will seldom drop off themselves, but will continue to draw nourishment from his labour while a single meal of rice remains in the house."

So long as a man can provide for himself by labour, he is not an object of charity. "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." If a man be lazy, the best thing for him is to suffer the evils of poverty. All that we are required to do in such a case, is to provide a person with labour and to pay him accordingly. This is the greatest kindness both to him and to society.

Our conduct should be guided by the following rules:—

1. Those who are poor, but yet able to support themselves, should be enabled to do so by labour, and on no other condition. If they are too indolent to do this, they should suffer the consequences.

2. Those who are unable to support themselves wholly should

be assisted *only so far* as they are unable. Because a man cannot do *enough* to support himself, there is no reason why he should do *nothing*.

3. Those who are unable to do anything, should have everything done for them which their condition requires. Such are infants, the sick, the disabled, and the aged.

Money is far better spent on hospitals, on schools, and other ways of doing good than in feeding hosts of lazy beggars and vicious men, who have made it their profession to live on the earnings of others.

Donations may be given to Friend-in-Need Societies, the Countess of Dufferin's Fund for Women, Educational Societies, and other benevolent institutions whose funds are expended under careful supervision.

THE GREAT DEBT.

Although getting into debt is very general, there are some persons who can say that they do not owe any one a pice. This is, so far, well; but there is a great load of debt hanging over every human being, daily increasing, and which he can never discharge. What is this?

Nature of the Debt.—Intelligent men believe in the existence of a wise, good and great Creator of all things. He made the earth on which we live, the sun which gives light to it, the plants which cover its surface. All the countless living beings inhabiting the earth were formed by God. He not only gave us life, but He keeps us in life. Were he to withdraw His care for a single moment, we should die. He is, at once, our Father and our King.

Our duty to God may be briefly summed up as follows: We should love Him with all our heart, and obey His commands, which are holy, just and good. Are not these duties reasonable?

If a person obtains goods from a merchant and does not pay for them, he is said to get into his debt. If we neglect to give God the honour due to Him for all His kindness, this may be compared to a debt. So also may every act of disobedience to God, for which we must give an account.

Some debtors owe God more, some less. There are wicked men, who are guilty of almost every crime. There are others who fall into gross sin only occasionally. Some persons lead moral lives, and bear a good character in the world.

But God looks at the heart as well as at the outward actions, and we owe Him perfect obedience. Have you ever for a single hour loved Him with all your heart? Think of the unholy thoughts, the sinful words, the evil actions which you have committed during your

life! Even one sin a day would in forty years exceed fourteen thousand; but who can number those of which we have been guilty? A holy man of old said that his sins were more than the hairs of his head.

Our Inability to pay our Debt.—Suppose a man owed a hundred lakhs, he could never repay the debt by a few pice, more especially if the coins he offered were themselves worthless. Bathing at supposed holy places cannot wash away sin. Neither can forgiveness be obtained by feeding some beggars or making offerings to temples. If a man get into debt, it is not cancelled by his paying afterwards for every thing he receives. Although we should, henceforward, obey all God's laws, this would not blot out our former debts. But, as already mentioned, our debts are increasing every day of our lives. We are deeply in debt, and have nothing to pay.

The Punishment Due.—Most men think lightly of their great debt, but the case is very different. Sin is rebellion against the Supreme Lord of the Universe, it is disobedience to the kindest of Fathers, it is ingratitude to the most generous Benefactor. The wages of sin is death, and so long as men continue in sin, so long must they suffer.

How the Debt may be Forgiven.—If a man is irrecoverably in debt, he is liable to be cast into prison. If, however, a friend becomes security and pays the whole amount, he is set free. It is evident that one debtor cannot pay another's debts. No man can redeem his brother, for all are alike involved in ruin.

Christianity teaches that God so loved us that He gave His only Son to be our Saviour. He became incarnate as the Lord Jesus Christ. By His obedience, sufferings and death, He bore the penalty of sin, and paid the uttermost farthing of the debt.

Pardon is now freely offered to all who accept Jesus as their Saviour. He becomes responsible for their sins, and they are considered innocent. Their hearts also are purified by God's Holy Spirit. The process goes on during life, and is completed at death. All may have their debt of sin forgiven by trusting in Jesus Christ as their Saviour. This is distasteful to human pride. We wish to be saved by our own fancied merits, though it is impossible.

Sin of rejecting the offered mercy.—Suppose that some men were guilty of rebellion against a wise and good King, but in his mercy, he offered them a way of pardon. If they refused to accept it, their guilt would be greater than before, and their punishment would be the more severe.

In this the day of salvation seek deliverance from your great debt, and be happy both for time and for eternity.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA

AND

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THEM.

**"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."**

Tennyson,

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils, and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted or self-created, and therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu community !!"

Rajah Sir T. Munthava Row, E. C. S. I.,

MADRAS :

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY.

1888.

THIRTY VIEWS OF WOMAN.

Woman ! blest partner of our joys and woes !—*Sand.*
Blessing and blest wherever she goes.—*Cowper.*
Eager to hope, but not less firm to bear.—*Byron.*
O born to smooth distress, and lighten care ;—*Mrs. Barbauld.*
Profound as reason, and as justice dear ;—*Savage.*
Yet suffering vice compels her tear.—*Grabb.*
Meekly to bear with wrong and cheer decay,—*Mrs. Hemans.*
And wipe the mourner's bitter tear away.—*J. Graham.*
O Woman ! woman ! thou art formed to bless ;—*J. Bird.*
For woman is all truth and steadfastness.—*Chaucer.*
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet,—*Milton.*
Each softest, truest virtue there should meet.—*Johnson.*
Women were made to give our eyes delight,—*Young.*
So fond and true, so beautiful and bright.—*Patterson.*
Ye watchful sprites that made e'en man your care,—*T. Brown.*
You are not free because you're more than fair.—*Etherege.*
Oh man ! how sublime—from Heaven his birth,—*Bulwer.*
And you of man was made, man but of earth,—*Randolph.*
Gay smiles to comfort ; April showers to move ;—*Parnell.*
'The important business of your life is love :—*Lyttleton.*
Here woman reigns ; the mother, daughter, wife—*Montgomery.*
The loved and cherished idol of my life.—*Prentice.*
There is something in their hearts which passes speech,—*Story.*
There is a charm no vulgar mind can reach :—*W. Allison.*
A rosebud set with a little wilful thorn ;—*Tennyson.*
Still shall your charms my fondest themes adorn.—*Hillhouse.*
Sacred by birth and built by hands divine,—*Dryden.*
Pure and unspotted as th' ermine,—*Deenant.*
Her worth, her warmth of heart let friendship say—*Scott.*
All my fortunes at thy foot I'll lay.—*Shakespeare.*

Anon.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| WOMAN IN HINDU LITERATURE | 4 |
| PRESENT EXCELLENCIES AND DEFECTS OF INDIAN WOMEN | 9 |
| THE CAUSE OF FEMALE DEGRADATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES | 16 |
| SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS | 18 |
| FEMALE EDUCATION | 19 |
| THE EDUCATION NEEDED | 25 |
| PHYSICAL EDUCATION | 29 |
| PRIMARY EDUCATION | 32 |
| MIXED SCHOOLS | 35 |
| SECONDARY EDUCATION | 37 |
| MISSION BOARDING SCHOOLS | 43 |
| ZENANA OR HOME TEACHING | 46 |
| INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS | 54 |
| EARLY MARRIAGES | 55 |
| INTERMARRIAGE | 70 |
| ASTROLOGY | 72 |
| MARRIAGE EXPENSES | 73 |
| OBJECTIONABLE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS | 77 |
| POLYGAMY | 81 |
| WOMEN MARRIED TO GODS | 82 |
| THE HINDU FAMILY SYSTEM | 83 |
| SECLUSION OF INDIAN WOMEN | 90 |
| DUTY TO A WIFE | 101 |
| LITERATURE FOR WOMEN | 108 |
| WHAT HAS BEEN DONE | 109 |
| WANTS TO BE SUPPLIED | 113 |
| WIDOWS | 116 |
| SATI, OR WIDOW BURNING | 122 |
| LEGISLATIVE MEASURES | 125 |
| REMEDIES WITHIN THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE | 130 |
| CONCLUDING REVIEW | 135 |

PREFACE.

THE following pages are intended primarily for educated Indians who are seeking the social and moral elevation of their country ; and, secondarily, for Europeans and Americans interested in the same cause.

It will be seen that they consist largely of extracts. Foreigners, as, a rule, have no access to Hindu home life : Indians must furnish the evidence regarding its character, and they are mainly quoted in proof of any statements made.

The compiler has followed the course of an advocate in pleading a case before a court of justice. He supports his arguments by references to such and such authorities. The continuity is thus broken ; but it will weigh more with the judge than a mere rhetorical appeal.

An attempt has been made to assist educated Hindus in forming their own judgments by laying before them the opinions expressed by some of the most intelligent of their countrymen.

References are given to the longer quotations. The following works, it will be seen, have chiefly furnished the materials :

Child Widow, The. Sir W. W. Hunter.

Daughters of India The. E. J. Robinson. Nisbet.

Domestic Manners and Customs of Hindus. Ishuree Das.

Education in India, Review of. Sir A. Croft. Calcutta.

Hindu Family, Essays on the. B. Mullick, Newman.

Hindu Life, Sketches of. Devendra N. Das. Chapman and Hall.

Hindus as they are. S. C. Bose. Newman.

Indian Epic Poetry. Sir Monier Williams. Williams and Newgate.

Indian Evangelical Review. Traill, Calcutta.

Indian Magazine. Kegan Paul, French & Co.

Indo-Aryans. 2 Vols. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra. Newman.

Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood. B. M. Malabari. Bombay.

Do. *Papers relating to.* Sol. Record, Gov. India.

- Influence of Christianity on Women.* Dr. Kay, Calcutta, 1859.
Madras Christian College Magazine. Stock.
Manners and Customs of People of India. Dubois, Higginbotham.
Manu, Ordinances of, By Burnell. Trübner.
Metrical Translations from the Sanskrit. Dr. J. Muir, Trübner.
Position of Women in India. D. E. Gimi. Bombay.
Punjab Ladies' Missionary Conference Report, 1882.
Review of Hindu Law and Custom. R. Ragoonath Row, Higginbotham.
Sanskrit Texts. Dr. J. Muir, Trübner.
Speeches on Hindu Marriage Customs. Calcutta.
Tamil Wisdom. E. J. Robinson. Wesleyan Con. Office.
Widows, Marriage of Hindu. Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara. Sanskrit Press, Calcutta.
Zenana Missions, Speech on. Sir Monier Williams, Seely.
 Indian Newspapers have also furnished many quotations.

MADRAS, November, 1883.

J. MURDOCH.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA,

AND

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THEM.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME years ago, female education was the favourite subject of essays ; it was discussed in every debating society. The attention of educated Hindus is now largely transferred to politics. A supposed Golden Age is to be brought back by means of representative institutions.

There is also a change in another respect. Formerly "domestic reform" was advocated. Now there is a spirit of false patriotism abroad, which extols everything Indian as excellence itself, and condemns everything foreign as the opposite.

The outlook would be discouraging were it not that there is a small band of enlightened men who are not satisfied with the present state of things, and are making earnest efforts to bring about a change. While friendly to the gradual introduction of representative government, they consider that there are other reforms still more necessary for the well-being of the country. It is a hopeful sign that *The Hindu*, the most influential Native journal in South India, should express sentiments like the following :—

"Supposing that we obtain to-morrow the full measure of liberty that we pray for, will that be enough to make the Indians morally as well as numerically a great nation? Certain political privileges will not alone bring about this grand consummation : there must be an earnest and steady work in the field of social as well as political reform. A radical change is necessary in many of our customs and institutions. But there is one evil which is a standing hindrance to reforms of every kind, and if that is remedied the natural aptitudes of the nation will receive an unchecked stimulus towards development in all directions. We mean the present degraded condition of our women. We do not sympathize with those who exaggerate our social evils in order to impart importance to their own suggestions. But it will be no patriotism but foolish and ruinous vanity to assert that women in India are now in that condition which enables them in other countries to exert vast influence on the character and life

of the nation as well as of the individual. The hard and unreasonable marriage laws, their seclusion and their ignorance have made them entirely unfit for the exercise of that elevating and chastening privilege which is theirs by nature. The character of the nation is formed by its youths, and the character of the youths is formed at home by their mothers. . . . If our country too should produce its patriots, warriors and statesmen, our mothers should receive a different training and should be given a different lot, from what are deemed to be appropriate to them at present. The kitchen would cease to be their world, the priests should cease to be their moral preceptors; cruel marriage laws should cease to rob them of their youth, and their minds should be opened by a high and liberal education. . . . Let all of us do our best to elevate their status by giving them a wider sphere of experience, by making their lot less oppressive and more free, and by duly recognising their power in the formation of the character of the nation." 28th Sept. 1888.

The following pages are, to a large extent, an expansion of the foregoing editorial, entering into details, and offering suggestions under each head. Opinions will differ with regard to some points; but there are important changes which all intelligent men will deem to be necessary.

As Europeans have few opportunities of becoming acquainted with Native home life, the quotations will, as far as possible, be made from Indian writers, well acquainted with the facts.

The true "friends of India" are not those who flatter her as perfect, and invent specious excuses for all her follies; but those who urge her onward in the path of reform. No human being is perfect, and it would be absurd to suppose that a nation of whom only one in 25 can read possesses that quality.

Every encouragement should be given to those who are struggling against fearful odds for the elevation of their country. All should do what they can, even though it were only like the little squirrel in the Indian legend, bringing a handful of sand for Rama's bridge.

Main Aim of Paper.—The great object is not to discuss legislative changes, though these are important in their place; but to urge the reader to adopt certain measures in his own family for which the sanction of Government is not required. There is a Chinese proverb that the way to cleanse a town is for every man to sweep before his own door. If every head of a family acted on this principle, the whole nation would soon be reformed.

The Importance of Home.—The common idea is that the rich and great are happy: often the reverse is the case. An Afghan proverb says, that "the sleep of a king is on an ant-hill." Wealthy Zemindars who spend their time in idleness and debauchery, are,

in many cases, miserable men. Happiness depends far more upon the home than anything else, and it may be enjoyed by the poorest as well as by the richest. Burns, the Scottish poet, gives an exquisite picture of the domestic happiness of a poor labouring peasant. On his return home in the evening, his little children, with great noise and glee, come out to meet him; his cottage is clean; he is welcomed by the smile of his wife; and with his infant prattling on his knee, he forgets all his cares and toil.

Sir Monier Williams says :

“There exists no word that I know of in any Indian language exactly equivalent to that grand old Saxon monosyllable ‘home;’ that little word which is the key to our national greatness and prosperity. Certainly the word *Zenana*—meaning in Persian ‘the place of women’—cannot pretend to stand for ‘home’ any more than the Persian *Mardana*, ‘the place of men’ can mean ‘home.’ For home is not a mere collection of rooms, or even a mansion, however stately, where male relatives are aggregated on one side, and female on the other; home is not a place where women merge their personal freedom and individuality in the personality of the men; still less is home a place where husbands and wives do not work, talk, and eat together on terms of equality, or where daughters and child widows are kept in gross ignorance, and made to do the work of household drudges. Rather is it a hallowed place of rest and of trustful intercourse, where husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, male and female relatives and friends, gather together round the same hearth in loving confidence and mutual dependence, each and all working together like the differently-formed limbs of one body, for the general good and for the glory of the great Creator who created them.”*

Not long ago Dewan Bahadur R. Raghoonath Rao said mournfully at a public meeting in Madras, “*We have now no homes.*”

It is admitted that the seclusion of women applies only to certain classes, and that Hindu families enjoy some amount of happiness. All that is urged is that changes might be made which would lessen the misery of some members of the family, and greatly increase the happiness of others.

The Position of Women a Test of Civilization.—“When we are seeking,” says Gladstone, “to ascertain the measure of that conception which any given race has formed of our nature, there is, perhaps, no single test so effective as the position which it assigns to women. For, as the law of force is the law of the brute creation, so, in proportion as he is under the yoke of that law, does man approximate to the brute; and in proportion, on the other hand, as he has escaped from its dominion, is he ascending into the higher sphere of being, and claiming relationship with Deity.”

Amongst savages, women do all the hard work; men, when they

* *Addresses*, pp. 50, 51.

are not fighting or hunting, are smoking, drinking, or sleeping. The other extreme is in enlightened countries, where women are educated and treated with respect. The position of women in India, like the position of India in the scale of civilization, lies midway between these two extremes.

An inquiry will now be made into the condition of Indian women, and the means which may be adopted for their improvement.

WOMAN IN HINDU LITERATURE.

Some account of this will help to explain the condition of women in past times, as well as to show the influences which have contributed to the present state of things. The field is of vast extent, much of it yet unexplored. Only a few extracts, believed to be typical, can be given. Hindu literature, however, bristles with contradictions, and possibly other passages might be quoted of a directly opposite character.

The Vedas.—Dr. Muir, in his *Sanskrit Texts*, does not point out any hymns going into detail regarding the position of women: it can be inferred only from incidental references. He says, "There are in the hymns traces of the existence of polygamy, though it was no doubt the exception and monogamy the rule." A Rishi is mentioned who married all at once ten damsels. Polyandry seems also to have known, though probably rare. The two Asvins had one wife.

Dr. Muir quotes the words, "Happy is the female, who is handsome; she herself loves (or chooses) her friend among the people." He adds, "May we not infer from this passage that freedom of choice in the selection of their husbands was allowed, sometimes at least, to women in these times?"

Weber says, "As regards love, its tender ideal element is not very conspicuous; it rather bears throughout the stamp of an undisguised natural sensuality. Marriage is, however, held sacred; husband and wife are both rulers of the house (*dampati*), and approach the gods in united prayer."*

Dr. Muir, referring to one of the hymn writers, says, "The general opinion of the poet's contemporaries in regard to the female sex appears to be intimated in the following words put into the mouth of Indra viii. 33, 17.: *Indras chid gha tad abravīt, striyāḥ asāsyam manah | utō aha kratum raghum* | "Indra declared that the mind of a woman was ungovernable and her temper fickle."†

The Ramayana.—Sita is the finest creation of Hindu poetry. She is represented as a paragon of domestic virtue. Sir Monier

* *History of Indian Literature*, p. 38.

† *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V. p. 461.

Williams gives the following extracts from her pleadings to accompany Rama into banishment :

A wife must share her husband's fate. My duty is to follow thee
Where'er thou goest. Apart from thee, I would not dwell in heaven itself.
Deserted by her lord, a wife is like a miserable corpse.
Close as thy shadow would I cleave to thee in this life and hereafter.
Thou art my king, my guide, my only refuge, my divinity.
It is my fixed resolve to follow thee. If thou must wander forth
Through thorny trackless forests, I will go before thee, treading down
The prickly brambles to make smooth thy path. Walking before thee, I
Shall feel no weariness : the forest-thorns will seem like silken robes ;
The bed of leaves a couch of down. To me the shelter of thy presence
Is better far than stately places, and paradise itself.
Protected by thy arm, gods, demons, men shall have no power to harm me.
With thee I'll live contentedly on roots and fruits. Sweet or not sweet,
If given by thy hand, they will to me be like the food of life.
Roaming with thee in desert wastes, a thousand years will be a day ;
Dwelling with thee, e'en hell itself would be to me a heaven of bliss.*

The Mahabharata.—Dr. Muir gives several translations from this work in praise of women. The following are specimens :

"The weary man whom toils oppress,
When travelling through life's wilderness,
Finds in his spouse a place of rest,
And there abides, refreshed and blest."

"Although with children bright it teems,
And full of light and gladness seems,
A man's abode, without a wife,
Is empty, lacks its real life.
The housewife makes the house ; bereft
Of her, a gloomy waste 'tis left."

"Thou sayest right ;—for all the ills of life
No cure exists, my fair one, like a wife."

The following extract, though giving women credit for great cleverness, is otherwise far from laudatory :

"Deep steeped in Macchiavellian wiles,
With those that smile a woman smiles,
With those that weep dissolves in tears,
The sad with words of comfort cheers,
By loving tones the hostile gains,
And thus firm hold on men attains,—
Her action suiting well to all
Th' occasions that can e'er befall.
As words of truth she praises lies,
As arrant falsehood truth decries,
And, mistress of deceptive sleight,
Treats right as wrong, and wrong as right."

All powers which wizard demons old,
 Of whom such wondrous tales are told,
 Displayed the gods themselves to cheat,
 To blind, elude, and so defeat,—
 Such fascinating powers we find
 In artful women all combined.
 So skilfully they men deceive,
 So well their viewless nets can weave,
 That few whom once these syrens clasp,
 Can soon escape their magic grasp.
 Yet, once their earlier ardour cooled,
 They jilt the men they've thus befooled;
 And fickle newer objects seek
 To suit their changing passion's freak.
 Such charmers well to guide and guard,
 For men must prove a task too hard.”*

Dr. Muir says, “The Svayamvara, or selection of their own husbands by king’s daughters, appears, from the Mahabharata, to have been a common practice in later times.”

The women also were not secluded as they are now. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in his *Indo-Aryans*, gives an account of an “Indian Picnic,” taken from the Harivansa Parva :

“It depicts a state of society so entirely different from what we are familiar with in the present day, or in the later Sanskrit literature, that one is almost tempted to imagine that the people who took parts in it were some sea-kings of Norway, or Teuton knights carousing after a fight; and not Hindus; and yet, if the Sastras are to be believed they were the Hindus of Hindus. The two most prominent characters among them being no less than incarnations of the Divinity, and another a holy sage, who had abjured the world for constant communication with his Maker, and whose law-treatise (*Narada Sanhita*) still governs the conscience of the people.

“The scene of the Picnic was Pindaraka, a watering place on the west coast of Guzarat, near Dvarka. It is described as a *tirtha* or sacred pool, and the trip to it is called *tirtha-yatra*, or a pilgrimage to a holy place. The party headed by Baladeva, Krishna, and Arjuna, issued forth with their families and thousands of courtezans; spent the day in bathing, feasting, drinking, singing, and dancing; and returned home without performing any of the numerous rites and ceremonies which pilgrims are bound by the Sastras to attend to at sacred places.”

“Family women and prostitutes freely joined the men in their bacchanalian orgies, and the poet who records their deeds, seems to take delight in pointing how some tottered, and others fell, and others became reckless.”†

Woman in Manu’s Code.—This contains the fullest details re-

* *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, pp. 133-139.

† *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I. pp. 424, 425.

garding the position of women in ancient times. Some extracts are given below :

Women to be Honoured: 55. Women are to be honoured and adorned by fathers and brothers, by husbands, as also by brothers-in-law who desire much prosperity.

56. Where women are honoured, there the gods rejoice ; but where they are not honoured, there all rites are fruitless.

57. Where women grieve, that family quickly perishes ; but where they do not grieve, that (family) ever prospers.

58. Houses which women, not honoured, curse, those, as if blighted by magic, perish utterly.

59. Therefore they are ever to be honoured at ceremonies and festivals, with ornaments, clothes, and food, by men who desire wealth." Book. III.

Evil Qualities of Women. "The bed, the seat, adornment, desire, wrath, deceitfulness, proneness to injure and bad morals, Manu (the Creator) ordained for women. IX. 17.

The first three imply love of sleep, laziness, and vanity.

Women always to be under Control.—Day and night should women be kept by the male members of the family in a state of dependence. In pursuits to which they are too devoted they should be restrained under the husband's power.

The father guards them in childhood, the husband guards them in youth, in old age the sons guard them. A woman ought not to be in a state of independence. IX. 2, 3.

A Husband should not eat with his wife.—One should not eat with (his) wife, nor look at her eating, sneezing, yawning, or sitting at her ease. IV. 43.

How a Wife may be Punished.—A wife, son, slave, pupil, and own brother should, when they have committed faults, be beaten with a cord or a bamboo cane.

But on the back of the body (only), never on a noble part : if one should smite them on any other part than that, he would incur the sin of a thief. VIII. 299, 300.

At a meeting in Calcutta on "Hindu Marriage Customs," a speaker quoted Manu as laying down the rule, "Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults." No reference was given. If there is such a passage, it is in direct contradiction to the above.

The Husband like the Wife's God.—Though of bad conduct or debauched, or even devoid of (good) qualities, a husband must always be served like a god by a good wife. IX. 154.

No Religious Duties for Women.—For women there is no separate sacrifice, nor vow, nor even fast ; if a woman obeys her husband, by that she is exalted in heaven.

The good wife of a husband, be he living or dead, (if) she desire the world (where her) husband (is), must never do any thing disagreeable (to him). V. 155, 156.

No religious ceremony for women should be (accompanied) by *mantras* (except marriage),—with these words the rule of right is fixed; for women being weak creatures, and having no (share in the) *mantras*, are falsehood itself. So stands the law. IX. 18.

It is the duty of women, however, to tend the sacred fire.

Other quotations will be made from Manu with regard to marriage and widowhood.

Skanda Purana :

"Let a wife who wishes to perform sacred oblations, wash the feet of her lord, and drink the water; for a husband is to a wife greater than Siva or Vishnu. The husband is her god, her priest, and religion; wherefore abandoning everything else, she ought chiefly to worship her husband." IV. 35.

Hindu Tales.—Professor Wilson says :

"The greater number of them turn upon the wickedness of women, the luxury, profligacy, treachery, the craft of the female sex. These attributes no doubt originate in the feelings which have pervaded the East unfavourable to the dignity of the female character; but we are not to mistake the language of satire or the licentiousness of wit for truth, or to suppose that the pictures which are thus given of the depravity of women owe not much of their colouring to the malignity of men."*

Books of Morals.—The following are a few extracts :

Hitopadesa. If there is no place, if there is no opportunity, if there is no man to solicit, O Narada, does the chastity of woman appear, p. 122.

Neither shame, nor decorum, nor honesty, nor timidity, the want of a suitor is the sole cause of the chastity of woman." p. 121.

The appetite of woman is said to be twofold, their intellect fourfold, their craftiness sixfold, and their desire eightfold. p. 117.†

Niti Sinthamani : One may trust deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful large and fierce elephant, the tiger come for prey, the angel of death, a thief, a savage, a murderer; but if one trust a woman, without doubt he must wander about the streets a beggar.

Nitineri : Though her husband be of surpassing beauty, youthful, powerful in song, of an aspect to ravish the eyes of maidens, and uniting truth with courtesy in his pleasing address; the heart of women will still be fixed on others. 82.

Cural : This is said to be the work of a Jain. It is considered the standard treatise on morals in the Tamil country. The chapter on "The Worth of a Helpmeet" is thus versified by Robinson :—

Her husband's means her law of life,
Who fits the house,—she is the wife.
The greatness of the married state
The wife is, or it is not great.
What is there not, when sh's complete?
What is there, when she is not meet?
On what may more esteem be placed

* Works, Vol. IV., p. 114. † Johnson's Translation.

Than faithful woman firmly chaste?
 Instead of God, who worship pays
 Her spouse, says "Rain," and heaven obeys.
 True wives unwearied shrink from blame,
 Their husbands cherish, and their fame.
 Of what avail are prisons barr'd?
 Their chastity is women's guard.
 If women wifely bliss obtain,
 Great joy where dwell the gods they gain.
 With ill-famed wives, whom men deride,—
 Not theirs the lion-step of pride.
 With jewels of good children dress'd,
 Whose wives are blameless,—they are bless'd.*

Anceiyar, the Tamil poetess, says in the *Attisudi*, "Do not listen to the words of woman." Hearing some lords of creation reviling the character of the ladies, she turned upon them with the *impromptu* :—

All women are good if let alone,—
 They are spoilt by those who rule them;
 And by men might a little sense be shown,
 But the women so befool them.†

PRESENT EXCELLENCIES AND DEFECTS OF INDIAN WOMEN.

A teacher in instructing his pupils mentions their good points by way of encouragement; but he directs their attention mainly to those of a contrary character, dwelling upon them that they may be corrected. The same course must be followed in seeking the improvement of adults. It is to be remembered that the following remarks refer to Hindu women as a class. There are educated Indian ladies to whom the bad points by no means apply.

EXCELLENCIES.—Among them the following may be mentioned :

Faithfulness.—Widows are placed under peculiar circumstances of temptation, and there are conflicting opinions with regard to their chastity. Among the married women there are, of course, some who go astray; but, in general, Hindu women are faithful to their husbands. There are exceptions, as the Nair women of Travancore, who are notoriously the opposite. On the part of the men there is much greater laxity.

Devotion to their Husbands.—The language of Sita, already quoted, expresses in some measure the feelings of a Hindu wife. As a rule, she thinks lastly of herself.

Affection for their Children.—This is perhaps the most prominent feature of their character. By day, by night they are upon their

* *Tamil Wisdom*, pp. 37, 38. † *Tamil Wisdom*, p. 62.

mind. It is their good which is the main object of their multiplied observances, fastings and penances. No labour is too severe, no sacrifice too great on their account.

Attention to Household Duties.—Women of the upper classes are, some of them, great idlers; but, on the whole, Indian women are industrious.

Sympathy for the Poor and Distressed.—Some Hindu women will never cook for the family without laying aside a handful of grain to be given in charity. A beggar at the door must first be relieved before a woman can take her own meal.

It must be confessed, however, that much of this charity is misdirected, going to encourage idleness and vice.

Modesty.—In certain respects this is a marked feature, although it is conjoined with much of an opposite character as will hereafter be shown.

Freedom from Crime.—Sir W. W. Hunter says: "The proportion of female criminals to male criminals, or of female prisoners to male prisoners is a mere fraction in India to the proportion in England. Female drunkenness and the evils which attend upon female drunkenness are unknown in India."

Sir William adds: "But these safeguards also act as restrictions; and the questions have arisen whether Indian women do not purchase their safety at too high a price, and whether security is not now compatible with a larger measure of freedom."

Defects.—These will be noticed more in detail, to aid in their correction.

Ignorance.—This lies at the root of most of their failings. Were it removed, many of them would disappear. It affects the condition of the whole country in vital respects. The reasons alleged for maintaining the present state of things, will be noticed under Female Education.

Absorption with Trifles.—Pandit Sivanath Sastri says:

"Mark also the pettinesses, the littlenesses, and the mean jealousies to which our women are subject, owing to their ignorance and seclusion. Their mental vision seldom extends much beyond the limits of their individual domestic concerns. They live and grow in total forgetfulness of those large interests of humanity, a just comprehension of which alone entitles one to the dignity of manhood, and is the surest antidote to every form of meanness. The mean jealousies of our women have ruined the peace of many a household, have made enemies of brothers, and have caused in many cases the disruption of once united and happy families."*

A Passion for Jewels.—Mr. S. C. Bose, referring to Indian women, says, "The chief passion of their life is for the acquisition of ornaments." When they meet, they compare jewels, giving rise to

* *Indian Magazine*, 1882, p. 312.

much jealousy and ill-feeling. A wife complains that she has not so many jewels as her sister who is married to a richer husband, and the poor man is so pestered, that, for the sake of peace, he spends on useless trinkets the money that he could otherwise employ with great advantage.

Upwards of 200 crores of rupees is sunk in jewels. At 12 per cent. interest this would yield 24 crores a year—as much as the entire land tax. The craving for jewels is one of the chief causes of Indian poverty.

A Roman lady was once asked by another to show her jewels. Pointing to her two bright, well-educated boys, she said, “These are my jewels.”

False Modesty.—While it is admitted that there is a good deal of true modesty among the women, there is also much that is spurious. “In their estimation a woman who has not seen the face of any other man than her husband, if such a thing be possible, is a prodigy of virtue.” Yet many women, who are so careful about veiling their faces, do not scruple to use among themselves the most filthy language. It is impossible to explain the vile expressions which a mother will sometimes use towards her daughter.

Scolding Propensities.—Indian women are perhaps unrivalled in their powers for scolding. Buyers says, “I have often seen a woman continue to pour forth volley after volley of abuse on her husband for five or six hours, without, apparently, ever stopping to take breath, or being at a loss either for matter or for words. Nothing could equal her volubility, except it were his matchless power of endurance.” Women of the lower orders often make the whole neighbourhood ring with their loud, virulent and obscene railings. Mr. Mullick says, “Nothing is so disgusting in females as their scolding propensities. To arrest this evil the Hindu sages have prescribed a ritual called the *Madhu Sankranti*. Its essence consists in the bestowal of small brass cups, filled with honey, to Brahmans and priests. The young females hope that this act of charity would make them honey-tongued.”

There is, of course, more or less foul language among women in all countries. In England it is called Billingsgate, from a fish-market in London of this name, notorious for its ribaldry.

The scolding of Hindu women is not confined to their husbands. Much more frequently it is exerted among themselves. For some trifling cause, they give way to the vilest abuse.

Inability to Train their Children properly.—The formation of the children’s character rests mainly with the mother. “As the twig is bent, the tree inclines,” or, as a Tamil proverb puts it, “As is the thread, such is the cloth; as is the mother, such is the child.” Instruction in after-life often fails to counteract the evil of early-acquired bad habits.

An English poet says :

“Children are what their mothers are.
No fondest father’s wisest care
Can fashion so the infant heart,
As these creative beams that dart,
With all their hopes and fears, upon
The cradle of a sleeping son.”

In moral training, truthfulness should have the first place. An Indian lady writes :

“There is nothing that shakes the child’s confidence in the mother so much as any attempt at deception or concealment on her part. How many of our foolish mothers, in order to keep the child quiet, will invent a story, will tell a falsehood ! which, however, the child soon finds out, and what is the consequence ? The child mistrusts its mother, learns to disbelieve her, and will often bluntly contradict her, saying an abrupt ‘No’ to her statements ; whilst the silly mother, not knowing what harm she has done to her child, will turn round laughing to the other women, and say how clever and knowing her child is.”

Mr. Subha Rau gives the following illustration :

“At the time when the child is first learning the meaning of ‘right’ and ‘wrong,’ she is indiscriminate in shewing her approvals and disapprovals. If she is pleased, she smiles and pets the child, although it may have stolen some thing at the time. If she is angry, she thrashes the child for the very act, perhaps, at which she before smiled. She does not understand the importance of having complete control over her temper, of shewing her approval whenever the child does what is right, and her disapproval whenever it does what is wrong.”*

A Hindu mother screens the faults of her children, and keeps her husband in ignorance of them. Sometimes, for this purpose, she teaches her son to tell an untruth or commit an act of fraud. She stands in the way of the children being punished for their faults.

The Indian lady, already quoted, mentions other objectionable practices :

“One is that of frightening little children. Here again there is falsehood brought in. How many devils are summoned up ! What forms are given them ! And what grisly monsters are made to lie in the dark all night ready to swallow or harm the poor innocent little one ! All this a Hindu child alone knows and can tell. Fear, a kind of dread of the unknown and unseen, takes possession of the child. Imagination is stirred. Hideous, uncounted figures, in the shape of different gods and devils, rise before the child’s mind ; and the child becomes ever ready to listen to and believe all the idle stories of every old dame. Thus the mind early leans on the side of superstition, and timidity and cowardice are the results. And again, what can be said of the indulging, spoiling *Latchmi Ammal*, whose sole idea of ruling her children is by servile compliance with their demands ? Or of *Shesh Ammal*, who alternately keeps

* *The Christian College Magazine*, Vol. II. p. 525.

petting, coaxing, or punishing the child, whichever she is most inclined to?"*

The use of obscene language has already been noticed. It is frightfully common in India. *Native Public Opinion* says :

"We have not the consolation of flattering ourselves with the idea, that it is only the lowest classes of Hindus, the offscouring of society, that indulge in this habit, but we find that even men of respectability and of admitted worth, many times cross the bounds of decent speech, and launch into the most obscene invectives, that even Billingsgate would blush to hear."

Children are very ready to pick up any terms of abuse they hear, but in India they are sometimes even taught them. *Native Public Opinion* says :

"It is with the greatest pain that we have witnessed some fond relative unblushingly teach the prattling child to commence its innocent prattle with obscene words as if those unconscious poisoners are impatient to inculcate their vices to children, as if they are in a hurry to see their sins perpetuated in the rising generation as early as possible. The urehin instigated by the guardians of its life and honor, to try the experiment of abusing some brother or sister, in whose faces he finds he causes a pleasurable smile, is encouraged to continue the same ; and as he grows older and older, he brings in, to the already acquired stock of obscene expressions, what he can produce from his vitiated mind, or culls brighter gems of the same from others he comes in contact with." 23rd October, 1873.

Mr. Mullick says that the grandmother makes her grandson "learn a whole vocabulary of epithets and phrases of questionable decency, and when he applies them to his parents in a half articulated and half lisping manner, she is mightily glad. Should the young parents attempt to check these infantine improprieties, she is sorely annoyed."†

A good mother can train her children to obedience without resorting to false fears, and she instils into their minds the great moral truths which should be their guide through life. Mr. Mullick, referring to Hindu children, says, "It takes them years to rid themselves of the ideas put into their head in infancy ; but even here the demolition is not thorough. Weakness, cowardice, timidity, and apathy, are not completely eradicated, and some of their best faculties remain undeveloped."‡

Little Moral Influence over their Husbands.—*The Hindu* has the following remarks on this point :

"In no sense can she be a friend to her husband. She is illiterate, and her experience of men and things and her ability to advise her husband in matters not connected with domestic life, are absolutely nil.

* *The Indian Magazine*, 1885, pp. 15, 17. † *The Hindu Family*, p. 48.

‡ *The Hindu Family*, p. 91.

Nor does she possess courage enough as her sisters of those days possessed to remonstrate against the wrongs of her husband or against his evil ways. What Hindu woman in these days, will command the wisdom and boldness to address her husband in times of difficulty with which Sakuntala addressed King Dushyanta when he declined to recognize her and her son? When he refused to listen to her prayers, she appealed as the highest authority to *the voice of conscience* in the following words: 'If you think I am alone you do not know that wise man within your heart. He knows of your evil deed—in *his* sight you commit sin. A man who has committed sin may think that no one knows it. The gods know it, and the old man within.' This is not the language of a woman of the modern Hindu type, ignorant, timid, and fickle. Married before she acquired the age of discrimination to a boy of whose character and conduct nothing could be known, she is a stranger to all virtues of youth as to the benefits of liberal education; knows no period of life between girlhood and womanhood, and is a premature victim to family cares and to the vagaries of her husband. She can neither resist adversity with courage and dignity, nor remonstrate with effect against ill-treatment. In no sense is she a friend to her husband, much less can she help him in crossing the ocean of worldly life, nor lead him to heaven." July 4th, 1888.

The highest service a wife can render to a husband is to stimulate him to a course of noble conduct; but here the failure is complete.

Superstitious Beliefs.—According to Manu and the Mahabharata, a wife's husband is her god, and she has nothing to do with religion. Dr. Muir gives the following sentiment as found in both the Itihasas:

"That wife to bliss celestial soars,
Whose loving care her lord delights,
Although she shuns all holy rites,
And never any god adores."*

An "Eminent Indian Gentleman," at a meeting held in Calcutta on "Hindu Marriage Customs," said, "The ladies of our family also come to learn and believe from their infancy that their husbands are the only beings on this earth whom they should look up to for their worldly comfort, whom they should worship as their God, and that their only bounden duty is to serve their husbands."†

Such is the *theory*, but *practice* is very different. In their way, Hindu women are the most religious creatures in the world; they are a bundle of superstitions. They frighten their children by imaginary hobgoblins; they suffer themselves in turn from superstitious fears. Every phase of life—childhood, puberty, pregnancy, maturity, widowhood, has its share of ceremonies. They are devotedly attached to their husbands, and especially to their children. They will go to any expense and suffer any inconvenience and trouble for their sake.

* *Metrical Translations*, p. 137. † *Speeches*, p. 64.

On what do they rely for the health of their children? Chiefly on superstitious observances. A Bengali child was called by his mother *Tinkori* (three cowries). She did this with the idea that Yama, the god of death, would not care for paltry things such as three shells; but, to gratify his hunger after human lives, would direct his attention to those who bear grand names.

A Hindu woman will not name her husband, she will not eat in his presence, she will not learn to read, under the idea that it would hasten his death.

When children are very sick, Hindu mothers believe that it is caused by the displeasure of some god or goddess or by the influence of some evil spirit. They will use medicines as far as they and their physicians know: but they trust largely to charms, to offerings, and vows. Sometimes a mother will vow to eat with her left hand till her child recovers; sometimes she will promise a goat to a goddess if she will effect a cure. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra says there is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal the mistress of which has not at one time or other offered some of her blood to Kali in performance of a vow when a child was dangerously ill.

Priests frequently work upon the credulity of the women, and the latter are always ready to believe any story that the former may think it profitable to invent. Women are quite enthusiastic on this point, and though they are very obedient to their husbands in other respects, yet in this matter husbands are quite unable to control them.

This religion is practised, not with the hope of a future reward, but with an expectation of good in this world. Hindu women, through their ignorance, are among the most fearful creatures on the face of the earth, and a great part of their religion proceeds from fear.

Every educated man knows the worthlessness of charms and ceremonies for the prevention or cure of disease. A Hindu mother is afraid to have her child vaccinated, lest it should provoke the anger of Devi by interfering with her "sport." The surest course to avert sickness is to attend to the laws of health, but of these she is totally ignorant.

Hindu children imbibe most degrading ideas of religion. They see their mothers bow down to an object that can neither see nor hear, and from their earliest years they are taught to follow their example. There is an Indian proverb, "As is the God so is the worshipper." Persons who worship senseless objects are apt to become like them.

Hindu children, instead of being taught to look up to God as their loving father in heaven always watching over them, and whose ear is ever open to their cry, imbibe the grossest polytheism.

and idolatry ; while their religion is one mainly of fear and empty ceremony.

"The great majority of the inhabitants of India," says Sir Monier Williams, "from the cradle to the burning ground, are haunted and oppressed by a perpetual dread of demons. They are firmly convinced that evil spirits of all kinds, from malignant fiends to merely mischievous imps and elves, are ever on the watch to harm, harass, and torment them, to cause plague, sickness, famine and disaster, to impede, injure, and mar every good work." This demonophobia was learned from their ignorant mothers.

The Excellencies and Defects of India women have thus been briefly reviewed.

THE CAUSE OF FEMALE DEGRADATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. .

Male Selfishness.—As is often the case, the strong have tyrannised over the weak. The treatment of Hindu women is well expressed by Mr. D. E. Gimi :

"We have not only enslaved them, but also impressed on them that it is derogatory to their true dignity to seek freedom. We have imposed our own opinions—selfish and interested—of their real dignity on them to such an extent that most of them believe that it really unsexes them to be any thing else but creatures 'of sufferance.' From the remotest times we have been systematically teaching the sex that they are most virtuous when they surrender all their rights, make no claims, and in every way submit themselves to the views and wishes, expressed and unexpressed, of their lord and master. In all ages and climes, the soft pliant nature of women has been imposed on and abused. Man has moulded this nature for his own selfish purposes. Among other things, he has made her so wanting in self-reliance that she cheerfully, even gladly, accepts the position assigned to her, and not only asks no more than what the husband gives or wishes to give her, but considers it a sin to breathe a wish for more."

The most cruel invention of Brahmanism was to give a Hindu widow the idea that she would become pre-eminentlly virtuous (*Sati*), by being burnt alive with the dead body of her husband.

The most blasphemous claim of the men is to be treated as the god of the women. It is true that they have not succeeded ; but their guilt is all the same.

Mam, indeed, gives directions for the kind treatment of women ; but even here male selfishness is apparent :

"Women are to be honoured and adored by fathers and brothers, by husbands, or also by brothers-in-law *who desire much prosperity.*"

"*Houses which women, not honoured, curse, those, as if blighted by magic, perish utterly.*"

"Therefore they are ever to be honoured at ceremonies and festivals,

with ornaments, clothes, and food, by *men who desire wealth.*" III. 56, 58, 59.

"When women (are found) blest *because of offspring*, worthy of honour, (true) lamps in the house, then there is not the slightest distinction in the homes (of men) between (them) and Happiness." IX. 26.

Dr. Burnell remarks on the last quotation: "The lofty sentiment is however restricted by the clause 'because of offspring,' which is the sole reason from the standpoint of the law book why women deserve honour." The quotations from Book III. bring forward a still lower motive—the "desire of wealth."

Degradation of Hindu Men.—The well-known lines of Tennyson express the truth:

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

Men in India have sought to degrade women, but they have been dragged down to their level. There is a false idea among some Europeans that women in India are like slaves to their husbands; but often it is the very reverse. A Native Paper says that the educated Hindu who roars like a lion at a public meeting, is the meekest of meek little jackals in the presence of his women-folk at home. Another Native paper says, that "The educated Native is nowhere so miserable and crestfallen, as in his home, and by none is he so much embarrassed as by his female relations. His private life may be said to be at antipodes with his public career. A Demosthenes at Debating Societies, whose words tell as peals of thunder, a Luther in his public protestations against prevailing corruptions, a thorough-going Cockney in ideas and tastes, he is but a timid crouching Hindu in his home, yielding unquestioning submission to the requisitions of a superstitious family."

Hindus are "hereditary bondsmen." They are the victims of a far more rigorous despotism than the worst form of European tyranny. The despot, says Sir Monier Williams, "is not a man, but a woman, and sometimes an old woman—and not seldom a very old woman. This home despotism not unfrequently centres in some grandmother or great-grandmother; or, if she does not rule openly, she is the secret wire-puller. She gives the impulse to the whole machinery, to the wheel within wheel of the household machine, swaying it in one direction or the other, according to her own peculiar bias of character; and that bias, too often, alas! sets in the wrong direction."*

Mr. M. Rangachari says:

"As affairs now stand in our society, everybody knows perfectly well the influence of our grandmothers in checking all reform and in scrupulously preserving all absurd and ridiculously stupid superstitions. In

battles between wisdom and prejudice, between knowledge and ignorance, the Hindu grandmother often proves successful; and so tenacious is she that she can be conquered only by death.”*

The educated Hindu squanders money in ways which he knows to be idiotic, he joins in idolatrous ceremonies in which he thoroughly disbelieves, simply because he is under the sway of ignorant women. The grandmother is the true Kaiser-i-Hind or Empress of India.

SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESENT STATE OF THINGS.

At the meeting of “Eminent Indian Gentlemen” held in Calcutta on “Hindu Marriage Customs” one speaker, an M. A., said: “In fact the conjugal bliss in a Hindu family is as perfect as possible. Of course, under this head, I do not mean those men who have been reformed and remodelled by the English education. I mean only those who are not brought up in English education.”†

Another speaker said, that Englishmen, from their ignorance, “do not at all know the peace, the purity, the happiness that reign in our society, and hence they grieve and are surprised. If they had enjoyed but for twenty-four hours the sight of the pleasant flowers and lilies that adorn our society, they would never have tried to pluck them, and bring in filth and mud in their place.”‡

The greatest savages, like some “Eminent Indian Gentlemen,” are quite contented with their present condition. This, however, is one of its worst features. Sir Stuart Bayley, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, referred to “that fatal feeling of contentment with the existing order of things in Hindu society which is the worst foe of progress.” *The Hindu* puts it some more strongly: “The contentment of our people is the result of moral death during centuries.”

Hindu women also, as a class, think that they have nothing to complain of, and they are perfectly satisfied. The iron has entered their soul. The depth of their degradation is that they do not know that they are degraded. Like prisoners long confined in a jail, they have no desire for freedom.

The fact is that most so-called educated Hindus are not educated in the true and full sense of the word; they have looked to education simply as a means of temporal advancement, and have therefore crammed to pass certain examinations. Mr. H. J. S. Cotton truly says in *New India*: “Collegiate impressions are at present like a tinsel outdoor decoration discarded by their possessor as a superfluity in private.” A recent writer in the *Calcutta Review* says: “The student is a Hindu to the very innermost fibre, and the knowledge he has crammed is merely an instrument of trade, and does not affect his character more than the colour of his clothes.”

* *The Christian College Magazine*, Vol., IV. p. 923. † *Speeches*, p. 43. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 80.

Friends of Progress.—It is satisfactory that there are some who do not share the views of the "Eminent Indian Gentlemen" whose opinions have been quoted. Even the Chairman of the meeting, the learned Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in bringing the proceedings to a close, said :—

"I have another remark to make about the speeches. They produced in me a sense of intense conservatism—an excessive amount of Toryism, unrelieved by any dissent. Every thing we have is good, and nothing should be done to disturb the *status quo*. This consensus of opinion is doubtless gratifying to me as a Hindu; but it is not in accord with the supreme law of nature. There is nothing in *status quo* in the universe. Change is the order of existence. The powers of nature are irresistible; they will bring on change as time flows on, and we must, will we or *nil* we, yield, and accommodate ourselves to our circumstances and surroundings. Our ancestors have done so all along, and we must do so likewise."*

Some of the means of progress will now be considered.

FEMALE EDUCATION.

This lies at the root of all improvement. Its value, however, depends upon its quality, and the manner in which it is employed: it may be worse than useless.

A Modern Idea.—Hindu literature mentions a few cases of educated women. Mr. P. Chentsal Row, of Madras says, "The names of Gargi and Savitri are well known for their learning, the writings of Avvayar, Kalyanadevi, and Molli are still extant and admired." Two works on mathematics and logic are popularly ascribed to Lilavati. Yagnavalkya is said to have unfolded to his wife the mysteries of philosophy. Instances of another kind are also recorded. Durgavati led her army against Asuf Khan; Chand Sultana nobly defended Ahmadnagar; Tulsi Bai, the favourite wife of Jeswant Rao, headed the Mahratta horse on her elephant. As it would be wrong to infer from the latter that Hindu women generally fought as soldiers, so it is illogical to suppose that female education was general at any period in the history of India. Ramabai, the Sanskrit scholar of the present day, is an example. In like manner, learned men in former times occasionally taught their wives and daughters.

Manu's Codo forbids women, like the Sudras, to be taught the law or religious observances. The Bhagavat says: "The Vedas are not even to be heard either by the servile class, women, or degraded Brahmans." The late Dr. K. M. Banerjea says: "As pronunciation, grammar, versification, arithmetic, &c., were included in the number of the Vedangas, an almost insuperable barrier may be said to have been opposed to the education of Sudras and women."

The only *classes* who seem to have been taught to read are the dancing girls attached to the temples in South India, and some Vaishnava female devotees in Bengal. The Report of the Education Commission says: "The idea of giving girls a school education, as a necessary part of their training for life, did not originate in India till quite within our own days." (p. 522).

The first girls' schools in India were opened by Christian Missionaries, and it is they who initiated the movement in every province of the country.

General Statistics of Female Education.—The early "Statistical Abstracts" simply give the total number of pupils, without distinguishing the sexes. The first separate record the compiler has seen is for 1878. The progress since then is shown by the following table:—

Number under Instruction.

| | | |
|------|-----|---------|
| 1878 | ... | 78,678 |
| 1880 | ... | 107,151 |
| 1883 | ... | 162,371 |
| 1886 | ... | 213,428 |

The Report of the Education Commission gives the Educational Census of India in 1881, exclusive of Native States attached to certain Provinces and of British Burma. The portion relating to female education is as follows:—

| | Total female population. | Under instruction. | Able to read and write, but not under instruction. | PROPORTION TO TOTAL POPULATION | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| | | | | Females under instruction. | Females who can read and write, but are not under instruction. |
| Madras ... | 15,749,588 | 39,104 | 94,571 | 1 in 403 | 1 in 166 |
| Bombay, British Ter. ... | 7,956,696 | 18,460 | 32,648 | " 431 | " 244 |
| Do. Native States ... | 3,368,894 | 2,733 | 5,145 | " 1232 | " 655 |
| Bengal ... | 34,911,270 | 35,760 | 61,449 | " 976 | " 568 |
| N. W. P. and Oudh ... | 21,195,313 | 9,771 | 21,590 | " 2169 | " 981 |
| Punjab, British Ter. ... | 8,640,384 | 6,101 | 8,407 | " 1416 | " 1028 |
| Central Provinces do. ... | 4,879,356 | 3,171 | 4,187 | " 1539 | " 1165 |
| Assam ... | 2,377,723 | 1,068 | 1,786 | " 2226 | " 1331 |
| Coorg ... | 77,863 | 431 | 356 | " 180 | " 219 |
| Berars ... | 1,292,181 | 356 | 789 | " 3630 | " 1638 |
| Ajmir ... | 211,878 | 245 | 963 | " 865 | " 220 |
| | 100,661,146 | 117,200 | 231,891 | 1 in 858 | 1 in 434 |

As early as 1849 some of the young men in Bombay, connected with the Elphinstone Institution, honourably distinguished themselves in the cause of female education :

"They opened schools for girls and taught them. They prepared books adapted to the special requirements of the girls; they started a monthly periodical so that the girls might be able to read it after they had left school. In all they did they had the sympathy and active co-operation of their professors. Dr. Reid was one of them, and he helped them in a manner which the professors and pupils of the present day might justly envy. He encouraged them with words like the following: 'You must endure for many a long day the reproaches and sneers of the ignorant and heartless. Instead of sauntering quietly along the broad highway of usage, you must brace your loins for a toilsome journey and climb many a *ghat*. Before all and above all, remember that you must always be *advancing*. If you move not forward, you are going backward.'"^{*}

Including all kinds of female education, Sir A. W. Croft says : "The Parsis are ahead, educating 70 per cent. of their girls. Europeans follow closely with 65 per cent. Native Christian girls fall to 35 per cent., and Burmese still lower to 10 or 11 per cent., though from what is known of this last race it is probable that there is a good deal of female education in Burma which never enters into the returns. Sikhs show 2 per cent., while the general body of the Hindu and Muhammadan population have less than 1 per cent. of their girls at school. The percentage among Muhammadans would be still less if schools of recognised instruction were alone considered; but the proportion is brought up, as in the case of boys, by the large number of Muhammadan girls that read the Koran in indigenous *maktabs*."[†]

Although the number of females under instruction is still lamentably small, it is so far satisfactory that it has increased from 78,678 in 1878 to 213,428 in 1886.

Japan is far ahead of India with regard to female education. In 1886 there were 3,119,423 males under instruction in India as compared with 213,428 females. Japan, with a population of 38 millions, less than one-fourth that of British India, had 2,328,418 in school, including almost as many girls as boys.

HINDU OBJECTIONS TO FEMALE EDUCATION.—A few of these will be noticed.

1. **Its alleged Uselessness.**—It is asked, "What will women do with it?" They cannot become clerks and attend public offices. The degrading ideas held of education are thus shown. It is valued only as a means of making money. A man will sometimes say,

^{*} A Correspondent in *The Times of India*.

[†] *Review of Education in India in 1886*. p. 283.

"Why should I continue my studies? I think I have already as much salary as I am likely to get." Learning is its own reward. Right education will help a woman to bring up her children properly, which is of greater value than mere lakhs of rupees.

2. **It would cause the Neglect of Household Affairs.**—There is no doubt that home work is one of the first duties of a wife. Food should be nicely cooked, good order and cleanliness should be observed throughout the family. But an intelligent woman can get through her work faster and better than one who is uneducated. At present much of the time of the women is spent in silly talk and squabbles, which might be more profitably devoted to reading.

3. **Women would be corrupted by Indian Literature.**—There is some force in this objection. Mr. Mullick says, "It is lamentable that there should be very few books fit to be placed in our females' hands. As a rule, our standard books have much of the coarseness and indelicacy of thought and expression, which should not be devoured by our daughters and sisters."*

Sir Monier Williams says :

"We must also make allowances for the difference in eastern manners; though, after conceding a wide margin in this direction, it must be confessed that the disregard of all delicacy in laying bare the most revolting particulars of certain ancient legends which we now and then encounter in the Indian epics (especially in the Mahābhārata) is a serious blot."†

The late Rev. P. Percival, Professor of Vernacular Literature in the Presidency College, Madras, says :

"Romantic stories are treated so as to command admiration as far as richness of language and description are concerned, but not unfrequently containing a vein whose tendency is essentially and grossly immoral.

"It is not meant that the Hindus are exclusive in this sort of taste; the dramatists and novelists of Europe, even of England, furnish evidence to the contrary. But the Hindu exceeds the Westerns in his utter transgression of all bounds of decency. No conception can be formed of some of the productions of the Hindus; they are grossly extravagant in the fertility of licentiousness."‡

The most popular tale in Bengali, *Vidya Sundar*, is marked by the above defect. Pandit Sivanath Sastri describes some of the educated Bengali ladies as "voracious readers of the novels and dramas of the time."

The remedy, however, is to provide wholesome literature—not to keep the women from learning to read. This will form the subject of a separate chapter.

* *The Hindu Family*, p. 106. † *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 44. ‡ *Land of the Veda*, p. 122.

4. **It would be Misused.**—Some of the libellous representations of women current in India have already been quoted. *Manu* describes them as “falsehood itself.” If women were educated, they would send letters making appointments, they would learn to use charms and poisons to destroy those whom they disliked. They are considered wicked enough already, and education would simply increase their power for mischief. Brahmins have said that to educate a woman is like “putting a knife in the hand of a monkey.”

The answer to this objection may best be given in the words *Rai Bahadur P. Runganatham Mudeliyar*, of Madras :

“As to the doctrine that education is likely to lead women into evil doing, I can see no more sense in it than in the statement that it were better for a man to have had no legs to walk with, as a man’s legs might sometimes carry him into a ditch. And it is not the fault of the legs that the man tumbles into a ditch. Do those who maintain that education tends to make women wicked, also maintain that education has the same effect on men? If not, why should it be assumed that what is meat for men is poison for women? The truth is, that the doctrine that education exerts a deleterious influence on the moral character of women is a mere pretext for denying education to them, and for perpetuating the tyranny of the stronger over the weaker. I should count it a reproach to one’s manhood for one to say that education in itself has any tendency to weaken those female virtues of purity and modesty and sympathy and submissiveness for which Hindu women have always been remarkable. Far from weakening these virtues, I sincerely believe that sound intellectual and moral training will impart to them a new grace and sweetness. The love and fidelity of the Hindu wife is above all praise; but education will make this love sweeter and more refined, if not more devoted. The Hindu woman is characterised by genuine piety; but it is a piety made up of many spurious elements—fear and superstition and false notions of religion. How is this genuine piety to be purged of the spurious, of the baser elements of it, except by filling the mind and heart with true notions and lofty imaginings, and by arming women with those weapons of knowledge and reasoning with which they may learn as much of the mystery of the universe as it is given man to know? The Hindu mother’s affection for her children is unquestionable; but the affection of an ignorant mother is likely to produce more harm than good. Sympathy for poor relations and general charity are highly commendable; but indiscriminate charity—charity bestowed on the least deserving objects, charity of the sort which saves a man the trouble of helping himself—is worse than useless. But why need I multiply instances to show that every virtue that the Hindu woman is known to possess will be refined, purified, strengthened, and expanded by a judicious system of education and discipline?”*

5. **The Women themselves do not desire it.**—This is not surprising. *Mr. Mullick* says, “Woman was made to abhor knowledge as an unmixed evil.” The idea has been fostered that for a woman to

learn to read would cause the death of her husband and make her a widow. As already mentioned, the depth of the degradation of women is that they do not feel it, that they are quite contented with their lot. Some of them when asked to learn to read will say, "What! have I to become a writer? What! have I to go to offices?"

But it is the indifference of the men that is the chief cause of this want of desire on the part of the women. One has said, "What is the use of my learning to read or to write? I am only laughed at. My husband does not encourage me. No one seems to approve." A Bengali lady, had a desire to study. When the head of the household, her uncle-in-law, heard of it, he said, "What a she-devil have I brought into the family! She will completely ruin us."

Mr. Chentsal Rao said at Madras :

"Primarily, I hold our educated men responsible for the ignorance of women. How many families are there not now in which the men are highly educated and the women left ignorant even of the alphabet. Every educated man, at least every graduate of our University who has made a solemn promise at the University convocation to promote education, should take a vow to educate his wife, daughters, and sisters, and should consider it a disgrace to be at the head of a family wherein the ladies are uneducated and are unable to participate, at least to some extent, in his intellectual enjoyments."

There are other sad proofs of this lamentable indifference. The so-called educated men still squander their money on nautches and empty show, while the support of female education is left to a very select few.

Hindu women, as a rule, are devotedly attached to their husbands, and if the latter were in earnest about female education, it would soon be secured.

M. Paul Bert, when Minister of Public Instruction in France, truly said : "*By educating a boy you get an educated individual, but by educating a girl you get an educated family.*"

Female Ignorance the crowning device of Hinduism.—Brahmans are certainly wise in their generation. Until the country began to be affected by Western ideas, the whole people were under their sway,—they were regarded as "mortal gods on earth." The fetters of caste which they had forged were prized as ornaments of gold. The strength of the system lay in the ignorance of the women. In their simplicity, they would swallow the most astounding fables regarding the power of their spiritual guides, and were eager to carry out every superstitious observance which was enjoined. So long as the Brahmans kept their hold over the women, the men

were also secure. We see this at present in the case even of some University graduates, who conceal the heart of an atheist under the robe of an idolater.

Educated Men should have Educated Wives.—The advantages are thus stated by Miss Manning :

“The girls who receive education are thereby brought within the same sphere of interests as the educated young men ; and by this means the chasm which is apt to separate intellectually husband and wife becomes lessened. The girl may still be far behind the College student ; one would not desire in ordinary life that it should be otherwise. But she will be able to enter into her husband's ideas ; she will not run in an absolutely different groove ; she will judge things more from the same stand-point ; her home aims will be brought into greater harmony with his ; she will become a more interesting companion ; she will have made the initial step which will enable his influence and aid to tell on her progress ; and she will be better fitted for the training of her children. Even supposing that the old ways sufficed for the happiness and usefulness of Indian women in former times, it does not follow that they suffice under the present conditions, when a new line of education has moulded differently the minds of their husbands and brothers, and when new aspirations have been formed and new views are entertained. In India women have always exerted much sway over their family circle. If that influence is to continue, and its social life is to be improved and elevated, education must be acknowledged as a necessity for women as well as for men, and must be freely supplied to them.”*

Pandit Sivanath Sastri thus points out the baneful moral effects of the marriage of educated men with illiterate women :

“The ignorance of their wives does not allow them to regard them as rational and moral companions, consequently their sexual relationship is without that elevating power and moral influence which true marriage always exercises on the mind. Very few people can justly apprehend the nature and depth of the social degradation caused by this contemplation of women, not as a rational and moral companion, but as an object of selfish pleasure. This low standard of conjugal life vitiates the very root of conjugal morality. Accordingly it is no wonder that the state of conjugal morality amongst our men is, in many cases, deplorable.”†

THE EDUCATION NEEDED.

The value of education depends upon its character and employment. It may do much good, it may be of little value—nay it may be worse than useless.

Adaptation to the Sex.—Pandit Sivanath Sastri makes the following complaint regarding female education in Bengal :

“There is another evil from which these schools suffer. Nobody seems to have spent a particle of thought on the system of education to be followed in these schools. In the absence of thoughtful guidance,

* *The Indian Magazine*, 1886, pp. 60, 61. † *Indian Magazine*, 1882, pp. 311, 312.

the system pursued in boys' schools is blindly followed, and much that is useless to the girls is taught at the neglect of subjects that would be more profitable to these feminine learners."*

Mr. Mullick quotes the following from Miss F. P. Cobbe :

"The making of a true home is really our peculiar and inalienable right—a right which no man can take from us, for a man can no more make a home than a drone can make a hive. He can build a palace or a castle, but, poor creature ! be he wise as Solomon, or rich as Croesus, he cannot turn it into a home. It is a woman, and only a woman ; a woman all by herself if she likes and without any man to help her, who can turn a house into a home. Now if this be the legitimate mission of woman and this be her monopoly, it ought to be seen how far the education of a girl as if she was exactly a boy, would answer the object which she must chiefly keep in view."†

The Hon. Mr. Justice Muttusawmi Aiyar said at Madras :

"Another matter which requires attention is that the curriculum which is designed for girls should not be framed too much on the pattern of the curriculum prescribed for boys. It should be specially adapted to the wants of women in life. It should embrace subjects of study which supply information useful to women in their several life relations. It is not enough that they learn to read and write and keep accounts, but it is also necessary that they should be enabled to lay in a stock of knowledge which will be of service to them in managing the house, in nursing relations through illness, in bringing up and training children, in enforcing attention to cleanliness and to the laws of health, in rendering the home neat and tidy, in imparting to the home life a tone of cheerful contentment, in sustaining and raising that energy of female character which creates a lovely and happy home out of bare competence, and in acquitting themselves well and honourably amidst all the vicissitudes of life as wives, daughters, and mothers. In proportion as education enhances their usefulness and value in life, it will secure a permanence in the country. There is something which does not harmonise with conventional sentiment in designating the different stages of culture that attained by girls by tests devised for boys. I think this had better be avoided, and the tests prescribed for and the certificates of proficiency issued to girls had better be differently designated.... The aggregate culture which is provided should represent what in our judgment marks a good housewife, an enlightened woman, and a friend of progress."‡

With some exceptions, this adaptation of studies to the wants of women has been largely ignored even by English and American ladies engaged in female education. A Reading Book for advanced classes in Girls' Schools and for Zenanas was published about twenty years ago in the principal languages of India by the Christian Vernacular Education Society. Several experienced ladies were consulted about the lessons on domestic economy, and

* *The Indian Magazine*, 1882, p. 315. † *The Hindu Family*, p. 126.
‡ *Journal of National Indian Association*, 1883, pp. 577, 578.

those on health were prepared or revised by medical missionaries. The following is a classified list of the lessons :

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL.

Introductory Lesson.
The Broad and the Narrow Way.
The Use of Learning.
The Looking Glass.
The Best Ornaments.
The Bible.
The Boy and the Echo.
Whom should we Worship ?
Evil Speaking.
What kind of Heart have you got ?
Scolding Women.
The Redeemer.
Omens.
The Wedding Garment.
Lucky and Unlucky Days.
The Way to be Happy.
Charms.
The Ring.
Marriage Customs.
The Golden Rule.
Choice of a Husband.
Fate.
Duty to a Husband, Part I.
The One Thing Needful.
Duty to a Husband, Part II.
Family Religion.
Kindness among Neighbours.
Daily Duties.
Duty to the Poor.
Condition of Women in Heathen Countries.
Good Management.
The Influence of Women.
Getting into Debt.
Benefits of Affliction.
Strength for Duty.
Old and New Houses.

ON HEALTH

Health and Sickness.
The Damp House.
Contrasted Cottages.
Vaccination.
Bathing.
Cleanliness.
Pure Air.
Food and Water.
Attending the Sick.
Medicine.

Worms, Itch, &c.
Measles, Hooping Cough, &c.
Colds, Fever and Rheumatism.
Diarrhoea, Dysentery and Cholera.
Madness.
Sore Eyes, Burns, Wounds.
Poisons and Drowning.

THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL
TRAINING OF CHILDREN.

Example better than Precept.
Obedience.
The Way of teaching Children to Cry.
Rewarding and Punishing Children.
Truth and Sincerity.
Justice and Honesty.
Good Temper.
Brothers and Sisters.
Amusements of Children.
Bad Companions.
Sins of the Tongue.
Industry.
Caste.
Kindness of Disposition.
Teaching about God.
Teaching about Christ.
Teaching Children to Pray, &c.
Times for Religious Teaching.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Changing the Shape of the Body.
Furniture.
Lessons from Flowers.
Sewing and Washing.
Food.
Condiments.
Food of different Nations.
The Price of Grain.
Clothing.
Books and Printing.
Travelling by Land.
Travelling by Water.
Balloons and Diving Bells.
Modes of Measuring Time.
Light.
Microscope and Telescope.
The Electric Telegraph.
Earthquakes and Volcanoes.
The Stars.

The results have been most disheartening. The need of such lessons never seems to have entered the minds of most ladies. The

book has all these years had a very limited circulation. The well-known writer, A. L. O. E., prepared another work, more elementary, but it has also had a small sale.

It is so far satisfactory that the want is beginning to be felt. At the Punjab Ladies' Missionary Conference, held in 1882, Miss Greenfield read a paper on "Educational Literature," in which the following remark is made:—

"No sooner does the new-comer enter on zenana or school work, than the question arises, 'What books shall I use?' And much of the success of her work will depend on a wise choice."

Miss Greenfield further adds:—

"First of all we want...a special series of books for girls, which should be composed of a carefully graduated course of lessons comprising moral and religious teaching, lessons on sanitary arrangements, household management, common objects, geography, history, arithmetic and letter-writing:

"Then we want more books for our advanced pupils: history, geography, sketches from Nature, poetry—something elevating and refining. It seems to me useless to teach a woman to read fluently, if you have nothing to put into her hands to read after all."*

At the second Ladies' Conference, held in 1888, it was found that little or no progress had been made in the direction indicated. Miss Wauton, of Amritsar, was asked to prepare a Series of Reading Books for Girls' Schools and Zenanas, and a circular was issued to ladies in the Punjab inviting suggestions. This will probably be the basis of a new Series to be published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society.

Indian Educational Codes are beginning to recognise Hygiene and Domestic Economy as subjects. The standards for girls should be further developed. In Arithmetic and Grammar, less should be expected from girls than from boys.

Religious Teaching.—Above all, female education should be pervaded by a religious spirit. Missionary ladies teach Scripture stories and the Bible; but sometimes, especially in Bengal, there is great carelessness about what, in school language, are called "Readers."

The *Bornoporichoy* is the elementary reading book principally used in Bengal. The two parts contain 67 pages. Throughout the whole, there does not seem to be a single allusion to God or a future state. The grand argument against telling lies or using bad words is, that a boy will be disliked by others if he does. The *Sunday Mirror* thus notices them:—

"We decidedly object to the tone of the Bengali primers used in our Schools. We are sorry to say these books totally eschew the religious

* Report of Punjab Ladies' Missionary Conference, pp. 70, 72.

sanctions of morality, so much so that the word God is not to be found in their pages. It follows from this that boys of five to eight years of age are kept in woful ignorance of such a Being as God; and strange to say, it is these books which are used as texts wherever the Bengali language is taught." Jan. 4th, 1880.

The *Bornoporichoy* is often followed by the *Bodhodoy*, based on *The Rudiments of Knowledge*, published by Messrs. Chambers; but the Bengali translation is mutilated as described below.

The original contains the following :—

"It is our duty to love God and to pray to Him, and thank Him for all His mercies."

This is *omitted*. The original contains the following :—

"When a body is dead, all its life is gone. It cannot see or feel, or move; it is an inanimate object, and is so unpleasant to look upon, that it is buried in the ground where it rots into dust, and is no more seen on earth. *But although the bodies of mankind die and are buried, they have SOULS which live for ever, and which are given up to God who gave them.*"

The passage in italics, referring to a future state, has been *omitted*. The translation merely states that the body is buried or burned on the funeral pile. The original contains the following :—

"Mankind are called *rational or reasoning beings*, in consequence of having minds to reflect on what they see and do. They are also called *responsible or accountable beings*, because they have souls, which are accountable to God for actions done during life. But none of the lower animals are rational or accountable beings. They have not souls to be accountable, nor minds capable of thinking. They do not know right from wrong. When a beast dies it perishes for ever."

The above clearly points out the distinction between men and brutes. The latter perish for ever at death; the former have souls and are responsible beings. The whole passage has been omitted.

It will be seen that the author has deliberately struck out the injunction to worship God; the moral teaching has no reference to God's will, but simply to what people around would think or do; passages teaching the immortality of the soul, the responsibility of man and the difference between him and the brutes that perish, have been omitted. It is deeply to be regretted that such books, some years ago, were largely used even in Christian schools. It is to be hoped that they have now been superseded by others. They are unfit for all schools except those supported by atheists.

The different Departments of Education will now be noticed in more detail.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

By this is meant training the children so that they may be strong and healthy. As a rule, it receives no attention from

native teachers, and perverted ingenuity is employed to defeat the efforts of Nature or Government sanitary rules.

In consequence largely of this neglect, the death-rate in India is much higher than in England. Madras and Birmingham are nearly of the same size, each containing about four lakhs of inhabitants. The annual mortality in the former is about 15,600 a year against 8,000 in the latter—nearly twice as many. Among the Muhammadan women in Calcutta double the proportion of women die to the men; about half the children die within the first year, many of them within 15 days of birth. Why is this? Because the women at childbirth are shut up in small rooms, with every opening closed to prevent the entrance of fresh air. Besides those who die, many persons are rendered sickly all their lives, because in childhood they were brought up in defiance of sanitary rules.

The first requisite to health is a supply of pure air. We can live for days without food, but without air we die in a few minutes. Every body knows that we need air, but many think that any sort of air will do. This is a great mistake. The poor Muhammadan women and children, noticed above, were poisoned by foul air. In order to be healthy, the first need is plenty of *pure air*.

The air in houses is spoiled, more or less, by people breathing, by fires, lamps, &c. It is purer outside. Hence children should spend part of their time out of doors. The air enters the lungs and purifies the blood. It is plain that the more that enters, the better will the blood be purified. If we walk 3 miles an hour we take in about thrice as much air as if we were lying down; walking 4 miles an hour, we take in five times as much.

Pictures are given below of two English games.



SKIPPING-ROPE.

This is a favourite game. It may be played by one girl or several. It is not expensive, and might easily be introduced in India.



DRIVING A HOOP.

This is excellent exercise in the open air, interesting to the child. It shows the freedom enjoyed by English girls and what has contributed to their health. Under present circumstances, it is not proposed for *girls* in India, though it would be excellent for *boys*.

Active exercise strengthens the muscles, purifies the blood, and drives waste matter out of the body. We can take more food after exercise, and digest it better.

Girls need open air exercise just as much as boys. Those who have plenty of it, when they become mothers, have easy delivery, and their children are likely to be strong and healthy.

Indian games for girls are generally not sufficiently active. Some of the boys' games might be adopted with advantage.

Active sports, which a child takes up simply for pleasure, do more good than formal gymnastic exercises. Still, the latter are also useful. What are called "Action Songs" should be introduced among young children.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Statistics.—In 1885-86 there were 122,498 pupils in 4,337 Primary Schools for Girls, besides 88,922 girls in Boys' Schools. Including both, Bengal had 75,835 under instruction; Madras, 45,558; Bombay, 42,347; Burma, 13,475, all except 755 in Boys' Schools; the North-West Provinces, 9,573; Punjab, 9,573; Central Provinces, 5,061; Assam, 4,648.*

A few suggestions will be offered under different heads.

Indigenous Education.—The system is very irrational. The children are generally made to learn the whole alphabet in order. They sing it like a song, over and over again, often without paying the slightest attention to the letters. Many of the books afterwards read are in language unintelligible to the children, and no explanations are given or questions asked about the subject-matter.

Rote-teaching is its characteristic. Lady Grant Duff admitted that "In Europe we have constantly made the great mistake of neglecting to cultivate the powers of observation." The remark applies with double force to India. The reasoning faculties also are not exercised. Indian children are naturally very bright; but, under such a course of training, their intellectual faculties are stunted, and they are injured for life. Many of the girls reported as under instruction in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab simply learn the Koran. Mrs. Winter says: "In this part of India Mahomedan girls of the upper classes, when about five years of age, repeat the Bismillah and begin to learn the alphabet; after a year or so the Koran is commenced. Fancy our little children being put through the Hebrew Bible at seven years of age, would they not ever after hate the very sight of a book?"†

Introductory Exercises for Young Children.—Instead of beginning at once with reading, children will, in the end, learn much faster if the plan now to be described be adopted. A German, called Fröbel, drew attention to it in Europe under the fanciful title of the *Kindergarten*, or Children's Garden. He recommended a series of objects to be taught in succession. This system is too elaborate and expensive for ordinary use in India; but cheap substitutes will largely answer the same purpose. The following are easily procurable.

A Box of Lucifer Matches.—Bryant and May's are the best. The ends dipped in the composition should be cut off. Each child should have a box. The following exercises may be employed. Arranging the sticks in a straight line; as crosses + + +; as diagonals × × ×; as triangles △ △ △; as squares, large and small; as the ground

* Sir A. W. Croft's Report, p. 280.

† Allahabad Missionary Conference Report, p. 158.

plan of a house with openings for the doors, &c. It is surprising how much may be done with this simple apparatus.

Beads of different colours and sizes, Tamarind Seeds, &c.—These can be used like the matches, but additional forms, as circles, ovals, wavy lines, are practicable. Colour and size are other new elements. The beads may be arranged in alternate colours, or two may be of one colour, followed by one of another; larger ones may be placed at certain distances; and the combinations are almost innumerable.

Stringing beads in different ways on threads is another useful exercise in which children take great pleasure.

Wooden Bricks of different sizes.—Boxes containing these may probably be obtained at the Presidency cities, but any carpenter can make what will answer the purpose. The previous objects could only be laid flat on the floor; bricks afford the means of building little houses, &c. They cannot be broken like dolls and some other toys, and are an endless source of amusement.

Slates.—The children may first be taught to draw straight lines, crosses, triangles, &c., copying the arrangement of the matches. Wavy lines, curves, &c., would form the next series of exercises.

Teaching Reading.—*Do not begin with the Alphabet.* This is one great improvement in the modern system, although men of the old school consider it a defect. If a person has to learn the names of fifty different things, his best plan is to learn a few of them at a time, and not go over the whole at once.

Commence with a word of two letters, simple in shape, and one with which the children are familiar.

Unmeaning combinations of letters are strictly to be avoided. Write the word in large letters. In English the word *no* is excellent to begin with. The teacher should pronounce the word, the children repeating it. Attention should next be directed to the letters. The children should be asked their shapes; they should not be told. The powers of the letters should be given—not their names, as *en*, showing that when joined they make *no*.

With very young children, it is a good plan to make them place beads on the letters drawn on the floor; but if they have had the introductory exercises previously described, a child may be asked to write them on the black-board. The attempt should be criticised by the class, and after one or two others have written it on the black-board, all may write on their slates.

A word containing two other simple letters should be similarly taken up, and so on till all the letters of the alphabet have been mastered. It should then be learned in order.

Large letters, printed on cards, are excellent. The children may be exercised in picking out letters and in arranging them into words.

The Indian alphabets contain vowel combinations with all the consonants. These are usually taught as if they were distinct letters; no attempt is made to show the principle on which they are united. Do not begin with *k* combined in turn with all the vowels. Reverse the process. Teach *a* combined with the consonants, *using words*. Show on the black-board that the vowel is not written after the consonant in its initial form, but in one* much shortened. Give one or two examples and ask the children to write others. There are some anomalous forms. *When the usual forms have been acquired*, ask the children to write such letters. They will probably write them according to the common rule, after which the reason of the departure from it may be explained.

A sheet is sometimes printed with all the vowel combinations, but it is a dreadful task to learn it right through. It also gets the children into the habit of reading without attending to the sense, which is one of the greatest defects in Native Education.

Arithmetic.—Begin with objects and appeal to the senses. A child who may have a very confused idea of three added to four, who understands thoroughly how many three mangoes and four mangoes make. Speak of *things*, place them before the children, and make them count them.

Many schools in England have ball-frames for giving first lessons in arithmetic for young children. The fingers form a good substitute, always available. To find out how many two and three make, let the children hold up two fingers of one hand and three fingers of the other and *count them*.

Fractions may be explained by dividing an orange or some other article before the children.

Object Lessons.—Until recently, education in Europe was confined, in a great measure, to studies by means of books. Pestalozzi has the merit of directing attention likewise to the observation of objects or things. He urged that not merely description of objects should be read by the children; but that, as far as possible, the things themselves should be placed before the pupils and examined by their senses. The name "lessons on objects" is given to such instruction.

Lessons on objects, besides communicating much valuable knowledge, train to habits of observation and stimulate to mental activity.

If the object itself cannot be obtained, a picture of it—as of a tiger or crocodile—should be shown.

Space does not permit further details to be given. *The Indian Teacher's Manual* gives pretty full directions about teaching the different branches. *

* Sold by Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depot, Madras, 10 As. Post-free, 11½ As.

MIXED SCHOOLS

By these are meant schools in which boys and girls are taught together. Considering the seclusion of women in India, it is not surprising that, according to the Education Commission Report, "There seems to be a general consensus of opinion among the witnesses examined by the Commission, that mixed schools are not suitable for this country." Even in France, Cousin wrote: "The objection to mixed schools is a wide-spread error which makes female education on a great scale an almost insoluble problem."

For centuries mixed schools have been common in Scotland, and they are now very general in the United States. They are beginning to be advocated in India. Sir A. W. Croft, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, said at the annual meeting of the Indian Association in 1886:

"We must go on educating as many girls as we can in the hope that, as education spreads, there may spring up an effective demand for female teachers, and in the further hope that in the varied circumstances of native life and society, there may be found an increasing number of young women willing to take the position of teachers and keep up a supply equal to the demand. Meanwhile we must go on as we are doing with male teachers and mixed schools; and in mixed schools in Bengal we find a great advantage—chiefly this, that there is a spirit of robust emulation which springs up between the boys and the girls when they are taught the same subjects together. The examinations and scholarships are open to all alike. Girls in many parts are able to hold their own, and in some districts they are coming away at the head of the competition."*

Mrs. Scott, after visiting a Parsi Girls' School in Bombay, wrote as follows:

"Another rule of the school is, that there must be only women teachers; not a single lesson is given by a man. This arrangement is, of course, bad for the school. There is not a large class of highly educated Parsi women from which to select teachers; the higher education of women is a new thing still with them. There is no 'Purdah' among Parsis, no rule to seclude the women; so one does not understand why lessons may not be given by male professors."†

The Education Commission Report says that, in spite of the popular feeling, "In some Provinces, the girls found in boys' schools amount to many thousands." Sir A. W. Croft has kindly favoured the compiler with the following statistics from his recent Report on Education: "From 1881-82 to 1885-86, the number of

* *Indian Magazine*, 1886, p. 179. † *The Indian Magazine*, 1888, p. 302.

girls reading in mixed schools increased in all India (excluding Burma) from 42,000 to 86,000—a fact which I adduced as showing that the presence of young girls in boys' schools did no great violence to native feeling. There was an increase in Bengal from 23,000 to 35,000; in Madras from 14,000 to 22,000, and in Bombay from 4,000 to 17,000."

In the Report of the Madras Director for 1886-7, it is said, "Of the increase in the number of girls, nearly two-thirds appertained to boys' schools and a third to girls' schools proper."

The *Indian Messenger*, a Calcutta paper, has the following:—

"We do not know whether all our readers are aware of the fact that two Parsee ladies are now reading in the Free Church College, Bombay. We are glad to learn from the *Bombay Gazette* that the presence of the ladies in the class has exerted a refining influence on the manners of the 160 young men who form that class, besides there being a healthful competition between the two sexes. Mixed education is a novel thing in this country; but it has been experimented upon on a large scale in America and has been found to be productive of nothing but very good results. In many of our primary schools it has begun to be tried to a large extent. In many of our village *Patsalas* girls are admitted into boys' schools and in many schools the number of girls is daily increasing. In several places boys and girls have their separate classes within the same school-room. There is a demand for good education for boys, and accordingly the boys' schools are of a better quality than girls' schools, where there is no demand for substantial education. We attach another value to this mixed education. Fellowship in intellectual labour is one of the best means of generating that true respect for each other in the opposite sexes which we regard to be the best safeguard of female honor in society." April 17th, 1886.

Mixed schools are recommended for *villages* for the following reasons:

1. At present the desire for female education is confined to a few.
2. There is great difficulty in getting female teachers. Some of those employed at present are very inefficient: the children learn very little. A good, respected male teacher is much better.
3. In many villages it is not easy to maintain even a school for boys: what hope is there of supporting a separate school for girls?
4. Mixed schools would help to break down the system of secluding women—a great evil.

Teaching Needlework.—As it is desirable to teach girls needlework, the teacher's wife should, if possible, give instruction in this during part of the day. Bringing a small addition to the income of the family, if it were pressed upon teachers, they would, in course of time, get their wives qualified.

SECONDARY FEMALE EDUCATION.

Importance.—It must be allowed that, in many cases, especially in schools under Native management, female education is of little real value. The Director of the North-West Provinces says, "Amongst aided Vernacular primary schools we find a large number of girls nominally learning, but only five in every 100 getting beyond the lowest classes." Sir A. W. Croft says: "There are not wanting indications, even in Bombay, of the slight, almost the unreal, character of the demand for female education. It seems not to be taken quite seriously; apparently in the belief that anything will do where girls are concerned. Parents often refuse to provide their girls with slates and books, not on the ground of their poverty, but because they hold such expenditure to be useless."*

It is true that some good is being done. Pandit Sivanath Sastri says, "These girls' schools, however badly managed, and however unsatisfactory as regards their teaching, serve one great purpose. They are silently habituating the people to the idea of educating their girls."†

A mother who has received even a smattering of education herself will probably have some desire that her daughters should receive instruction.

Still, the real objects of education cannot be secured unless it reaches a much higher standard. The progress made must be measured by secondary rather than by primary education.

Statistics.—In 1885-6 there were 23,904 pupils under instruction in 349 "Secondary Schools for Girls," besides 3,246 girls in Boys' Schools. Of the 23,904, the number who studied English was 15,522, the studies of 8,382 were confined to the vernacular. Madras had 14,657 under instruction; Bengal, 4,815; Bombay, 3,192; Burma, 1,922; the North-West Provinces, 1,668; Assam, 180.

The number of female scholars in each stage of instruction was as follows: Collegiate, 35; High, 375; Middle, 4,339; Upper Primary, 15,641; Lower Primary (A) 132,020; Lower Primary (B) 77,444; total 229,857. ‡

The percentages were as follows: 2 per cent. in the secondary stage, 7 per cent. in the upper primary, and 91 per cent. in the lower primary stage including 34 per cent. not reading print. §

In the collegiate stage there were only 35 female students against 10,503 male students.

The nationalities must be borne in mind, or a very erroneous idea will be given of the progress of education in secondary schools for girls.

* Report, pp. 287, 288. † Indian Magazine, 1882, p. 317. ‡ Report, p. 96.

§ Report, p. 282.

| | Census of 1881. | Under Instruction. † |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| English Speaking | 203,558 | 9,000 |
| Native Christians | 1,659,076 * | 3,445 |
| Hindus | 187,937,450 | 1,755 |
| Muhammadans... .. | 50,121,587 | 7 |
| Others | 13,970,148 | 1,379 |
| | 253,891,821 | 15,586 |

More than half the pupils, 9,000, consist of Europeans and Eurasians. Sir A. W. Croft says, "The distaste of Hindus and Muhammadans for the advanced education of their girls is even more distinctly marked. ... The vast Hindu population is represented by 1,755, and the Muhammadans by 7 only."‡

High Schools.—Secondary female education is chiefly in the hands of Christian Societies. Their schools are too numerous to be mentioned, and the main object is to show what has been done otherwise.

Bethune School, Calcutta.—This was founded and maintained for some time by Mr. Bethune. On his death, Lord Dalhousie undertook its support while he remained in India. It is now under Government. Sir A. W. Croft thus mentions it :

"In 1886 a noteworthy appointment was made by the Government of Bengal. Miss Chandra Mukhi Bose, the first native lady in India to pass the Entrance examination, took the degree of M. A., with honors in English in 1884, and was thereafter appointed teacher in the Bethune School in which she had been trained for her degree. In 1886 the Lady Superintendent of that institution retired, and Miss Bose was appointed to succeed her, being thus placed in educational and administrative charge of an important college and school, with a full staff of professors and teachers, male and female, and with 142 girls on its rolls. Besides male graduates for the college classes, she is assisted by Miss Kamini Sen, B. A., also a former pupil of the institution."

Keshub Chunder Sen established the Victoria College for Women in Calcutta, but details regarding it are not available.

The Alexandra Institution, Bombay.—This was founded, many years ago, through the zeal of Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee. The Report read in 1888 gave the number of pupils as 79, their ages ranging from 9 to 27 years. All were Parsis. No Hindu or Muhammadan girl in the Bombay Presidency has yet passed the entrance examination.

Poona.—This city has two High Schools for girls. The "Victoria High School" was established by Mrs. Sorabji, of Parsi descent,

* The number is obtained by deducting the "English-speaking" from the Christians.

† The number under instruction in Native States is not included, but it is very small.

‡ Report, p. 233.

but a Christian by religion. She is assisted by her daughter, the first lady graduate in Western India. In 1887 the number on the roll was 130. It is a mixed school of boys and girls comprising all nationalities—Europeans, Eurasians, Native Christians, Parsis, Jews, and Hindus. The ages of the pupils vary from 3 to 19 years.

The "Poona High School" was established in 1884. It began with 28 pupils. Last year the average number on the roll was 61.5 and the average attendance, 45.4. Out of 65 pupils at present on the roll, 43 are Hindus, 13 Jews, 7 Native Christians, and 2 Muhammadans. 45 are residents of Poona, and 16 are sent from outstations. Of the latter 12 lodge and board at the Boarding Establishment provided for them. 51 of the girls are unmarried, 8 married, and 6 widows. The average age of the pupils is 12.4, the highest is 24 and the lowest 8, and there are so many as 24 above the age of 12, and 11 above the age of 15. 28 are daughters, sisters or other relations of Government servants; 11 are of Government pensioners, 5 of Railway servants, 6 of Missionary and private servants, 2 of merchants and traders, 4 of teachers and professional men, and 3 of cultivators.

The School is divided into 5 classes, the pupils of which have finished the first five Anglo-Vernacular standards, and there is a sixth preparatory class in which the studies of the third Vernacular standard are revised and the younger girls better prepared to enter upon the studies of Anglo-Vernacular Standards. The school course includes, besides the usual school subjects of the Anglo-Vernacular standards, sewing and singing, which are taught to the pupils of all the classes, and Sanskrit, sanitation, embroidery, drawing and instrumental music, which are taught to those of the higher standards. Domestic management and economy are practically learnt in the Boarding House under the immediate supervision of the Lady Superintendent who stays on the premises.

Thirty-eight of the pupils pay a monthly schooling fee, which, according to their circumstances, varies in amount from 4 annas to one rupee; 18 of them are stipendiary scholars who win the scholarships in competitive examinations held annually. The stipends vary in value from Rs. 4 to Rs. 12 per mensem.

The expenditure during the last official year amounted to Rs. 13,553, out of which sum Rs. 9,889 were paid by Government for teachers' salaries and furniture, and Rs. 3,663 were expended by the Society from private funds on account of scholarships, special teachers, servants, rent, books and prizes, increased accommodation for boarders and contingencies. At the end of March last, the balance in hand of the Society's fund was Rs. 114,461, of which sum Rs. 112,225 were invested in Government Securities. About two-thirds of the Fund have been expressly given by the donors for endowing scholarships and prizes, and are not available for general purposes.

The report of the Inspector and the remarks of visitors are very complimentary. His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal, after highly commending the school, added, "My only suggestion

is that special attention should be given to those subjects which are likely to prove of practical use to the students in after-life."

Girls' schools at present must largely follow the Code for boys. Some alterations have been made, but more are required.

The foregoing account is abridged from a statement made to their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught.

Madras.—Although liberal encouragements have been offered, no Hindu or Muhammadan girl has yet matriculated at the Madras University. The Inspectress remarks that "high schools for caste Hindu girls have not yet been found possible."

At the last meeting of the Madras Branch of the National Indian Association, Mr. S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, M. A., B. L., made the following proposal :

"As regards the establishment of a central institution the difficulties seem to be great at the first blush, but they will disappear if we manfully try to face them. We can raise the requisite funds by appealing to the good sense and generosity of all persons interested in the cause of female education. The object of the institution should be to give education of an advanced type to our grown-up girls who have already received elementary instruction now given in our schools. They may simply receive the instruction given in it as day scholars, or permanently remain in it as boarders. Attention should be paid in all cases to the religious and caste scruples of the pupils. Admission need not be confined to young girls, but even grown-up women may be admitted into it."

The late Madras Director of Public Instruction, reviewing Mrs. Brander's Report, says : "The number of rich girls at school was still quite insignificant."* The need of a High School for girls is greater in Madras than in Poona, and there is greater wealth for its support. If any influential Madrassee would take up the proposal warmly and perseveringly, the object would be secured. Who will be the Manockjee Cursetjee of Madras ?

The compiler wrote to the Superintendent of the Bethune School, Calcutta, mentioning the Madras proposal, and asking for some information to serve as a guide ; but no reply was received. An application to the Director of Public Instruction would secure the useful details.

One obstacle may be mentioned. Parents in Madras would prefer their children to be day-scholars. Those living in the same quarter might arrange to have an omnibus, with venetians, to call in the morning at their houses to take the children to school, and to bring them back in the afternoon. Other conveyances might also be used. "The will" would provide "the way."

* *Indian Magazine*, 1888, p. 359.

Questions connected with Secondary Education.

With regard to Primary Female Education, all are very much agreed. On the other hand, there has been a good deal of controversy as to what Secondary Female Education should include. Two of the principal points in dispute will be noticed.

The University Course.—The question is, Should young ladies be encouraged to pass the usual University examinations?

In March 1883, two Bengali ladies received the degree of B. A. in the University of Calcutta. They had to appear in gown and bands, and the Vice-Chancellor in his address said that their admission as graduates would make that convocation a landmark in the educational history of India. He hoped "it would pave the way to a general recognition of the right of the women of this country to education, and the duty of the men of this country to provide it for them."

The remark was made in the Calcutta Missionary Conference, "Every girl who takes a degree or even enters a university, raises the standard and proves the possibility of female education to the unbelieving opposers of it."*

University examinations give a necessary stimulus and prescribe a course of study, which are great advantages; but they have serious drawbacks.

The Indian Universities were established on antiquated models. The remarks of Mr. Lowe, in 1867, with regard to Oxford, applied to India:

"I will now give you a catalogue of things which a highly-educated man—one who may have received the best education at the highest public schools, or at Oxford—may be in total ignorance of. He will probably know nothing of the anatomy of his own body. He will not have the slightest idea of the difference between the arteries and the veins, and he may not know whether the spleen is placed on the right or the left side of his spine. He may have no knowledge of the simplest truths of physics, or would not be able to explain the barometer or thermometer. He knows nothing of the simplest laws of animal or vegetable life." "With the new world which chemistry is expanding before us—with the old world that geology has called again into existence—with the wonderful generalization with regard to plants and animals, and all those noble studies and speculations which are the glory and distinction and life-blood of the time in which we live, our youth remain, almost without exception, totally ignorant."†

Some improvements have since been made in the Indian University courses; but it may still be questioned if they are the best adapted to young men,—certainly they are not the best for young women.

* *Free Church Record*. † Address at Edinburgh, pp. 25, 26.

The great defect of the University course is that the intellect is unduly stimulated, while the moral and religious faculties are dwarfed. Mr. F. H. Barrow, in a recent issue of the *Calcutta Review*, maintains that neither literary nor scientific education has the slightest effect upon the moral or religious character, but that it leaves it entirely untouched.

The compiler holds strongly that the University course should include Natural Theology, as in Paley's work, and a good Moral Text Book. The latter should not discuss "ethical theories," but treat of practical duties. Agnostic influence may be still too strong to secure their introduction, but as the results of the present system further display themselves, a change may be made.

Meanwhile, the Indian Universities, following the example of Cambridge, might have alternative subjects more suitable to women. The case of female medical students has specially to be considered. Hitherto one great obstacle to the higher education of women has been that it has led to nothing in the shape of emolument, the grand motive power. The Countess of Dufferin's Fund will increase the demand for trained lady doctors.

Educational service is another opening for "women's work." For this "Departmental Tests" might provide sufficient standards.

English versus Sanskrit.—Herbert Spencer has a chapter, "What Knowledge is of most Worth?"—a question of great importance in marking out a course of instruction. A spirit of false patriotism encourages the study of Sanskrit even in some girls' schools. What are its results in the case of pandits, men who have been nourished on it all their lives? They are full of false knowledge, self-conceit, the strongest opposers of every movement fitted to elevate the condition of India. As Sir H. S. Maine said in a Convocation Address at Calcutta; are we "to teach that which is not true—false morality, false history, false philosophy, false physics?"

Indian women are bigotedly superstitious. The study of Sanskrit would tend to strengthen the feeling.

On the other hand, English is the language of progress, it opens up a new world, it affords access to all the treasures of knowledge which have been accumulating in every country during the past generations of mankind.

It may be said that both ought to be studied; but this would lead to a smattering knowledge, of little real value. Each requires the labour of years for its acquisition.

Sir Monier Williams, referring to Ramabai, says:

"The history of her case is instructive; as showing that what is wanted in India is not too much learning and over-instruction for her women, but rather co-ordinate education for men and women. We do not want Indian girls to be turned into bright blue female Pandits any more than we desire young Indian men to be turned into pedantic priests."

We do not desire mannish women any more than womanish men. We desire the correlated education of each according to their respective spheres of duty, so that each may be a helpmeet for the other, in conformity with the true Christian ideal. We want Indian wives to be the complements of their husbands, and not mere supplements or appendices."*

English is greatly to be preferred to Sanskrit. The latter should be studied only in exceptional cases.

MISSION BOARDING SCHOOLS.

These have been carried on for many years in all parts of India. In 1881 there were 155 schools, with 6,379 pupils. On the whole, they have done much good, although, like all things human, they are susceptible of improvement.

Generally speaking, the education given is chiefly through the vernacular; but of late years, English, instruction in the piano, &c., have been added in several schools. Miss M. R. Greenfield, of Ludiana, in a paper read at the Conference of Lady Missionaries held at Amritsar, Punjab, complained that in some cases habits more expensive were acquired than the after-life of the pupils would permit:

"Everywhere there is and probably will be, a demand for wives suitable for Christian men in the humble walks of life; and nowhere are they to be found! Punjab Christians go to Delhi, Secundra or Bareilly to find girls who are able and willing to undertake housekeeping on a moderate income. I have had several applications for wives during the last five years. 'Not any of the new-fashioned girls' is the burden of their cry. 'You have saved me from ruin,' said a man whose sick wife I had been attending, 'if she had died, I could not have afforded to marry a school girl.' Girls, whose parents have brought up a large family on Rs. 15 a month, turn up their noses at a young man who has Rs. 20 to start with. Why is this? Because the habits they have acquired in school are more expensive than is warranted by their parents' income, and will not allow them to come down and live in a style consistent with that income. I do not say that all the schools should be carried on at one rate, but that the expenses for each boarder should not be above the average cost of home maintenance for such children, and that the girls should be fitted to marry men of the same social standing as their brothers. Instead of learning thrift and how to suit their wants to their income, they are, I fear, learning habits of self-indulgence; and the want of economy and forethought which we deplore in the present generation is likely to be increased tenfold in the coming ones. Almost imperceptibly wants are created and tastes acquired, that it will be difficult to satisfy. Tight-fitting jackets instead of loose ones, shortly after necessitate *stays*. A princess dress needs a *flounce* at the bottom

and a dress-improver at the back. A bit of lace at the neck and wrists means extra pay to the dhobi; and so it goes on, till the girls are fairly launched in the stream of European dress, and watch with keen interest the ever-varying shapes that form the prevailing 'fashions.' In some cases they are utterly unfitted for returning to their own homes. One who was sent home for the holidays refused to sit with her parents, because they took their food in the usual native fashion instead of from a table. Besides the fact that the girls' domestic life and habits are not such as to make them economical house-wives, is it not true that the prevalent idea among the girls is, that it is far better *not* to marry, that, by remaining single they may have a higher social position, and that in fact, the one object of their education is to enable them to support themselves and live as 'Miss Sahibs'?

"Are not ladies at the head of these schools, unwillingly perhaps, fostering the girls' aversion to marriage, by the almost exclusive attention paid to intellectual development, to the injury of domestic training?"

Miss Greenfield notices the "difficulties in the way of making these schools really Missionary Institutions:"

The first mentioned is,

"The demands of well-meaning, but ill-advised parents for everything English. English education, English clothing, English habits, are considered the high road to social distinction, large salaries, good appointments; in a word, all that a native means by advance."

The second difficulty applies to schools for boys as well as to those for girls:

"II. **Government Grants.**—The second hindrance to any improvement, indeed one of the causes of the failure of the schools from a Missionary point of view, is the deference shown to Government Codes, in order to secure the Government Grant-in-aid. For the moral, religious, domestic, or Missionary aspects of the education given, the Government cannot be expected to have any regard, but they hold out a bait of money and something more than money, to schools that will accept their terms. Education, pressed forward on the Government lines, means larger grants, honorable mention in Educational Reports, distinction in examinations, and perhaps Government employment for distinguished scholars. Therefore the subjects that pay best must be taught and English is well paid for. But this seems hardly sufficient reason to govern the style of education by a Missionary body in the name of religion."

The third difficulty is that the Committees managing these schools are composed chiefly of gentlemen. The fourth may be given more in detail.

"IV. **Lady Superintendents without experience.**—The fact that ladies sent out from home to take charge of these schools are thrust into the work with no previous knowledge of the country, the people, or their language, and rarely have any opportunity of acquiring that knowledge. Were the Home Committees to allow their ladies at least two years for

the study of the language and the condition of the *heathen* part of the population, before entering on the arduous duties of the Christian school, we should soon see great changes in the points under discussion."

Miss Greenfield makes another suggestion :

"Bible in their own tongue.—Though to some it may seem an unimportant matter, may I not suggest that the ladies in charge of such schools should acquire the vernacular sufficiently to give the Biblical instruction in the children's native tongue? The Bible in *their own language*, should be to them all that our English Bible is to us—'a lamp to our feet,' 'The sword of the Spirit,' 'the Word of God.' They should be so thoroughly acquainted with it, either in the Roman character, or, better still, in one of the native characters, as to be able without difficulty to refer to any subject in the Old or New Testaments, and should not think it an indignity to read a chapter in the Hindustani Bible. A little girl, not a very advanced scholar, was recently asked to read the chapter at family prayers at home; the one who usually read being ill. She replied, 'Oh I can't read *that*, in my class we read the Bible in *English*.'"

The obstacle to this is that the ladies are generally set to full work at once, and do not study the vernaculars.

Miss Greenfield's remarks on the importance of *Domestic Training* have already been quoted. A Native Christian has turned his boarding school wife out of doors, because she could not cook. The late Rev. P. P. Schaffter, of Tinnevely, would not allow a girl to leave his boarding school till she could prepare a curry to his satisfaction. A suitable matron should be appointed to a school; but servants should not be employed—the elder girls should do all the work.

Two Classes of Boarding Schools Needed.—Miss Greenfield quite admits this. "English education, fashions and customs for those only whose parents can afford to pay for them, and will keep them up in their own houses. When they are prepared to do this, Christian schools can give it, without charging it on Mission funds."

Whether instruction should be given in the piano, is doubtful. Except in rare cases, the pupils will not make any real progress, and the time of a lady supported by a Missionary Society should not be spent in such a way. On the other hand, singing should have an important place. The girls should learn both hymns, moral songs and nursery rhymes, which in after-life they might teach their children.

The late Mrs. Weitbrecht, at the Mildmay Missionary Conference in 1878, expressed similar views to those quoted from Miss Greenfield :

"Through want of community of ideas on Christian female education, there has been a waste of Mission energy. Some have opened schools for high-class girls on moderate fees; others have done the same for low fees, and of course secured more immediate results, in numbers of pupils,

and those not always of the right position. Again, schools have been opened for poorer girls in the lowest terms possible, for giving a sound practical vernacular education; and others have been opened on the same terms, giving a high class education, English, superior food, and servants to attend the pupils. Most parents prefer the latter schools, and only find out their mistake when their daughters return discontented to their own homes, entirely unfitted for the class of men they ought to marry, and naturally desiring husbands whose incomes will provide them with the clothes, food, and attendance to which they have become habituated. Pastors and others, receiving moderate salaries, are thus driven to choose uneducated women, who can sew, cook, clean, and attend to their children, and are also often rendered discontented and suing for increased pay."*

Miss Greenfield's remarks were written with reference to the Punjab. Some may consider them too strong even so far as that province is concerned; but they contain needful cautions against evils which may spring up anywhere.

ZENANA OR HOME TEACHING.

Value.—The Madras Director justly says in his report for 1886-87, "The system is to my mind in itself admirably suited to the conditions and circumstances of the country, and calculated to be of immense help to the progress of Indian women." (p. 105). Many of the higher classes will not allow their daughters to attend schools, while early marriages tend to remove all other children at a time when they could profit most from the instruction given. Home teaching provides education for the former, and enables the latter at least to retain what they have acquired, if not to reach a higher standard.

But Zenana teaching in which European or American ladies take part has other advantages. A Muhammadan in North India writes: "If English ladies had spared time to see and talk with the wives and daughters of respectable Mussalman families, they would have done more to accelerate the work of social reform, to knit the bands of affection, than a whole mass of legislation." Their visits break the monotony of Indian home life, and open up a new world of thought. Indian women, like others, have their sorrows, and sympathy with them in their trials has a beneficial influence. The late Mrs. Lewis writes:

"One day I introduced my two dear fellow-workers to one of our Rajput women as my 'daughters,' and she at once with love on her lips and love in her heart, put her arm in mine and pointing to herself said, 'and here is another daughter.' Sympathy is dear to them. I shall never forget the smile on a sick widow's face when I told her that I too

* *Mildmay Missionary Conference Report*, p. 186.

was a widow, and could sympathize with her, that my God had comforted me and helped me to bear my grief, and would comfort her too if she trusted in him. Oh yes, sympathy is sweet to the Hindu widow too, who receives so little from her own people.”*

A Bengali lady thus expressed the results of Zenana teaching of the right stamp: “Though my life is just like the life of a bird in a cage, in my cage I have learnt to sing.”†

Origin and Progress.—The Rev. T. Smith, of Calcutta, so long ago as 1840, proposed a scheme for the home education of women of the upper classes; but at the time it met with no practical response. In 1855 it was taken up by the Rev. J. Fordyce, with the cordial co-operation of Mr. Smith. Mr. Fordyce says:

“Mr. Smith obtained the consent of several highly intelligent Babus to admit a governess and pay for her services. This was the more gratifying as the arrangement was made on the clear understanding that she would be free to impart religious instruction. An European teacher was sent, accompanied by a native girl as her assistant; and the results, both as regards the progress of the pupils, their attachment to the governess, and their lively interest in her instruction, are highly gratifying. The only outlay was for the purchase of a horse and ghari, the Babus paying enough for a small salary to the teacher, and the current expenses of the conveyance.”‡

Soon afterwards the work was taken up by missionary ladies, as Mrs. Sale and Mrs. Mullens. The Normal School Society also entered the field, and the system spread in Calcutta. Up till 1861 nothing was done in the North-West Provinces; but the late Mrs. Winter, who had laboured for four years as a Zenana visitor in Bengal, soon afterwards commenced the work in Delhi. It has since extended to all parts of India.

In 1881, the Protestant Missionary Census gave the number of houses visited and pupils under instruction as follows: Bengal, 1318 houses, 2324 pupils; N. W. Provinces, 2073 and 2765; Oudh, 737 and 625; Panjab, 648 and 1032; Central India, 351 and 319; Bombay, 366 and 147; Madras, 2029 and 1920. Total, 7522 houses and 9132 pupils. The statement is appended: “The Zenana returns were very incomplete.”§

The Madras Branch of the National Indian Association, a secular agency, had in 1887 one Superintendent, assisted by three female teachers. Of the 30 pupils on the rolls, 11 were Brahmins, 13 Vaisiyas, and 6 Sudras. The parents of 4 pupils belonged to the richer classes. Ten learned English. The results of the public examinations were good.

* *Madras Missionary Conference Report*, 1879. Vol. I. p. 185.

† *Mildmay Conference Report*, p. 311.

‡ *Bengal Conference Report for 1885*, p. 152.

§ *Statistical Tables*, p. 63.

The *income* for 1887 was as follows: Donations, Rs. 578-9-0; Government Grant, Rs. 1,007-1-8; Fees from Pupils, Rs. 358; amount received from the General Fund, Rs. 772-4-1; total, Rs. 2,710-14-9. *Expenditure*: Salaries, Rs. 2,482-14-3; Stationery, 14 as. Prizes, Rs. 54-15-9; contributions to the General Fund, Rs. 172-2-9; total, Rs. 2,710-14-9.

In Calcutta Sir A. W. Croft says, "Missionary agencies 'hold the field.'" He adds: "In Beugal several native associations, instituted for the purpose of holding periodical examinations of women taught by their fathers or brothers at home, have also been aided; and there is no doubt that a good deal of this home education goes on of which the department hears nothing."*

A Society has been formed at Anantapur, in the Madras Presidency, by Hindu gentlemen for the "Home Education of Women."

Suggestions.

Agents.

Selection.—Mrs. Etherington, in a Paper read at the Calcutta Decennial Missionary Conference in 1882-3, urges greater care in their selection. She says, "In not a few cases has there not been too much of mere romance and pleasant excitement, and too little of honest searching of heart, and calm counting of the cost at starting, and consequently have there not been many cases of disappointment and failure at the end?" p. 199.

At the same time, it is admitted that these failures are exceptional cases, and that among the agents in this department are some of the most devoted workers in India.

Preparation.—English and American ladies are sent out with a few general directions to a different Zone, to women speaking a different language, professing a different religion, with ideas altogether foreign. They are left to gain such experience as they can from the hints of fellow-labourers and their own failures. It is true that the home Magazines contain occasional suggestions; in the Missionary Conference Reports there are Papers on Zenana work; and, best of all, there is the Report of the Punjab Ladies' Missionary Conference in 1882.† Still, these are insufficient. A Manual should be carefully prepared to be placed in the hands of all selected for the work. Besides the directions given, it might refer to the best sources of information. At a comparatively small expense, agents might be saved from many mistakes and their usefulness greatly increased.

One or two illustrations may be given.

* Report, p. 293.

† A Report of the Conference in 1888 will probably also be published.

To instruct any one properly, you must have some insight into the ideas already possessed, the thoughts that occupy the mind. A Zenana visitor should know the meaning attached by Hindu women to the terms God, sin, holiness, salvation, heaven, &c. Mrs. Winter suggests that ladies should have clear accounts of the Hindu and Muhammadan festivals that they may know the subjects on which their pupils' thoughts are full. Without being polemic, such knowledge may, in some cases, be turned to good account.

Hints on Etiquette might form another chapter. Indians attach great importance to it, and its observance or neglect will do much to attract or repel. Mrs. Winter says, that she sent a native Christian daily to a Hindu family, but "unfortunately her manners offended them so much that they declined her services."

The Sinhalese are said to have 16 forms of the second personal pronoun, expressing the highest reverence down to the utmost contempt. Indian languages may not be so rich in this respect; but they have them, more or less, and care is required in their use.

An English or American lady should remember that in the eyes of an orthodox Hindu she is a *Mlechcha*, whose touch is pollution. She should know how offence may be given in this way.

A lady, with the requisite experience, could not confer a greater boon upon her fellow-labourers than by the preparation of the Manual suggested.

There are now hundreds of ladies employed in Zenana work, and it is time that the present happy-go-lucky system should come to an end.

Knowledge of the Vernacular.—At the Mildmay Conference the Rev. J. E. Payne said:—

"In conclusion, I think it well to suggest that every body who goes to India for any kind of Missionary work be required to prepare for an examination in the language of the people at the end of the first and second year. Missionaries of all denominations are examined, and they are liable to recall if they fail to pass." p. 318.

Some Missions require ladies to pass examinations in the vernacular, but not all. In fact, some in charge of schools in which English forms one of the subjects have been told that a knowledge of the vernacular is not necessary in their case. This is a great mistake. Even in teaching English a knowledge of the vernacular is very useful. To give an English synonym is no proof that a pupil really understands a word.

Training of Indian Agents.—Foreign ladies can do little more than superintend; the burden of the work must fall upon their assistants. Their training is therefore of great importance. A Committee appointed by the Punjab Ladies' Missionary Conference

in 1882 drew up the following "Graded Scale of Qualifications for Zenana Teachers and Bible-women :"

Grade I.

To read and write well *one* language; be competent to teach the rudiments of Scripture history and plain knitting. Salary from 4 to 6 rupees.

Grade II.

To read and write *two* languages, know thoroughly the four simple rules in arithmetic, knitting socks, and be well up in Genesis and the Four Gospels. Salary from 8 to 10 rupees.

Grade III.

To read and write two languages well, know the four compound rules in arithmetic, the elements of geography, and be familiar with the chief points of Muhammadan or Hindu controversy, and some simple Church history and the Acts of the Apostles. In needlework, either proficient in cutting out and making plain garment, or in *kasila* or lace, or some other fancy work. Salary from 12 to 15 rupees.

Grade IV.

To read and write *three* languages; arithmetic to vulgar fractions and rule of three; general knowledge of Geography and History of India; thorough acquaintance with Muhammadan and Hindu controversy; thorough knowledge of the Bible. Salary from 16 to 20 rupees.

Grade V.

To teach all subjects up to the Normal School Standard; proficiency in the Evidences of Christianity and Prophetical Books; to prove the chief doctrines of Christianity from the Scriptures; elementary astronomy is also desirable. Salary 20 to 30 rupees.

. The special books for examination to be appointed by the Sub-Committee.

The number of languages is required on account of so many being spoken in the Punjab.

The course proposed is not altogether satisfactory. With the exception of needlework, it has no special reference to women. It might be less polemic, and include some knowledge of sanitation, the training of children, &c.

While Female Normal Schools should receive every encouragement, ladies engaged in Zenana work may do much for the improvement of their own assistants. Mrs. Capron says:

"It is the custom in Madura to hold a meeting every Friday evening at which incidents of the week's work are mentioned, and this is closed

by dwelling on something connected with the Saviour's life, fitted to be an inspiration to effort during the following week. It is a fact to be mentioned that heathen women not unfrequently send requests for prayer to this meeting. Some of these from our pupils of long standing are touching. An hour is spent alone on Sunday with each Bible-woman in turn."*

Miss Andrews says :

"Our helpers need moral as well as mental training. How often we came across instances of little unfaithfulnesses, meannesses, falsehoods, deceptions! how often we are grieved by exhibitions of temper, pride, idleness!"

Instead of individual fault-finding, a class is suggested, in which failings might be treated without personality :

"Such a class gives opportunities of applying the Scriptural precept 'Be courteous,' of treating of neatness and cleanliness, as well as of truthfulness, meekness and patience, of pressing home upon them the need of training their own children wisely and well, and of endeavouring by precept and example to lead their pupils to do the same."†

The above faults may be expected to be more prevalent in young Missions like the Punjab; but everywhere they require to be guarded against.

Small Hand-books containing directions about their personal conduct and work, are very desirable for the use of Indian assistants.

Instruction.

1. **Need of Adaptation.**—The most important part of a sermon is the application—to show how the whole bears upon the hearer and to point out his duty. Without this even the narratives of Scripture will lose greatly their effect. The need of adaptation with regard to ordinary school books has already been shown: the same remarks apply to the religious instruction. The translations of *Peep of Day* and *Line upon Line* are largely used in Zenana teaching. These books were written for Christian children in England; they necessarily do not draw the lessons from the narratives which Indian women specially need.

There are many excellent Scripture stories in English, which would serve as bases, but their application should be made suitable to India.

The *Women of the Bible* form a good series of lessons. Books on the subject have been published in several Indian languages.

Instruction should be given on the preservation of health and the training of children. In Hinduism, moral teaching finds no

* *South India Missionary Conference Report*, 1879, Vol. I. p. 179.

† *Punjab Ladies' Conference Report*, 1882. pp. 59, 60.

place. Religion and morality are considered distinct. On the contrary, "religion in daily life" should receive marked attention. Mr. Mullick complains that for the sake of reading dramas and doing fancy work, "our young women are fast becoming oblivious of their household duties or avoiding them as a drudgery." Caution should be given on this point.

A carefully graduated course of instruction, with the necessary text-books, is a great desideratum. Some changes would be necessary in peculiar cases; but it would give a good general idea of what was wanted.

2. The Useful rather than the Ornamental to be kept in view.—In Bengal Mr. Mullick says, "The consumption of dyed-wool is increasing beyond all proportion. Woollen neck-ties and night caps, socks and shoes, and woollen luxuries are finished off by our lasses by their delicate needle and thimble, but one must send for the tailor to make babies' clothes, quilts, and bedding."

The complaint is not confined to Bengal. The Rev. T. K. Weatherhead said in Bombay some years ago:

"I protest against the large amount of time spent in crochet and other kinds of fancy work. This is useful in its place, but it creates no character, draws out no great practical quality, prepares for no real usefulness. It gives no foundation for thought which shall lead to influential action upon those around. What is wanted is knowledge which will fit for companionship, for bringing up children, for ruling her household, for taking an interest in the welfare of all people."

Miss Brittan said at Allahabad that fancy work was not taught by her Mission until the pupils could at any rate read the *First Book* through. A lady in the Punjab said that her first lessons in sewing were to teach the women to mend their own clothes.

Mr. Mullick says:

"As yet the action of a cultured female mind has been infinitesimally small. It is infinitesimal in its action on the husband, infinitesimal on the son. Our women's accomplishments only *please* us—no more. We earnestly hope for the day when they would animate and vivify us, to work in the cause of national progress."*

On the other hand, it is admitted that the desire to learn fancy work is sometimes the great incentive to receive Zenana instruction. No hard and fast rule is practicable, but the general principle which has been urged should be kept in view.

3. A Taste for Wholesome Reading should be fostered.—If the women do not read at all, or read only trashy tales, the art they have acquired will be comparatively useless, if not injurious. A lady engaged in Zenana work takes with her a packet of cheap little story books, with bright covers, and sells a great number.

* *The Hindu Family*, p. 108.

The subject will be further noticed under the head of "Literature for Women."

Appeal for Voluntary Labourers.

Already there are several English ladies engaging in Zenana teaching and other work among women; but maintaining themselves. Every effort should be made at home to enlist more much volunteers. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."

But there are English ladies in India who could render valuable service in various ways.

Even accompanying ladies engaged in Zenana work would be encouraging. A report says, "We want ladies who take an interest in them to visit them often. The cry always is, 'Do bring somebody to see us; you know we would go if we could.'"

Some ladies might undertake to superintend a few native assistants. An hour a day to five houses a week could be given in several cases. It would greatly diminish the expense, while the influence of an honorary worker would be of much value.

Indian Christian ladies might take part as well as *English* ladies. Zenana work in Madras was commenced by a Christian Native Lady. Mrs. Winter says, "A native Christian lady (who had herself once been a Hindu) went with me once or twice, and I always felt one of her visits was worth fifty of mine."

Even *Hindu* ladies might co-operate. It is true that the number among them who are educated is still very small, but there are a few. They might begin by encouraging home teaching in the families of relatives and friends. Some of them have carriages or other conveyances at their disposal, enabling them to go out. A lady of "light and leading" might thus do a great amount of good. Like charity also, it would be 'twice blessed,' benefiting herself as much as those she sought to instruct. The openings for benevolent effort in which the women of India can engage are still comparatively few; but there is no real difficulty in the way of the course proposed. India will yet have her Mary Carpenters, Florence Nightingales, and Lady Dufferins.

Native Feeling with regard to Female Education.

Sir A. W. Croft gives the following summary :

"The people of India at large encourage or tolerate the education of their girls only up to an age and in standards at which it can do little good, or, according to the point of view, little harm. That it has made such progress as it has made is probably due to several causes. Girls' schools are to some extent the fashion; they are regarded as a mark of civilisation and enlightenment; they are the theme of constant exhortations

addressed to the people by educational and other officers; and those who are urged to establish them have an uneasy feeling that they can put forward no valid grounds for the refusal they would prefer to give. There appear, however, to be great varieties of provincial feeling. In Madras and Bombay, the desire for female education, however limited, is said to be steady and genuine. In Bengal, a different view is expressed, though within the limited region of high education a remarkable beginning has been made. In the North-Western Provinces, Sir Alfred Lyall was of opinion that the mere establishment of schools would do little towards the spread of education among women; 'before any considerable progress is obtained, the natives must themselves lend their co-operation and full assent to the administrative measures of Government, and a public opinion less indifferent to the education of women must be formed.' In the Punjab, similarly, Sir Charles Aitchison was convinced that the difficulties which beset female education were not to be solved either by the recommendations of the Commission or by the most zealous action of Government, though the healthy growth of public opinion among the native community might be hastened by sympathetic action and by liberal and judicious aid on the part of Government officers. In the Punjab, and also in the Central Provinces, there was no difficulty about low-caste-girls; the difficulty was to induce girls of respectable position to come to school. As to Sind, the feeling is thus expressed. It is only in large municipalities, where the Chairmen of the school boards are enlightened men, that any advance in female education is to be looked for. In such places, also, the agitation against early marriage, which is now being carried on by the reforming Hindu party, will tend to keep girls longer at school. 'But in the district and municipal small towns,' writes the Inspector, 'I fear we can expect no progress for some time to come, as the feeling of the mass of the people is undoubtedly adverse to female education.' '*

The means suggested for the advancement of Female Education will be mentioned in the concluding review.

INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Advantages of Marriage.—Marriage is the most important social relation into which we can enter. Most engagements last only for a time; but marriage is a connection for life between persons who must live together in constant intercourse. So close is the union between husband and wife, that the two are regarded as one.

God formed woman to be a helpmeet for man. The two sexes differ in several respects; but by suitable marriage each supplies the deficiencies of the other, and the happiness of both is greatly increased. The man has strength of body, enabling him to protect his wife and provide for her support; the wife has a loving disposition which prompts her in every way to minister to the wants of her husband.

* *Review of Education in India*, p. 279.

Marriage secures the preservation and comfort of children. Infants demand constant care, without which they would perish. As children grow up, they require to be trained and educated, involving much labour and expense. By the marriage relation, parents love children with a tenderness which induces them to make every sacrifice on their account, and which continues till the end of life, notwithstanding, it may be, filial ingratitude. Without marriage, children would often be left to pine with hunger, their education would be neglected, and the human race would become degraded like the beasts of the field.

Marriage is the source of the natural relations, as husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters. It is the means of calling forth the most endearing and permanent affections, which give life much of its sweetness. Industry and economy are secured by marriage. Parents toil chiefly for their children, and for their sakes they avoid much useless expenditure.

In no country in the world is more importance attached to marriage than in India. The one great object most Hindus set before them is to secure the marriage of their children. To have a son to perform their funeral ceremonies is considered necessary to happiness in another world. The common idea is that *putra* means one who saves from hell. This is wrong, for a man's eternal welfare turns upon his own conduct. Still, it is unquestionable, that a person's comfort in this life largely depends upon his marriage. It may either be a great blessing or a great curse.

The Mahabharata thus describes the position and character of an Indian wife in ancient times :

“A wife is half the man, his truest friend—
 A loving wife is a perpetual spring
 Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
 Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
 A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
 In solitude; a father in advice;
 A mother in all seasons of distress;
 A rest in passing through life's wilderness.”

It has been admitted that, even at present, Hindu marriages yield a certain amount of domestic happiness; but it is equally true that it might be greatly increased by several reforms which are urgently required. A few of the principal will be noticed.

EARLY MARRIAGES.

Ages at Marriage.—In most countries of the world, men do not marry till they are able to support a wife; but in India mere children are often thus united.

The first marriage is properly a betrothal, a contract to marry at a future time. Practically, however, it has the force of marriage, for if the boy husband dies, the infant wife is condemned to perpetual widowhood.

The age at which marriage takes place varies in different parts of the country and among different castes. Sir W. W. Hunter says, "Only ignorant persons suppose that the mass of the people of India either practise infant marriages, or prevent a widow from marrying again. But these customs prevail among the great majority of the higher Hindu castes—the very classes who come most strongly under the influence of western modes of thought." The fashion set by them also affects the classes just below them in the social scale.

Certain classes betroth even infants. A Brahman youth in Calcutta, sixteen years of age, was once observed to be very melancholy. A person noticing his pensive looks, inquired whether he had quarrelled with his father, and advised him to return home. The youth told him that he was in trouble on account of his daughter's marriage. He had not succeeded in finding a husband for her, and he was obliged to beg to meet the marriage expenses. The class of Brahmans to which he belonged betroth their children immediately after their birth. If they do not, they lose their honour and respectability.

A Bengali newspaper says, A little boy on his marriage day, not seeing his mother near, began to cry, and the bride followed his example through sympathy. A person present had a cane, which he showed as if he was going to strike them, which made them stop. But in the bridal chamber the poor boy made himself hoarse crying, "where is mamma?"

The last census of the small native state of Baroda shows that 132 males and 558 females were married before they had completed their first year!

Mr. Malabari gives the number of males in British India found married in 1881 up to 9 as 663,000, and the number of females married up to 9 as 1,932,000. Between 10 and 14 the married males stood at 1,808,000 and married females at 4,395,000. Between 15 and 19 the number of married males was 2,740,000, and of married females 5,323,000. Sir W. W. Hunter says, "In Bengal, out of every 1,000 Hindu girls between five and nine years of age, 271 are married and 11 are widows." The Madras census says of Brahman girls, "Some are married before 7 years of age; nearly all are married before 10. The figures suggest that between 6 and 7 is the average age of marriage for females among Brahmans. This has the natural result of a high percentage of widows, and we find that nearly one-third of the Brahman women are widows."

Marriageable Age according to the Shastras.—Hindu law books are so numerous, the texts so varied, and the commentaries so often perverted, that quotations may be made supporting any view. The following are some of the principal texts from Manu:—

88. One should give a girl in marriage according to rule to that suitor who is of high (family), handsome and of like (caste), even though she has not reached (the age of puberty).

89. Better that the girl, even if she has arrived at the age of puberty, should remain at home till her death than that one should ever give her to a suitor lacking in (good) qualities.

90. A girl having reached the age of puberty should wait three years (for a husband); but at the end of that time she should (herself) choose a husband of like (caste).

94. At thirty years of age a man may marry a beloved girl of 12 years, or, (if) he is thrice 8 years (he may marry a girl) of 8 years; if his religious duties would (otherwise) be unfulfilled (he may marry) at once. Book IX.

Dr. Burnell thus remarks on the above:

"The age of the girl differed according to the family and caste customs; for some 12, for some 8 years are recommended; others say she should be given to her husband while she still runs around the house naked. (Vas. xvii, 70; Gaut. xviii. 23), Baudh. iv. 1. 11-14. K. quotes Dakṣa (cf Vs. 94) as approving 8 years. Twelve years seem to be the limit. If unmarried at that age, the girl is disgraced and her father has sinned."

Gautama's *Institutes of the Sacred Law* contains the following rules:

21. A girl should be given in marriage before (she attains the age of) puberty.

22. He who neglects it, commits sin.

23. Some (declare that a girl shall be given in marriage) before she wears clothes." XVIII.

Dr. J. N. Bhattacharjya quotes the following from the *Dayabhaga*, a law book:

"So many seasons of menstruations as overtake a maiden feeling the passion of love and sought in marriage by persons of suitable rank, even so many are the beings destroyed by both her father and mother: this is a maxim of law."

"Paithinashi says:—A girl should be given in marriage before her breasts swell. But if she have menstruated before marriage both the giver and the taker fall into the abyss of hell; and her father, grandfather and great grandfather are born insects in ordure. XI. ii."

Pundit Haraprasad Shastri, M. A., at a public meeting in Calcutta, admitted that in ancient times the bride, in many instances, could choose her own lord; but contended that the system was abolished by Parasara on account of its evils.

At the same meeting Babu Indranath Banarji, B. L., Editor of *Bangabashi*, said : " We will follow the *Shastras* whether we understand them or not."

Supposed Religious Sanction.—The following remarks are abridged from the Rev. T. E. Slater :—

" Marriage among Hindus is not a civil institution, it is a sacrament, or, according to Manu, one of the twelve *Sanskara*, or purificatory rites (II. 27 &c.) by which a person is purified from hereditary sin.

" It is not surprising that people should cling with tenacity to customs supposed to be sanctioned by ancient religious authority, and it has been said that in India every custom, whether unintelligible, or positively indefensible, becomes a religious question. Dewan Bahadur R. Ragunath Row has probably said all that can be said on this subject in the two editions of his pamphlet, 'The Hindu Law of Marriage,' published first in 1882, and in his Reply to a Review of that pamphlet by two learned Madhva pundits, as well as in some more recent papers; and his countrymen must read and judge for themselves.

" Happy will it be for Hindus if they can conclusively prove that their religious books do *not* require them to break the laws of health and reason and morality. If they do require it, so much the worse for the laws, and all one can say is that such laws cannot be inspired; at any rate they can have no binding inspiration and authority for those who now admit these evils. A book of laws, however sacred it may be held, ceases to be of abiding authority, if those laws are out of harmony with intellectual, social and moral progress. Is it not irrational to suppose that the Laws of Manu—a Code compiled, according to the latest computation, 1400 years ago—with its minute and childish formalities, its fanciful, unequal and retaliatory penalties, such as mark the earliest forms of criminal legislation, its uniform leniency shown to a certain class of the community, and its entire subordination of women, should be fitted to regulate society in the nineteenth century? Though there is much that is majestic, benevolent, and beautiful about the Code, are there many among those who have become accustomed to more humane and juster laws who would like to live under it in the present day?

" The conservative Hindu, however, clings to antiquity, and in the matter of child-marriage, those who protest against it have antiquity on their side. Rama married Sita; Krishna married Rukmini; Arjuna married Draupadi; Nala married Damayanti, not as children, but as grown-up women. And as for the Hindu religious books themselves, a careful study of them seems to show that infant marriages 'form no part of a religious institution in India.' The very mantras that the Smritis prescribe to be chanted during the marriage ceremonies, clearly indicate that the bride should be a woman, and not an infant.

" The second religious basis of child-marriage is the doctrine of the *Shraddha*, or the ceremonies that follow the funeral rites. Orthodox Hindus believe that if they do not leave sons behind them, who will offer food for their souls after death, they cannot reach heaven; if they can secure this, they may rest satisfied. But intelligent men 'do not believe that balls of rice and flour can have any effect on departed

spirits; that any ceremonies or sacred places can accelerate the progress of disembodied relatives to heaven."

Men will be judged by their own actions—not by those over which they have no control. The effects of a belief in the efficacy of Shraddhas is most injurious. A Hindu may lead any sort of immoral life; if he have a son and plenty of money to spend on his Shraddha, all is supposed to be well.

Alleged Moral Reasons for Early Marriage.—Mr. Slater thus replies to this argument:

"It is said to be in the interests of morality; though why these interests should not have equal weight in the case of child-widows, it is not easy to see. Parents marry their girls when they arrive at puberty in order that they may not be led astray from virtue. But does not this unseemly haste to get daughters married, while being professedly respect paid to morality, form a serious indictment against the morals of the country? We have often wondered why Hindus do not break through this evil custom from very shame. Child-marriage proclaims with the loudest voice that the moral tone of India needs to be improved."*

Evils of Early Marriage.

Before noticing these in detail, a popular error will first be exposed.

Alleged Early Puberty in India.—It is commonly thought that women are marriageable at an earlier age in hot countries than in cold countries. Dr. Atmarang Pandurang, of Bombay, denies that such is the case:

"The custom of premature marriage thereby acting injuriously upon the morals of the people among whom it prevails, has an undoubted tendency to bring on early puberty, and this is strangely mistaken for 'climatic influence.' *Climatic has no influence* in the matter. The history of our own people in former years, when this pernicious custom had no existence, will bear me out fully."

Mrs. Mansell, M.D., of Cawnpore, thus explains the causes of early puberty in India:

"The idea is very common, that Indian girls are more precocious than others, and therefore *marriage must be hastened*. This state of affairs is supposed to be due to climate. But there are more potent causes. For centuries such pernicious customs have prevailed, so that girls have attained a *forced* puberty, which would probably never have existed under natural conditions. The female mind has been left vacant and uneducated, and has thought of little else than frivolous and sensual objects, before reason and judgment have become matured, and before correct principles have been formed. The imagination has become

* *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 425-431.

excited and the ovaries roused to premature activity. Thus an unnatural forcing of the animal instincts, and an unnatural stimulation of the passions have developed the Indian races as we see them to-day. The mind influences the body.

"The system of early marriage panders to sensuality, lowers the standard of health and of morals, degrades the race, and tends to perpetuate itself and all its attendant evils to all future generations. Such is the law of *heredity*.

"If Indian marriages could be generally deferred to a later period for a few generations, and girls given an opportunity to change the current of their thoughts and habits—if they could become better educated and better disciplined—the habit of early pubescence *would become broken*, and approach more nearly the normal standard. A marked improvement in mental calibre, in morals, in physique, would soon become perceptible, the dangers of child-bearing would be minimised—and a healthy and vigorous race would be secured."

The EVILS will now be mentioned.

1. Early Marriages injure the Health of all concerned.—In 1870 Babu Keshab Chunder Sen collected the opinions of some of the first medical men in India with regard to the marriageable age. A few extracts are given below.*

Dr. David B. Smith, for some time Principal of the Calcutta Medical College:—

"Too early marriage is inevitably bad, and radically destructive of national vigor. I am inclined to think that very early marriages in this country are mentally degrading as they are physiologically objectionable."

Dr. Nobin Krishna Bose:

"I have always regarded this custom to be among the principal causes of our physical deterioration as a race, and also as a powerful impediment in the way of intellectual advancement and social reform."

The Hon. Mohendra Lal Sircar, M. D.:

"Early marriage, in my humble opinion, is the greatest evil of our country. It has stood, so to say, at the very springs of the life of the nation, and prevented the normal expansion of which it is capable.

"It is a grave mistake to suppose that the female who has just begun to menstruate, is capable of giving birth to healthy children. The teeth are no doubt, intended for the mastication of solid food, but it would be a grievous error to think that the child the moment he begins to cut his teeth will be able to live on solid food."

The same physician bore the following testimony at a public meeting held last year, in Calcutta, over which he presided:

"From medical observation extending over 30 years, he could say 25 per cent of Hindu women died prematurely through early marriage, 25

* From a reprint by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, Calcutta, 1887.

per cent more were invalided by the same cause, and the vast majority of the remainder suffered in health from it."

Medical men recommended that the minimum marriageable age of women should be 16; but if delayed until the 18th year, the danger of child-bearing would be lessened and healthier offspring would be secured. In deference, however, to popular opinion, 14 was fixed as the minimum age in the Marriage Bill.

The following are some of the injurious PHYSICAL EFFECTS of early marriage.

(1.) *The drain upon the husband's constitution is very hurtful.*—"The seed is the life." A physician says that its early waste enfeebles the body more than the loss of twenty times the same quantity of blood. "Give not thy strength to women" was the advice of a mother to her royal son.

(2.) *Early marriages tend to make women barren.*—There is a learned treatise on Sterility, or Barrenness, by Dr. Duncan, an eminent English physician. He shows conclusively that the proportion of barren women is much greater among those married early than among those married when full grown.

(3.) *Early marriages produce females rather than males, and weak children.*—This was remarked more than 2,000 years ago by Aristotle, a famous Greek philosopher. "Premature conjunctions produce imperfect offspring, females rather than males, and these feeble in make and short in stature. That this happens in the human race as well as in other animals, is visible in the puny inhabitants of countries where early marriages prevail."

Dr. Duncan also shows that abortions and ill-formed children are other fruits of early marriages. Surgeon-Major Parakh, Chief Physician, Goculdas Tejpal Hospital, Bombay, says, "The heads of the children of young mothers are also unduly pressed upon, and so either the children die prematurely or grow feeble both in body and mind or turn out hopeless idiots."

(4.) *Early marriages cause much sickness and mortality among the mothers.*—Dr. Parakh mentions as one cause "The imperfect consolidation of the bones of the pelvis at the tender ages at which women in consequence of early marriages, give birth to children."

Miss Pechey, M. D., of Bombay, says:—

"The prevalence amongst Hindu women of rickets and scrofula is, no doubt, due to their custom of early marriage; the demands of maternity being made upon a system in which the bones and other tissues are not yet fully developed, the offspring is insufficiently nourished, and that at the expense of the mother."*

According to present law, marriage may be consummated when

* Indian Magazine, 1886, p. 439.

the child wife is ten years of age. Mrs. Mansell, M. D., thus mentions some of the effects of this :

"I have been called to treat surgically four little girl-wives whose bodies were most shockingly mutilated and rendered henceforth unfit for marital duties by their husbands! A gentleman (in manner and appearance) asked me to visit his family—and I saw a little girl—no larger or more developed than a European child of seven years—so completely ravished, that repair was almost impossible. This man informed me that this was his *last wife*, and that restraint was impossible! He said this in plain English, and without the slightest appearance of shame or pity. What a marriage system! How shameful! How degrading!"

At the meeting held in Calcutta, a Bengali Christian gentleman piously defended the death of the mother and some of her children by the famous *crab argument* :

"If God in His infinite wisdom made the mother crab die in the very act of propagating her species, should we complain and fight against nature, if, according to a natural law, the human mother suffered in physique or of some of her offsprings died an untimely death in fulfilling one of the ends for which she was created? Who can say that in our fallen state this was not necessary for the general good, moral and spiritual, of the whole human race?" Report, p. 26.

Divine wisdom is thus claimed in support of human folly.

2. **Early Marriages hinder Education.**—This applies both to the wife and her husband.

Hindu girls are bright scholars, and often get on well. But just at the time when they could profit most from instruction, marriage intervenes, and school must be abandoned. This not only prevents them from continuing their studies, but frequently causes them to forget, in course of time, what they have learned. Married as children, they generally remain intellectually children all their days.

The husbands are also injured. An Indian Inspector says that through early marriages many of the students are "exhausted and spent by the time they reach seventeen. Their former energy and brightness are gone."

An unmarried student is free to devote all his time to his books. One who is married must also attend to his wife and children. Petty household matters are forced upon his notice; he is importuned for ornaments; he is often drawn into domestic quarrels. Instead of prosecuting his studies, he accepts the first obtainable situation; while, if better qualified, he might have occupied a higher position through life.

3. **Early marriage is unjust to both parties.**—It allows them "no choice in the most important event of life—an event that concerns them infinitely more than it concerns their parents. The marriage union is for life, and no power on earth, however ancient

or sacred its pretensions, has the right to deprive an individual of the option of declining a connection that may lead to prolonged matrimonial misery and to early and perpetual widowhood."

The boy-husband may be wronged "by uniting him to a wife who can take no intelligent interest in his pursuits, can never counsel and help him in perplexity, cannot manage his household affairs, and cannot train his children. He may have a plaything or a mistress, but not a 'help' meet for him."*

4. Young mothers are incapable of training their children.—

It is not an easy duty to bring up a child in the right way. Much wisdom and judgment are required to prevent the child from being petted and spoiled. These cannot be expected in a mother who is herself little more than a child. It may be said that she will be assisted by her mother-in-law. But a child is always most influenced by its own mother, and the mother-in-law, very probably, is an ignorant woman.

5. The large proportion of widows in India is partly owing to early marriages.—About one-third of all that are born die before they are five years of age. Others are cut off in youth. If mere girls are married, it is plain that a number of their husbands must die before they attain puberty. The unhappy girls are, according to Hindu usage, doomed to be widows for life.

6. Early Marriages tend to Poverty.—In other countries the prospect of marriage is a stimulus to a young man to be diligent in business that he may get settled in life. In India this incentive is lost.

Formerly the population was kept down by war, pestilence, and famine, so that there was enough of good land for all the survivors. These checks have been largely removed by the British Government, and the population in some districts is becoming excessive. Sir H. S. Maine, referring to India, says, "In no country will there be, probably, a severer pressure on population for food." Among enlightened nations people do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. In India the masses marry and multiply without any more thought of the future than rabbits. Sir W. W. Hunter says:

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil."

It is these underfed millions who fall the earliest victims to disease, and swell the death-roll. In spite of every effort on the part

* Rev. T. E. Slater, *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 500.

of Government, things will get worse and worse, unless there is prudence on the part of the people themselves with regard to marriage.

7. Early marriages cause National Weakness.—Mrs. Mansell says :—

“Because of this marriage system, the gifted races of India have degenerated, and become subjugated by foreign powers, and governed by the physically stronger and more energetic races, and India holds a subordinate place among the nations. This condition of affairs will continue so long as the mothers of the nation remain the victims of such a vicious marriage system, and are kept in a state of bondage, ignorance, and superstition. As long as mothers remain too feeble and too immature to impart strength and vitality to their offspring—so long will the Indian races lack strength, and courage, and hardihood—and the nation will remain weak and dependent.”

Principal Wordsworth, referring to infant marriages, thus corroborates the opinion of Mrs. Mansell :

“Personally I hold most strongly that no great social or political improvement can be looked for in Hindu society so long as it adheres to that system. For one thing it seems to me simply incompatible with any marked advance in female education, and I cannot hope that Hindu society will ever emerge from what I consider its present state of feeble civilisation, which must condemn it in the future, as it has condemned it in the past, to be the servants of manlier and more energetic races, so long as Hindu mothers remain in their present bondage of ignorance and superstition.”

Early marriage, like caste, is almost peculiar to India. Why should the Hindus alone find it necessary ?

Proposed Legislation.

Mr. M. Malabari, of Bombay, has devoted some of the best years of his life to the important questions of “Early Marriage and Enforced Widowhood.” He has collected a body of valuable evidence, showing the evils of the systems, and urging reform. Dewan Bahadur R. Raghoonath Row and others might be mentioned who have done good service in the same direction.

Some of the measures advocated will now be considered.

Mr. Malabari's Proposals.—To check early marriages, he suggested that, after due notice, no married student should be eligible to go up for University Examinations. The heads of departments, other things being equal, should prefer the unmarried candidate to the married.

The recommendations with regard to widows will be noticed under another head.

The Government of India is proverbially timid about interfering with native usages. It required years of agitation before the abolition of *sati* could be obtained. Mr. Malabari's proposals were sent for opinion to the different local administrations, and influential Indians in different parts of the country were consulted. The views expressed are embodied in an interesting Blue Book, published in 1886.*

The following extract contains the views of Government on the general principle :

" In dealing with such subjects as those raised in Mr. Malabari's Notes, the British Government in India has usually been guided by certain general principles. For instance, when caste or custom enjoins a practice which involves a breach of the ordinary criminal law, the State will enforce the law. When caste or custom lays down a rule which is of its nature enforceable in the Civil Courts, but is clearly opposed to morality or public policy, the State will decline to enforce it. When caste or custom lays down a rule which deals with such matters as are usually left to the option of citizens, and which does not need the aid of Civil or Criminal Courts for its enforcement, State interference is not considered either desirable or expedient.

" In the application of such general principles to particular cases, there is doubtless room for differences of opinion ; but there is one common-sense test which may often be applied with advantage in considering whether the State should or should not interfere in its legislative or executive capacity with social or religious questions of the kind now under notice. The test is, ' Can the State give effect to its commands by the ordinary machinery at its disposal ? ' If not, it is desirable that the State should abstain from making a rule which it cannot enforce without a departure from its usual practice or procedure.

" If this test be applied in the present case, the reasons will be apparent why His Excellency in Council considers that interference by the State is undesirable, and that the reforms advocated by Mr. Malabari, which affect the social customs of many races with probably as many points of difference as of agreement, must be left to the improving influences of time, and to the gradual operation of the mental and moral development of the people by the spread of education.

" It is true that the British Government in India has by its legislation set up a standard of morality independent of, and in some material respects differing from, the standard set up by caste ; and it may be that the former standard has had some beneficial effect in influencing native customs, practices, and modes of thought. But legislation, though it may be didactic in its effect, should not be undertaken for merely didactic purposes ; and in the competition of influence between legislation on the one hand, and caste or custom on the other, the condition of success on the part of the former is that the Legislature should keep

* *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Home Department.* No. CCXXIII.

within its natural boundaries, and should not, by overstepping those boundaries, place itself in direct antagonism to social opinion."

None, perhaps, are more desirous of the change than members of the Government of India; but it is thought that public opinion is not yet sufficiently advanced for legislation. It is, however, an encouraging sign of progress that in 1888 a large representative assembly in Rajputana agreed to fix the marriageable ages at 18 and 14.

Mr. Malabari's proposals did not meet with acceptance. Mr. Slater says, that the result in most cases would be to punish the young for the misdeeds of their elders; to say nothing of arresting education which is itself the best reformer. Nor is it the province of Universities to lead social reforms, or to inflict penalties on those who hold certain views, and follow certain customs.

Extension of Native Marriage Act.—In 1872, Government, at the instance chiefly of Keshub Chunder Sen, passed the Native Marriage Act for those who wished to avail themselves of its provisions. It fixed the minimum age for a bridegroom at 18, and of a bride at 14, but required the written consent of parents or guardians when either party was under 21. Higher ages would have been preferred; but it was considered expedient to defer, so far, to popular opinion.

Mr. Whitley Stokes, the late law member of the Viceroy's Council, advocates legislative measures for putting an end to the evils attending the Hindu marriage system, in the following terms:

"We have already, by the Indian Act XV. of 1856, removed all legal obstacles to re-marriage; but the number of widows who have availed themselves of this Act, is infinitesimally small. The only practical course is to limit the number of young widows. This can be done by abolishing the system of infant marriages, in accordance with which boys are often wedded at the age of nine or ten and girl-wives married at four or five, becoming widows before their boy-husbands grow up. As a Hindu marriage is not a contract, our courts are compelled to recognise such unions. We must, therefore, legislate in the Governor-General's Council; and the operative part of the necessary Bill might be in the following form:—1. Every marriage solemnized between Hindus after this Act comes into force, shall be void, unless, at the date of the marriage, the husband has completed his age of sixteen years and the wife has completed her age of twelve years. 2. Every party to a marriage made contrary to the provisions of this Act, and every person abetting, within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, any such marriage, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or to both. As the Penal Code, Sections 82 and 83, would apply to the proposed Act, no child under twelve would in practice be punishable under its provisions. But an old man who, as sometimes happens, marries a girl of eight or nine, and all persons bringing about or solemnizing infant marriages, would and rightly, incur a penalty." *St. James's Gazette.*

The *Indian Messenger*, a Brahmo organ, after quoting the above, remarks:—

“However undesirable it may be for the Government to interfere in such matters relating to the Hindu society, we feel tempted to add that it would certainly be productive of highly satisfactory results so far as that society itself is concerned. Once that we have this pernicious custom put down, Hindu society will rise, fresh and renovated.”

Although enlightened Hindus would be glad of such legislation, it is yet too much in advance of “native public opinion.”

Proposals of Calcutta Ladies.—The Calcutta Branch of the “World’s Women’s Christian Temperance Union,” in a circular, dated 29th September, 1888, suggest the measures stated below:

First Proposal:

“While Hinduism tolerates, if it does not demand, unnaturally early betrothal or ‘religious marriage’ as it is called, neither Hindu law nor custom demands unnaturally early co-habitation or ‘physical marriage.’ Hence the India Penal Code has made the cohabitation of so-called husband and wife before ten years of age criminal. This age must be raised to at least 12 or 13. The British India Law for the Parsis made it 14. The minimum demanded by the Bramhos and obtained in the Civil Marriage Act (1872) is 14. There is nothing in Hindu law or custom to prevent Government fixing a minimum of 13 or 14 for co-habitation among Hindus.”

The first marriage might take place at any time; but the second marriage, followed by cohabitation, might be postponed to at least 12 or 13.

The following opinions may be quoted in favour of some such course:

The Hon. K. T. Telang says:

“That reform is wanted at the principal source of mischief which lies in an early consummation of marriage. And here, I may point out, the beginnings of a reform—very small beginnings I admit, and not such as to redound much to our credit; but still beginnings which are none the less real—have already been made in Bombay and elsewhere. Cases of deferred consummation after girls have arrived at puberty, are known to have occurred without any protest from the castes concerned. If such cases become sufficiently numerous, a long step, I am persuaded, will have been taken towards the ultimate goal.”*

The late Sir M. Melvill, in a letter to Mr. Malabari, says:

“As regards consummation I should not be disposed to alter the provision of Section 375 of the Penal Code, which makes *ten* the age within which it is *rape* to have intercourse with a woman. But I would not object to making it an offence punishable, with a milder punishment than that of rape, to have intercourse with a woman between the age of 10 or 12. This, I think, is the law in England.”

* *Infant Marriage, &c.*, p. 51.

He proposed the following legislation :

"1. Whoever has sexual intercourse with a woman, who is above the age of ten but under the age of twelve years, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both."

The 2nd section would make punishable the parents who send their daughter to her husband's house before she is 12 years of age.

"2. Whoever being the lawful guardian of a woman who is under the age of twelve years, knowingly permits her to have sexual intercourse, or does any act to facilitate her having sexual intercourse, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description which may extend to two years, or with fine or with both." p. 97.

One great obstacle in the way of this legislation is, that the parents, in most cases, think it rather a duty than a crime to abet such an act as that forbidden. Sir M. Melvill, in a previous letter to Mr. Malabari, thus states the difficulties in the way of his own proposal :

"If consummation could be prevented before the age of 12, it would certainly be most desirable. But could the law effect this? At present, consummation of marriage before the age of 10 is punishable. But in the whole course of my experience, I have never known such a case brought before the Criminal Courts. Why is this? The explanation must be either, that such cases do not take place, or that they are not discovered. The first explanation, I think, you do not admit, and therefore you must fall back on the second. But if it is impossible to prove that the law is broken, when the girl is under 10, it would be equally, or even more difficult to prove it, when the girl was between 10 and 12. I say 'more difficult,' because the visible injury to the girl herself would be less serious and less apparent. It seems to me that it would be impossible to enforce the law, except by means of an inquisitorial investigation of the most private affairs of domestic life, which would be considered intolerable. In the absence of complaint by the wife, (and she would never complain), how could any one be allowed to go into a man's house, in order to ascertain whether he had consummated his marriage before his wife was *apta viro*? And then there is difficulty to which I have already referred (the want of birth registration), that in most cases it is almost impossible to prove conclusively whether a girl is 10 or 11, or 12 years old."*

The *Second Proposal* of the Calcutta Ladies is intended to meet cases like that of Rukmabai :

"Marriages effected under 10 years of age and when the parties have never lived together should be made voidable on the wives attaining 16 years of age, and if any restriction be enforced on re-marriage in such cases, it should form the subject of civil suits for damages only."

* *Infant Marriage, &c.*, pp. 95-97.

It is no doubt intended, that, in such refusal, neither party could marry without the written consent of parents or guardians till 21, as required in the Native Marriage Act of 1872.

This proposal has the support of the high authority of Sir William Muir and the Hon. Mr. Justice West. The former, in a letter to Mr. Malabari, writes :

"I have always been strongly of opinion (and I think I expressed the same in the Legislative Council some 20 years ago) that the betrothal or marriage of minors should not be held binding at law unless consummated—that is, that specific performance of the contract made by parents or guardians should not be enforced. Possibly court action for damages against these might be allowed."*

Mr. Justice West sent a draft Act to Mr. Malabari ; the first section of which is as follows :

"A marriage of a female under 12 or of a male under 14 may, on the attainment of that age, be adopted or renounced either by the person attaining it or by the other party to the marriage."*

The preamble, however, limits the act to the "castes and classes" desiring such legislation.

Sir Madhava Row's Proposal.—In a memorandum, dated 10th August, 1888, he suggests that there should be a fine for performing marriage before ten in the case of Brahmans and longer in the case of non-Brahmans. The grand argument is that it would considerably reduce the number of widows. He says :

"I prefer this moderate action to total inaction which I consider culpable to a high degree. I decidedly prefer fine to invalidity, because the latter would involve the misery of the innocent children, and cause deep and extensive popular discontent. The fines should not be appropriated by the State, but applied to some purpose beneficial to virgin widows. I would have two age limits; one for castes under obligation to marry the girl before puberty, and the other for castes at liberty to marry the girls after puberty. More than this measure appears to me impossible at present, less than this measure would be culpable. The friction attendant upon it will be at its minimum."

Sir Madhava Row proposes as punishment only a fine graduated according to the circumstances of the people. This is preferable to imprisonment for what some regard as only the fulfilment of a religious duty. Such an act might properly be the first stage of reform. It would familiarise the people with the idea that marriages, under a certain age, were forbidden.

But to secure the passing even of such an Act, the desire for it must be expressed. The means which may be adopted will be noticed in the final review.

* *Infant Marriage*, &c., pp. 101. 99.

INTERMARRIAGE.

West, an English physician, author of one of the best treatises on the "Diseases of Children," says, "*First* among the causes of sickly infancy and premature death may be mentioned the intermarriage of near relatives." The Hindus have been split up into probably about a lakh of subdivisions, each holding itself aloof from all others. Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar gives the following illustration :—

"I am sure I am not guilty of exaggeration when I say that the Mudaliyars residing in Madras are divided into as many as fifty sections, no one of which can intermarry with any other. The same difficulty of intermarriage exists among Nayndus, and Pillais, and Reddis."

"A Kashmiri Pandit" thus points out the evils of the present Hindu system :

"To weld the disjointed portions of the Indian community together, intermarriages are indispensable ; but, as long as caste exists, they are an impossibility. They are calculated to fuse the various and discordant elements of Indian Society into one homogeneous whole, by softening down class prejudices ; by creating an intellectual sympathy, as the result of the intermixture of ideas ; by engendering an enlarged national interest, consequent upon a complex and involved relationship, diffused through the different classes of the community. This is the good of intermarriages : let us look at the evils arising from their absence.

"Physically, marriage within a narrow circle is injurious to the general *physique* of a society. Caste splits up a large community into small sects, and the member of each sect cannot step beyond its pale. I am inclined to think that the limitation of the choice of marriage within small sects is one of the causes of the physical deterioration of the Indian race.

"Besides injuring them physically, 'close interbreeding,' or the absence of intermarriage, inflicts upon the Indians an intellectual injury too, by diminishing their mental vigour and fertility. The mental force of a nation, and especially of a small community, begins to diminish as soon as its connection with other peoples is cut off ; and I have no doubt that the intermixture of races has been one of the most powerful agencies in the intellectual development of man.

"Morally, it affects in three ways. First, it strengthens, if it does not actually give rise to, the custom of early marriage. When a large community splits up into a hundred sects, the choice of marriage becomes limited to very narrow circles. The number of boys and girls being limited in each sect, everybody tries to secure the chance for his child by an early betrothal, fearing that, if once the opportunity is gone, he may not be able to find a suitable match for his child. In a large community where no caste restrictions exist, parents are not very anxious to marry their children at an early age. Thus, it appears to me that caste, by breaking up the Indian society into pieces, and consequently limiting the choice of marriage, has become one of the main causes of the rise of early marriage in India. Secondly, on account of these

social boundaries which have risen up between class and class, precluding intermarriages, the number of boys and girls has become limited, their price in the matrimonial market has risen very high, and immoral monetary transactions relating to marriages have come into fashion.

"The force of this evil can be duly realised by those who are aware that there are sects in India comprising only 80 or 100 families. In these sects, the father of three or four sons is a very fortunate person : he has some very valuable articles, and can sell them at any price he likes. Thirdly, each sect thinking itself superior to all other sects, and feeling no interest in their affairs, deep class-prejudices have sprung up, preventing every kind of unity and harmonious action among the people.

"It is these considerations which have led me to think that our future prosperity depends upon our becoming one nation, and that the rise of the national spirit depends in a large measure, upon intermarriages, which can become common only when the authority of caste has died away."*

Reform might commence by the intermarriage of subdivisions of the same caste. It is not desirable, as a rule, for persons widely dissimilar in social position and tastes to marry. A Pariah girl, well educated in a Mission Boarding School, may herself be a suitable match for an educated Brahman ; but in India when a man marries a wife he is considered also to marry all her relations, who think they have a right to come and quarter themselves upon him. The first and easiest step is that proposed by Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar :—

"Can nothing be done to bring into intermarrying relations all the members of a class like Mudaliyars or Nayadus? that the son of one Nayadu should marry the daughter of another Nayadu does not seem to involve any violation of the Vedic or Smrithic precepts. No religious scruples need be set at rest, and I presume there will be no great opposition from the priest. Custom is the only foe to contend with. I would fain think that if a small beginning were made in the way of uniting three or four of the many sections of Mudaliyars, the advantageous character of the union would be readily and fully appreciated, and the way be prepared for a further blending together of the sections that now stand apart. In a matter like this, the chief city should set the example, and the towns in the mofussil will follow suit, sooner or later."

The Vedas do not contain any restriction whatever about marriages, and even in the time of Manu there were intermarriages between the different castes. The present system of forbidding marriages between numerous sections of the same caste is modern, and rests wholly on custom. It is another example of Hindu ingenuity in the "favourite human art of self-tormenting."

* *The Indian Magazine*, 1886, pp. 287, 288.

ASTROLOGY.

Next to caste, astrology has perhaps most influence in preventing desirable marriages. When one is contemplated, horoscopes are compared. If the results are considered unfavourable, the proposed union is abandoned. Its evil effects are thus explained by Sir Madhava Row :

“The difficulties attendant upon the choice of suitable husbands for the girls of a Hindu family are generally many and great, and I am bound to say that these difficulties are enormously aggravated by Hindu *Astrology*.

The anxious parents and relatives of a girl, after much inquiry and research, make a choice, good in many respects,—in respect of age, health, appearance, education and circumstances.

The horoscopes of the boy and girl are placed in the hands of the astrologer, and he is asked for his opinion as to the proposed match.

After much inspection, study and calculation—or rather the appearance of the same—the astrologer perhaps says,

(1) The two horoscopes are not in accord ; as they ought to be.

(2) The horoscope of the boy shows that he will be short-lived ; and this means that the girl married to him will before long become a widow !

(3) The horoscope of the boy shows that he is destined to lose his first wife and to marry a second ; and this means that the girl married to him will die ere long !

(4) The horoscope of the girl shows that she will not have a father-in-law or mother-in-law ; and this means that, not long after marriage, the parents of the boy will die !

Such predictions cause alarm to the parents of the girl and also to the parents of the boy ; and the proposed alliance is abandoned.

The parents of the girl begin again their inquiries and researches for a husband for her. It having become known that her horoscope has been declared objectionable in the way above stated, nobody will accept her in marriage.

Similarly the parents of the boy renew their inquiries and researches for a wife for him. It having become known that his horoscope has been declared objectionable in the way above stated, nobody is willing to offer him a girl in marriage.

Such embarrassments, and the unhappiness thereby caused, afflict Hindu society in many and various forms.

It is lamentable what a deal of mischief the astrologer does.

The astrologer may be a real believer in the science which he professes to know. The mischief he does is not the less on that account.

He may be utterly ignorant of that science. The mischief is all the same.

It is consolatory to think that very often he is a downright humbug, who desires to extort money from either side. In this case it is a consolation that the fellow might be bribed to refrain from mischief !

But the fact of his being open to bribery soon becomes known, and he is rejected as a referee in favour of the more honest and, therefore, the less tractable mischief-maker!

The fact is, the root of the evil lies in the general or prevailing belief in astrology—the belief prevailing among men, and especially among women, who take a large part in arranging marriages.

Show this belief to be quite unfounded, and you will apply the axe to the root of the evil.

Here then is a large and virgin field presented for the labours of social reformers.

I feel it a duty to avail myself of this opportunity to declare my own profound conviction that Hindu astrology, as it is now employed in connection with proposed marriages, is utterly false and purely mischievous."

A gentleman in Mysore gives the following illustrations of which he had personal knowledge: A rich Brahman in the Fort wanted a wife for one of his sons; but he had to write letters without end; and to search for *five* years in about a *hundred* families before he could find a girl whose natal star would fulfil the required conditions. Another respectable man in Mysore had three daughters. For one daughter he searched for a husband about two years in 22 families; for the next he made inquiries three years; and for the last one he has been writing, looking and seeking in vain for the last four years. A Brahman, 32 years of age, wandered about for more than two years with Rs. 500 in his hand looking for a wife; and he has now only succeeded in obtaining a girl of four years old by giving a dowry of Rs. 700.

MARRIAGE EXPENSES.

Ward has the following remarks on Hindu marriages:

"The wedding ceremonies exhibit the manners of a people exceedingly fond of display....The chief anxiety of a Hindu is not to acquire daily food for his family, but to pay off the extraordinary expenses incurred at the call of ridiculous custom or superstition. Though thousands of rupees may have been expended upon it, not a vestige remains after marriage by which the married pair may be more wealthy or more happy; the whole sum evaporates in show, noise, and smoke, or is squandered away in the entertainment of Brahmaus and relations."

Colonel Sleeman thus describes the custom in the North-West Provinces:

"One of the evils which press most upon Indian society, is the necessity which long usage has established of squandering large sums in marriage ceremonies. Instead of giving what they can to their children to establish them, and enable them to provide for their families and rise in the world, parents everywhere feel bound to squander all they have and all they can borrow on the festivities of their marriage."

Several tribes of the Rajputs used to murder some of their female infants to prevent their estates being ruined by marriage expenses.

It is the same in South India. *The Hindu* says :

"It is well known that among the Hindus, marriages, as a 'rule, necessitate such enormous expenditure that many families involve themselves in debt and even in ruin. They are considered to be occasions of particular importance, and in the estimation of ordinary people, no amount of expenditure is excessive. We can point to many wealthy families in Southern India who have ruined themselves by borrowing blindly vast sums of money to indulge their vanity of having performed marriages on a grand scale. The whole lot of the Brahmin landholders of Tanjore may be said to have brought on them ruin in this way. There are comparatively very few families of the district free from the burden of debt, incurred in most instances for the expenses of marriages."

The Oudh Akhbar gives the following graphic picture of marriage customs among the Muhammadans :—

"The luckless man who has to celebrate a marriage has to issue his invitations on powdered and tinselled paper a month before the day : if he leaves out an enemy, he runs the risk of being vilified in a vernacular newspaper. Nor can he calculate the probable number of his guests by the number of invitations he has sent. An invited guest will be sure to bring his brothers and his nephews, and not improbably a friend or two to whom he owes a kindness. Meantime the feelings of the giver of the feast are of a very mixed nature. He cannot quite avoid the thought that for a few brief hours of popularity he has wasted his substance and irretrievably beggared himself and his children. Still the sight of so many hungry friends and the evident thankfulness of the diners buoys him up. He runs into his wife and tells her what a name he has won in the town. She is proud of her husband, and tells him that a good name outweighs mortgaged lands and heaps of bills. At last the great day is over, the account has to be met, and the dinner-giver finds himself a ruined man. He is turned out of house and home, and his wife is received with black looks and blows by the neighbours from whom she begs a crust."

The Rev. W. Stevenson, late of Madras, describes as follows a common marriage case :—

"A father is about to get his daughter married ; his income is Rs. 50 a month, and he has saved nothing ; but it is the custom for one in his position to spend Rs. 500. He knows he hasn't got the means ; he must borrow at exorbitant interest, he must put a load of debt on his shoulders, which may grind him down for long years ; but what does he do ? Does he say honestly—' Well, I hav'nt got the money, it is wrong and foolish to burden myself with debt ; I'll only spend what I can properly afford, and mind nothing else ? ' No, he says, ' What can I do, Sir ? It's our custom, and if I don't spend all this money, my neigh-

hours will put shame on me.' So he foolishly and cowardly puts his neck under the yoke, rather than face a breath of popular opinion."

This insane conduct is not confined to the ignorant. The *Indian Mirror* says: "It is well known that common sense and prudence leave the Native, whether educated or uneducated, when he has any social ceremonies to perform. On such occasions he is sure to go beyond his means and involve himself."

Evils of Extravagant Expenditure.

Space permits only a few to be noticed :

1. **It tends to make the Hindus a nation of children.**—Children have two weaknesses—they are fond of show and they think only of the present. Both are characteristic of the Hindus at present, and they are fostered by the marriage outlay.

2. **The payment of an enormous amount of Interest.**—From the want of foresight, borrowing is the common resource at a marriage, and a load of debt is thus often contracted which presses heavily till the end of life.

3. **Lands passing into the hands of Money-lenders.**—The Bombay *Dnyanodaya* says :

"We know a village in the Konkan (the coast district of the Bombay Presidency) where not a foot of land nor a single house is owned by the inhabitants. They have lost all by mortgaging their little property for the sake of money to spend on marriages. One would think this would teach them a lesson, but when their all is gone, rather than fail to spend a 100 or 200 rupees on the further marriages of their children, cases are known of their selling themselves to their landlord for a period of years, or a life-time."

"The connection between their poverty and their marriage customs is plain. A poor man who is struggling for an existence told us to-day that his father owned six acres of land, but that when his three boys became of a marriageable age, he said, 'Come what will, even if I lose my land, my boys must be properly married;' so he mortgaged the land, spent several hundreds of rupees, was happy for two days, and then lost every thing he owned."

"Expense," says Bacon, 'ought to be limited by a man's estate;' but according to Indian notions it ought not to stop short of one's credit with the money-lender."

The increased value of the land to the ryot has, in some cases, been a positive curse.

"In native territory proprietary right is unknown, while in British Bundelkhand Government, with the best possible intentions, conferred at one blow the proprietary right in their villages on the Zemindars. This perilous gift has been of great disservice to them. Instead of rising in the social scale, and standing out as a comfortable yeomen class, they

found their newly obtained rights useful only as a security upon which money might be borrowed. The Marwaris and others were ready to lend money to an extent before unknown, and when the famine came they freely signed away their birth-rights for a morsel of bread."

4. **The country is deprived of the capital which it so much needs.**—Indian farmers plough with what is little better than a crooked stick, and the produce is only one-half of what it ought to be. To enable the manufactures of India to compete with those of the West, modern machinery is required. Instead of providing it, the resources of the country are squandered on empty show. The Chief Justice of Indore lately said at a public meeting, "Why should Hindus alone have to be the butt of every civilized community in this respect?"

Measures Recommended.

1. **Every means should be taken to spread a knowledge of the evils of the present system.**—Husbands should talk about it to their wives at every fitting opportunity. They should not wait till a marriage is proposed; but "take time by the forelock." When intelligent men meet, let it sometimes form the topic of conversation. Good popular lectures on the subject would be of great value, and tracts might be circulated with advantage.

2. **Families between whom marriages take place should agree to a greatly reduced scale of expenditure.**—It is quite right to rejoice at marriages. Within due limits the entertainment of relations and friends is becoming; it is insane extravagance which is condemned.

Considering the divisions into castes, no general movement is likely to take place. Each section of the community will require to take up the matter. The heads of families should have meetings to consider the subject and come to an understanding. There may be one or two fools who will persevere in the old senseless custom; but if the majority act prudently, a change will take place. If one section make a beginning, the example will probably be followed in course of time by other classes.

3. **Educated men should take the lead in the movement.**—More may justly be looked for from them than that they should be the slaves of custom.

What hope can there be in a nation when its most intelligent men yield to the ignorant rabble, and pursue a course which they themselves allow to be idiotic?

4. **Female Education should be promoted.**—It is ignorant women who are the great supporters of the present ruinous system, and their increased intelligence would be one of the most effective means for its destruction. Without this, all other efforts are not likely to have a permanent effect.

Let the reader ponder well the foregoing statements and use every means in the circle in which he moves to put an end to the evils which have been described. The late Governor of Madras justly said in his Convocation Address :—

“He who could persuade his countrymen to give up their, to us, astounding expenditure on marriages, would do more for South India than any Government could do in a decade.”

Marriage expenses are one of the chief causes of Indian poverty.

OBJECTIONABLE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS, ETC.

Mr. Mullick complains of the frivolities of the ceremony. “No respite is granted to the bridegroom to feel its solemnity, to think upon his future obligations and duties, or to canvass their weight and importance.” Rude practical jokes are played upon him; as pulling his ears, &c. But there are other practices still worse.

Obscene Language and Songs.—Mr. S. C. Bose says :

“In the suburbs and rural districts of Bengal, females, more particularly among the Brahmin class, are tacitly allowed to have so much liberty on this special occasion that they, putting under the bushel their instinctive modesty, entertain the bridegroom not only with epithalamiums, but with other amorous songs, having reference to the diversions of Krishna with his mistress and the numerous milkmaids. Under an erroneous impression of singing holy songs, they unwittingly trumpet the profligate character of their god.”*

A Lahore journal complains of the most obscene songs which the Punjabi women sing on the occasion of a marriage ceremony.

The Lahore *Tribune* mentions another horrible custom indirectly connected with marriage :

On certain so-called sacred days, girls, from 12 to 20 years of age, go often at the dead of night to a river, singing on their way shamefully abusive and indecent songs. After taking their baths, the girls stand in two lines, one facing the other and pour out the most abominable abuse against each other. This is done under the idea that the more a girl is abused, the longer lives her husband.

Nautches.—The *Subodh Patrika* has the following remarks on this subject :

“Not the least urgent of such subjects of reform is the institution of dancing girls among us. Stripped of all their acquirements, these women are a class of prostitutes pure and simple. Their profession is immoral and they live by vice. Being never married they can never be widows. Hence the wedding tie woven by these women is considered propitious and sufficiently potent to confer life-long wifehood on the newly-married girl. Indeed their presence at marriage and other cere-

* *Hindus as they are*, p. 67.

The Calcutta Branch of the "World's Women's Christian Temperance Union" make the following suggestions :

"The prohibition of the training and abusing of little girls as prostitutes and the possession of them by the prostitutes or others trading on their infancy, or in other words the amending of Clause 5 Section 375 and the regular enforcement of Sections 366 and 373 of the Penal Code."

Clause 5, Section 375 is as follows : "With or without her consent, when she is under 10 years of age." It is proposed to raise the lowest age of consent to 15 or 16 as in the English Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Section 366 prohibits kidnapping or abducting for prostitution &c., Section 376 prohibits "buying of any minor for purposes of prostitution."

Another reform advocated is,

"The prohibition of the trade which at present exists and by which women of Eastern Europe are decayed under false pretences to come to India where they are practically forced into prostitution."

The Editor of the *Indian Evangelical Review* concludes with the following remarks :

"One thing we know, is, that very many people are responsible for the present state of matters, from the unnatural parent who lives on his child's infamy, to the Raja who tries to entertain his accommodating European friends by exhibitions of an institution that would be a disgrace to the lowest stages of savagery."*

Public Women as Actresses.—"Young Bengal" makes politics his serious business, and amuses himself at theatres. There is quite a rage for theatre-going among certain classes in Calcutta. Formerly the female characters in plays were taken by young men ; now prostitutes go on the stage, and use it as an opportunity for advertising their charms. *The Liberal* says :

"Wherein are the actresses of the Beadon Street Theatres recruited ? Are they not born and bred in brothels ? Is not their habitual occupation unnamable ? They are simply brought in the stage for their personal attractions, and in their new capacity, attired in all the pink of fashion, they find greater facilities to carry on their ruinous game. Their new place serves the purpose of being a conspicuous index to their private residences, and lo ! hundreds of young men are unsettled in their religious and moral convictions, are drawn to them to court perdition and ignominy. Then there are the liquor shops and the houses of ill-fame, mentioned by the *Indian Witness*, situated at convenient distances from their play-houses, which complete the work of destruction, and within a short time convert their young men into habitual drunkards and worshippers of harlots."

* *Indian Evangelical Review*, July 1838, p. 126.

The Liberal adds: "The amount of support now given to these theatres does not speak well of the morals of the Calcutta Native public. No gentleman ought to entertain the idea of ever visiting them, much less of supporting them with funds." It is to be hoped that the "Babu of the Period" will soon see the error of his ways. It is creditable to the Dacca students that they held a public meeting to protest against such an iniquity. There are brothels in Calcutta near some of the Colleges. A few successful efforts have been made for their removal.

POLYGAMY.

Fortunately this is not very common among Hindus. By making the proportion of the sexes nearly equal, God has clearly shown that He designs that one husband should possess one wife. Where this law is violated, evil is the result. Polygamy introduces a large amount of envy, jealousy, and strife into the families where it prevails.

The monstrous system of Kulin Polygamy still exists, to some extent, in Bengal. A Kulin Brahman may have fifty wives in different parts of the country. A man of seventy years may receive a large dowry to marry a girl of ten. When the wedding ceremonies are over, he leaves his new wife in her father's house, and will not visit her again unless he receive a handsome present.

"Thirty years ago," says Sir W. W. Hunter, "the great Maharaja of Burdwan presented a petition to the Legislative Council setting forth the wickedness of this system, and praying for its abolition by law."

"Marriage," he declared, "is a traffic. So far from being entered into as the most solemn transaction of life, calling into exercise the purest affections of the heart, and to be regarded as an indissoluble engagement, the Kulin Brahmans marry solely for money, and with no intention to fulfil any of the duties which marriage involves. They have been known to marry more than a hundred wives each, and it is customary with them, immediately after going through the nuptial ceremonies and receiving their gratuities, to leave the houses of the girls they have married never to see their faces more."

"On the same day 31 memorials, in almost identical terms, from the other princely houses and cities and districts of Bengal were presented to the Indian Legislature."

A more methodical Kulin Brahman "keeps a directory of his wives and children, and instances are known, where, from defectiveness of the record, he failed to recognise a particular wife or child as his own."

Nothing has yet been done by legislation to put an end to the evil. Mr. Mullick says:

"Some years ago, that eminent philanthropist Eshar Chandra Vidyasagar wrote a book on the evils of polygamy, and proved its irreligious character. He invoked legislative aid for suppressing this mischievous practice. It failed for want of support. Government were reluctant to interfere with the religion of the people. We might assure our rulers that the feeling of the community now is one of unqualified abhorrence, and the time has come when polygamy should be put down by legislation. If Government thought it was justified in interdicting Sutteeism and infanticide, it might as well remove this life-long Sutteeism which is now a stain on Indian civilization. Polygamy exists now for the benefit of a pack of individuals, who have converted marriage into a means of making base lucre, or for the gratification of impious desires."*

WOMEN MARRIED TO GODS.

The revelations connected with a recent trial in London, showed the vice which still lurks in Christian England, though the shock which was given to the public conscience also proved the prevailing moral tone. When some native papers made this an occasion for damaging reflections on the English nation in general, the *Indian Messenger* generously remarked, "Is not vice far more widely prevalent in Indian society? What have we done to repress it? Let not the sieve point to the hole of the needle."

The attention of Indian reformers is directed to a few points where their efforts are specially necessary.

The abominations of Paphos and Corinth still exist in India in connection with Hinduism. In the Bombay Presidency, "great numbers of girls are, in infancy, married to the god Khundoba, and are brought up for a life of sanctified prostitution in connection with the temples of that god." "The victims, after undergoing a ceremonial 'purification,' are branded upon their persons with a heated stamp, and are thus set apart for their filthy work. When hired out to persons wishing to use them as concubines, they pay a monthly tax to the temple, and a considerable revenue is gathered from this source."† In Western India, rich merchants of the Vallabha sect offer their wives and daughters to gratify the lust of their spiritual guides!

The following extract from Dubois refers to the temples of Southern India:—

"Next to the sacrificers, the most important persons about the temples are the dancing girls, who call themselves *deva-dasi*, servants or slaves of

* *The Hindu Family*, p. 65. † *The Indian Purity Trumpet*, No. 1.

the gods. Their profession requires of them to be open to the embraces of persons of all castes.

"They are bred to this profligate life from their infancy. They are taken from any caste, and are frequently of respectable birth. It is nothing uncommon to hear of pregnant women, in the belief that it will tend to their happy delivery, making a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child then in the womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the service to the Pagoda. And, in doing so, they imagine they are performing a meritorious duty. The infamous life to which the daughter is destined brings no disgrace on the family.*"

According to the Madras Census of 1881, the number of female "dancers" in the Presidency was 11,573.† Such a number is most lamentable.

The Madras *Fellow-Worker* says:

"These temples are the sacred places where all classes of people daily resort, consequently these women have an occasion to mix very freely with all classes of the community. Thus the moral tone of the whole society is lowered. By constant association men lose sight of the objectionable character of their profession, and a most fatal laxity of public opinion with regard to mixing with them is produced. It is superstition that has thrown its ignoble shield over this monstrous evil of selling innocent girls to a life of sacred infamy, and yet we are foremost in lauding up the Hindu social system as the *best ideal* of social life."

The indignant words of Bishop Lightfoot, applied to ancient Greece, refer equally to India:—

"Imagine, if you can, this licensed shamelessness, this consecrated profligacy, carried on under the sanction of religion and in the full blaze of publicity, while statesmen and patriots, philosophers and men of letters, looked on unconcerned, not uttering one word and not raising one finger to put it down."‡

Educated Hindus should protest against these abominations and seek to suppress them.

THE HINDU FAMILY SYSTEM.

This is a very ancient institution, a relic of the patriarchal age, long anterior to Brahmanism. It prevails chiefly among the upper ranks of society: many of the labouring classes live separately as in other countries.

Very different pictures are drawn of the happiness resulting from this institution. As already quoted, an "Eminent Hindu Gentleman" attributes to envy the efforts of Englishmen to interfere with "the peace, the purity, the happiness that reign in our society."

* Manners and Customs of People of India, pp. 294, 295.

† Imperial Census, Vol. II. p. 448.

‡ White Cross Tracts, No. 1.

The *Indian Mirror*, while under the management of Keshub Chunder Sen, in reviewing a lecture on the subject by Mr. Justice Phear, thus gave the dark side:

"We generally praise our family system over much, and draw such amusing high-coloured representations of it as quite charm ourselves and the people outside. This is a custom or conceit we have borrowed from the English. 'Home' is a very fine word; to pronounce it sentimentally and with affected enjoyment forms a part of current civilization. But the Bengalee's home is a whited sepulchre. In it there is filth and stench outside, want of peace and harmony within. It is as unhealthy and overcrowded as a bazar, and hardly less unselfish and more quiet. The best influences of education and enlightenment are dissipated in it, and the worst habits, such as good people condemn, are formed. What is an ordinary class Bengalee Baboo? Let us not shrink from describing him. He is devoid of every high impulse, of self-respect, and sense of liberty. He is as timid as a chicken, though often sly as a crow. Education he may have, but that only helps him to drive his quill and makes speeches. He cannot, he has not the energy and daring to do any thing he feels to be good, and which other people don't do. All this happens no sooner he enters into family life. So long as he is not married, or has not accepted the responsibility of ordinary existence, he is full of big thoughts and sentiments. A Bengalee is then only a Bengalee when he is a family man. And he suffers this degradation in his domestic life because he lives jointly with others to whose will, particularly when he is a younger member, he must conform. He cannot dare to go out or to be thrust out. Should he, people would speak ill of him. There is his father or his elder brother, his uncle, his mother, or grandmother. How can he disoblige them, depending upon them as he must, according to the usual arrangements of a Hindu family?...

"The world has long passed its archaic age of innocence and unselfishness. We live in the corrupt nineteenth century when every man seeks his own, and not unfrequently what is not his own. Thus a serious disadvantage of the joint family is utter ruin to all the members owing to the negligence and fraud of the head. Joint family in this manner defeats its own object, and in the place of combination begets disintegration and malice. Why are there so many law-suits in this country and why do relatives so often fight against relatives? The system of joint family must be a great deal the cause. We can point out innumerable instances in which very respectable families have thus been completely downcast, and perhaps there is not one family in the whole country where the members are not secretly jealous of each other. All this takes place in addition to the many more disadvantages which the lecturer so eloquently pointed out.

"The most mischievous consequence of the joint family system is observed upon the women. Without education, without the wholesome influences of free society, without any good example, good precept, left entirely within the narrow field of their own selfishness and traditional ideas, taught to be mindful only of the meanest concerns of human life,

they literally prey upon each other. Good feeling among the male members is possible, if not always practicable; but among the female members good feeling is simply impossible.... There may be exceptions, but this is the rule. The horrors of the Zenana are multiplied ten fold by the misery of joint family and the degradation which domestic ill-will produces. Many more evils we could point out, the principal of which is the noisome influence of one corrupt elderly member upon the younger portion of the domestic circle."

Doubtless there is no one description of the joint family which applies to all.

The opinions will be given of two Hindu judges, intelligent men, whose positions gave them great advantages for forming a judgment with regard to the effects of the system.

Mr. Bulloram Mullick, B.A. was Judge of the Court of Small Causes for the suburbs of Calcutta, when he published his *Essays on the Hindu Family in Bengal*. He thus states some of its advantages:

"The family system is well adapted to the preservation of self. Not to speak of those accidents to life, arising from the ferociousness of wild beasts or the murderous attempts of men, its preservation has been to a great extent aided by the joint system. In the rude state of society when the procuring of food was difficult, joint efforts succeeded where single ones failed. In respect to shelter, joint families have an advantage decidedly superior to what single individuals may have. Thus constituted, the members may prove formidable defenders of their lives and property in case of an attack from outside, at the same time the presence of one of them in the house may serve to avert those accidents which would, under other circumstances, prove disastrous.

"The joint family system conduces to cheap living. Foreigners have no ideas as to the extent of that cheapness. In the matter of food there could be no waste. Whatever is left unconsumed by an elder member is set before a younger, whether male or female, however one's natural aversion to such a procedure may be. Clothes and raiments which are unsuited to the age or frame of a particular member are reserved for the use of a younger one. Ornaments and jewels are reserved in the same manner for future use, and even books and apparatus are put in the same category.

"If the joint family system had any virtue worthy of commendation, it was the brotherly feeling which pervaded it. To this feeling is to be ascribed the numerous acts of benevolence and charity which despite the ravages of time and the vices of the system, are of historical interest. May a brother would have been a beggar in the streets, if the benevolence of a brother had not given him shelter, education and means. Many a widow would have been a victim to want and penury were it not for the relieving hand of some benevolent family member. It was considered a religious duty to extend this benevolence to the needy and the helpless, and even now there is social obloquy if one violates it. Apart from the inward satisfaction which the benefactor enjoyed in the doing of charity,

the persons thus relieved contributed their physical energies to the amelioration of his household.

"Thus, we see that the family system was admirably suited to the wants of native society in its archaic stage, and it is its adaptability which contributed to its retention. It had the sanction of law stamped on it. Religion shaped itself according to the wishes of the legislator, and thus what was intrinsically useful became a legal and religious institution of the land." pp. 7-10 abridged.

Notwithstanding these advantages, Mr. Mullick advocates a change. He makes the following quotation from Sir H. S. Maine's *Ancient Law* :

"The movement of the progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. The individual is steadily substituted for the family, as the unit of which civil laws take account."

Mr. Mullick thus describes the present state of things :

"The redeeming virtues of the family system have been supplanted by vices of abnormal degree and magnitude. Where sincere sympathy was, stolid indifference now exists. Jealousy and hatred have usurped the place of harmony. Discordancy rides triumphant. Deceit and spoliation have seized those who were heretofore the trustees of our honour and property. A sense of distrust has seized each member against every member. Family feuds, litigation and waste of resources, are now every day occurrences. So that the Hindu Family has changed from a convenient social unit into an incoherent and cumbrous mass. Say what our countrymen may, our domestic relations are undergoing a revolution appalling to contemplate. It is not confined to this or that sect, this caste or that caste, but to almost every household, Brahman or Sudra. It is only families, still in their archaic state, which form the exception. In them, the patriarch's rule is still dominant." p. 171.

The changes which Mr. Mullick proposes are the following :

"A careful observation of the system reveals the fact, that whenever a family receded from its primitive harmony to abnormal disunion, the sooner the family was dissolved harmony and peace, friendship and sympathy revived in a great many cases. Segregation being therefore a natural remedy, the reformer of Hindu society ought to apply it to family evils. Segregation, however beneficial, is not possible under all circumstances. For instance, it would be a great social scandal of a father were to turn out of doors his minor children. Segregation should take place on rational principles. We do not advocate the segregation of such of the helpless members over whom the *Karta* is placed as guardian. What we do advocate is the breaking up of the coparcenary after the coparcenary have attained years of discretion." pp. 179, 186.

The beneficial results of separation are thus shown :

I. **Self-Reliance.**—Say what our national apologists may, self-reliance is a virtue which the native mind has never adequately appre-

cited. When grown-up boys our fond mothers used to feed us morsel by morsel, like so many canary birds. If in the Hindu family, we see instances of sons relying on fathers' bounty, or fathers expectant of their sons' gains, or brothers consuming brothers' resources, or sisters serving as handmaids of sisters, they are ascribable to the pernicious effects of the system, which ignores the virtues of self-reliance. Once self-reliance is recognized, self-exertion will follow as a necessary corollary, and each member of the family would individually work to improve his condition.

II. Increase of National Wealth.—Judging from an economic standpoint, nothing is so much demoralizing to society as indolence. If all felt the necessity of working for their daily bread, their condition would be materially improved, both individually and socially, and instead of having a society of members with stunted means at their disposal, we may have a greater quantity of wealth added to our national exchequer.

III. Improvement and better preservation of Property.—As a general proposition, we deem it fit to state, once for all, that properties held in co-parcenary are about the worst managed. The principle that 'what is everybody's business is nobody's' underlies the systematic neglect which the joint owners evince. Why should a co-sharer bestow his capital and labour on a thing with the object of improving it when others would reap the benefit of his exertions? Should our economic polity therefore start with the motto, 'no exertion,—no improvement, let things (be) as they are?' Is it not deplorable, that while there is progress and improvement all around, our economical polity should be one of 'masterly inactivity'?

IV. Abatement of the Benami Vices.—*Benami* means the fictitious alienation of property. The joint system is one of the mainstays of the practice. It is but natural that the busy bees of the family would devise a plan to ensure greater security of the rights they acquire. If property is acquired in their own name, it is liable to be taken in as family property, unless the acquirer undertake the heavy burden of proving self-acquisition. The transactions are equally demoralizing to the trustee and to the beneficial owner.

V. Revival of friendly feeling.—Is it not strange that while it is innate in us to associate, perpetual feud should exist among the members of a Hindu family? The reasons which lie at the root of it, are an interference with the natural right of the individual and in infringement of his legal ones. Segregation would remove these irritating causes.

VI. Increase of social Responsibility.—Time was when it was *nil*. The *Karta* alone had it. Constituted as things are now, though individual social responsibility exists to some extent, it is so hemmed and hedged by restrictions as to know of no healthy development. Widow marriage, education of females, and a hundred other measures of reform are theses to which a Bengali is a nominal convert. He shakes his head in hopeless despair if you ask him to show his faith in practice. Young she-Bengal is in no better plight. She cannot wear a coat or put on a pair of boots if it was only for her bodily comfort, lest her conduct is denounced as immodest, unladylike, and improper by the old people of the house. But for the want of individual responsibility, the family house is impregnated

with a false sense of modesty that prevents the younger members from discharging their most insignificant connubial duties. Is it illness or sorrow? To be at the bedside for his or her comfort is regarded as immodesty or barefacedness by all elderly people.”*

The Hon. Mr. Justice Muthuswami Aiyar, of the Madras High Court, is much of the same opinion :

“This view brings our family life before my mind. Its peculiar feature is what is usually called the coparcenary system. In archaic times, and in ancient India as elsewhere, the family was the social and political unit, but in modern and progressive civilization, it is the individual that is, and ought to be, the unit. Again, in the former, the male, either as the present or future head of the family, was the dominant factor, but in the latter, both man and woman are prominent factors, each in his or her legitimate sphere of activity in relation to the family. The modern joint Hindu family is the historic outcome of the patriarchal family in the past. The starting point of our family life was the relation of *pater familias* and of *filius familias*. The disintegrating factors which later progress introduced, were the theories of agnation and division. These have broken up ancient patriarchal family into groups of coparcenary or joint families, but the tradition of patriarchal times still survives amongst us in the notion that coparcenary-life is a preferable mode of life and that it is not to be given up except from necessity. In small or poor families in which several males have to work together on a petty farm to eke out a scanty subsistence, coparcenary may be, and often is, a necessity of life; but in wealthy families or in families in which brothers and consins or their wives cannot live in harmony or in which the adult coparceners do not contribute alike to the common stock, coparcenary enables either the indolent to fatten upon the industrious, or the seniors to defraud the juniors, and ultimately, as is not unfrequently the case, wrecks some of the finest family affections. The truth is, every man loves his own wife and children much more than his brother's or cousin's wife and children, and the coparcenary form of life becomes burdensome when fresh groups of subordinate families spring up, new sets of affections and interests are developed and an unpleasant friction between them becomes unavoidable. For this state of things, the remedy is in your own hands and the law leaves every adult coparcener at liberty to elect division *at his pleasure*, and *not*—mark the words—when that necessity for separation is sorely felt. In the history of future progress a time will arrive when each male member will, as he marries and becomes the head of a new family, separate from the other coparceners and cultivate the family affections in a rational spirit, but that time may yet be far off especially in villages, though among the educated classes in towns, there is a growing tendency against the coparcenary form of life. Meanwhile, I may advise you all to divide without a lawsuit when coparcenary life threatens your domestic happiness or imperils your interest to a material extent, for, litigation has a demoralizing effect upon Hindu families, and not unfrequently converts the joint pro-

party which the coparcenary system was designed to conserve and improve, into the carrion flesh that feeds and pampers the vultures of society, such as forgers, perjurers, and unscrupulous pettifoggers who pretend to take one side or the other, but really seek to enrich themselves at your expense.”*

Training to Independence.

Mr. Mullick says : “The joint system is destined to die a sure death, and nothing on earth can save it.” Still, he deprecates any legislative measure tending to that end. “Let the thing alone, say we, to take its natural course.” Mr. Justice Muthuswami’s advice is, “Meanwhile, I may advise you all to divide without a law-suit when coparcenary life threatens your domestic happiness or imperils your interest to a material extent.”

No sudden revolution is desirable. The heads of families, however, should prepare for the inevitable change by training their children to independence. This may be commenced early in life. Sir Madhava Row makes the following suggestions :

A small allowance of pocket money should be given to the child at the end of each month—not as a matter of right, but as a reward for good conduct during the month.

The pocket money should have the qualities of *salary in after life*.

Pay it regularly and punctually, just as a master pays salary to his servant. In this way the child will know what to expect when he becomes one’s servant in after life.

He must not expect payment before the month is over. He will learn to find out when the allowance is due, and learn to make the money last till the end of the month.

He will become familiar with the different coins, their relative value, and the arithmetic necessary to deal with them.

Let the child make his own purchases instead of the father doing it all for him. He will thus understand the purchasing power of the various coins.

A sense of property will gradually evolve in the child. He will learn to take care of the money, to spend it frugally, as also to gradually save and accumulate the same. He will *feel* what it is to be rich and what it is to be poor.* All such knowledge will prove valuable in after life. For want of such training in childhood, many men have become foolish, extravagant, poor and miserable.

Again, the father who gives pocket money soon comes to be regarded as a benefactor. His influence over the child gains strength ; his advice to the child will carry greater weight than otherwise.

If the child borrows a small sum from a brother, sister or friend, teach him to punctually repay the debt even before the creditor asks and urges for repayment.

* Lecture at Trichinopoly, 1884, pp. 8, 10.

A child unable to take care of his money, sometimes gives it to the father to keep. The child then becomes a depositor and the father becomes his banker. If the father receive the money whenever offered, pay it whenever wanted, and keep a little note to show receipts, expenditure and balance and explain it to the child, the child will be made to know what a Government Savings Bank is and how it may be used in after life.

As the child goes on making his own purchases, he will become acquainted with numbers, weights and measures. The father may gradually teach the child to compare prices demanded by different sellers, and to distinguish the qualities of articles. In due time the father may associate the child with himself in purchasing the household supplies, &c.

One part of the training of the Empress of India, when a child, was not to run into debt. She received an allowance of pocket money, but she was not permitted to buy things on credit, though shop-keepers would gladly have given them.

Mr. Subba Row mentions the evils of the Hindu custom :

“ Even well-to-do parents generally are not in the habit of giving regularly monthly allowances, although they will give any amount whenever the child wants it. The consequence is that the child can afford to be very generous for it does not cost him anything. A worse consequence follows in the case of poor children, for, as they cannot in a fair way get even a pie to spend as they like, they naturally take to stealing.”*

When the child becomes a young man, the training to independence should be continued. If employed in connection with his father's business, he should receive a salary like an ordinary clerk. A son should commence life as a subordinate and rise gradually. It is often ruinous to set up a young man in business with his father's money. Every one takes much greater care of what he has earned himself than of what has been given to him.

A son, when married, may at first have rooms in the family house, but it is preferable that he should afterwards have a home of his own.

SECLUSION OF INDIAN WOMEN.

Misconception.—If may be stated at the outset that only a small proportion of the women are confined to Zenanas. The great mass of the people are Sudras and castes below these, and in general their women go about freely. They are seen not only about their homes, but in the streets, in the market, and in the fields. Even among the higher castes they are allowed liberty on certain occasions, as to attend festivals and go on pilgrimage. The Mahratta women have always been privileged in that respect. Sir W. W. Hunter was invited to a meeting of the Native Ladies' Association of Poona. There, to his astonishment, he beheld an assembly of 280 native

* *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. 11., p. 528.

ladies, mostly of the Brahman caste and all unveiled, who, with many European ladies and gentlemen had come to hear an address from the lady Pandit, Ramabai. After the Pandita's speech, an enlightened Maratha Brahmani (Mrs. Ranade) called the President's attention to the fact that in the Maratha country native women were allowed almost as much liberty as in Europe. They held meetings, had their own way, and went about as freely in the public streets, unveiled and without restraint.*

Still, it must be confessed that among the higher classes women are very much secluded, and there is a disposition among those next to them to follow their example. "Occasionally," says Rowe, "to make a show of great respectability, native women who have never been secluded, when visited by European ladies pretend that they are not allowed to be seen."

Liberty in Ancient Times.—Sir James Fergusson justly said at Poona:

"The custom of secluding your women is not sanctioned by antiquity, and it is a custom which not only degrades them, but reduces them to abject slavery. You cannot degrade your wives and the mothers of your children from their rightful position in this life, without degrading your race to a slavery which is sure to act injuriously on yourselves. The seclusion of women is a foreign, and not an ancient, custom of the Hindoos. It has no place in your religion, and its result, physically as well as morally, is degradation to those dependent on you."

The *Bengal Magazine* gives the following illustrations of the different state of things before the Muhammadan conquest:

Kings freely introduced their queens in society whenever there was occasion for it. At the celebration of the *Aswamedha* sacrifice, the presence of the queen by the king's side was held to be indispensably necessary.

In the drama called *Ratnavali*, we have the queen present at the audience given by the king to the ambassadors that had come from Ceylon.

In the *Raghuvamsa* we have a Hindu king (Dilipa) travelling with his queen (Sudakshina) in an open carriage, and both asking questions of the people they encountered about the names of road-side plants.

In the *Mahavira Charitra*, princes and princesses, entire strangers to each other, are openly introduced in the same company.

The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are also replete with allusions to, and representations of, a state of society in which females travelled in open litters and chariots, and otherwise appeared in public without any trace of the *purdah*.

* *Journal of the Nat. Ind. Association*, 1883. p. 56.

Effects of Muhammadan Rule.—The conquest of India by the Muhammadans tended powerfully to degrade the position of women. The Koran permits polygamy and divorce. Marriage can be dissolved at any time at the simple will and fancy of the husband. A traveller met an Arab, not an old man, who had been married fifty times. According to Muhammadan law, a man can look upon any married woman (near relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage, the present husband consenting. Every married woman can become the lawful wife of any man she may captivate; if she can persuade her husband to pronounce a divorce. Muhammadans are, therefore, compelled to keep their wives closely confined, or the foundations of society would be broken up.

The Mussulman rulers of India took into their zenanas beautiful Hindu women, even although married. To avoid such outrages, women were kept within doors or carefully veiled. In course of time the Hindus, in the seclusion of women, acted like Muhammadans.

The following remarks are from *The Bengal Magazine* :—

“The Muhammadan rule, we may say, was the cause of female degradation in India, and while, under better auspices, men have, with marvellous rapidity, risen and improved by mental culture and education, women have not had the same opportunities of self-improvement, and therefore have not been able to keep pace with the men. In male society no trace is now to be found of the rule which the battle of Plassey overturned. In female society you can scarcely recognise the change which that battle has produced in the destiny of Bengal and of India.”

Hindu Arguments for the Seclusion of Women.—These may best be stated in the words of Mr. Mullick :

“Naturally, the extreme conservatives hate female emancipation as a pernicious evil, and discourage it to the utmost of their power. Intermediate between them and the radicals, we have the liberal-conservatives forming the bulk of the community. These admit the virtues of emancipation, but state that the time has not arrived for emancipating our females. Their objections are :—

First.—Emancipation should follow the capability on the part of males of protecting females from insult and injury in the world outside... Nothing is more foolish on the part of a weak husband than to expose his wife to insult and injury which he would be powerless to prevent.

Second.—Emancipation should follow female education. Unless the woman be thoroughly educated, it is impolitic to subject her to temptations which she would be powerless to resist.

Third.—Emancipation should be made a sequence of religious education of the female. Unless the wife was of tried virtue, to allow her to mix in society would be a curse.

Fourth.—Emancipation is impossible, so long as the female is not decently clad. As it is, the dress of our females partially covers their nudity.

Fifth.—Emancipation is expensive and unsuited to the circumstances of all. It will necessarily subject the male members to certain expenses after dress and fineries, which they are incapable of defraying.

Sixth.—Emancipation has a tendency to create in our females, a habit of neglect towards the nursing of their children, and the execution of household duties.

Seventh.—Emancipation, if allowed, should be limited in its extent. A wife should be allowed to see her friends only in the company of her husband.*

Mr. Mullick adds: "The principle at their root is a distrust of female virtue—a form of man's innate jealousy, and is adhered to with remarkable obstinacy."

Mr. Janvier says:

"The Asiatic is jealous. If his wife have opportunity to mingle freely in society, he does not know what may happen. He does not think of holding her by the bands of love. This would seem a very poor reliance. He has not treated her in a way to win her love. He never perhaps thought of it. His plan is totally different. She must be kept in a state of constant control. If possible, she must be prevented from seeing any one not of her own sex, beyond the limits of the family."†

Replies to Objections.—It must be admitted that some of the difficulties raised have a measure of truth.

Dress.—The dress of women in Bengal who aspire to be fashionable is very indecent. The cloth is so thin that the person is easily seen. *Young India* says:

"On the banks of rivers, the women of Bengal present a very awkward sight. Then their apparel soaked in water makes their whole body exposed. The most strange thing is that these women make a show of modesty by veiling their face although they feel no scruple to expose their almost naked bodies in public bathing ghats and open fairs.

"Our forward young men who clamour for reforms do not pay sufficient heed towards improving the dress of women. On the contrary, they are seen purchasing the thinnest apparel possible in order to gain the favour of their consorts. Moreover, they themselves are seen wearing thin apparel. Thick cloth is considered old-fashioned and antiquated. The rage is for suits made of gossamer."

The writer recommends a return to the thicker cloth formerly worn.

The above remarks do not apply to other parts of India. The female dress may admit of some slight improvements. Sir Madhava

* *The Hindu Family*, pp. 92, 93.

† *Punjab Missionary Conference Report*, pp. 55, 56.

Row recommends the use of an elastic girdle, which would collect the folds of the dress and promote convenience. He adds, why should not native ladies have a *pocket*?

Sir Madhava Row also complains of Indian ladies rubbing saffron or turmeric on their bodies and faces particularly. Why should they make themselves appear as if they were suffering from jaundice or liver complaint? He adds, "I don't blame the ladies. It is all due to the perverted taste of the *men*. Let the men express disapproval *to-day*, and the practices will disappear *to-morrow*." So with the barbarous practice of *tattooing*.

The adoption of the everchanging fashions in which some European ladies delight, would be a great misfortune. The Indian dress is far more graceful and much less expensive.

"*Society must be purified before women can enter it.*" This reminds one of a Greek fable. A foolish fellow was nearly drowned when attempting to swim, upon which he vowed that he never would enter the water again until he had acquired the art! Society, no doubt, requires to be reformed; but, as has been abundantly shewn by experience, female influence is one of the most powerful agencies which can be employed for this purpose. The presence of women at social gatherings puts a stop to coarse jests and all improper behaviour.

The present seclusion has not been a success in some respects. Mr. Gimi has the following remarks on this point:

"Nor can it be denied that the segregation of the sexes, instead of promoting virtue, as is fondly supposed, tends, if anything, to render the imagination prurient. The illustrative proverbs and quotations cited by Dr. Fallon in his Hindustani-English Dictionary scandalised the Anglo-Indian Press. He himself says, and with great truth, in his defence:—'There is much to be learnt from many an otherwise objectionable quotation, if one is willing to learn. It is of the greatest importance, for instance, to know to what depths human nature can sink in the vitiated atmosphere of enforced female seclusion as contrasted with the purity to which men and women rise as social restraints are withdrawn, and they are permitted to breathe the pure air of liberty and indulge in free social intercourse.'"

A "Kashmiri Pandit," after residing some time in England, thus gives his experience:

"To live for three or four years in a society in which men and women meet, not as *masters* and *slaves*, but as friends and companions—in which feminine culture adds grace and beauty to the lives of men; to live in a society in which the prosaic hours of hard work are relieved by the companionship of a sweet and educated wife or sister, or mother, is the most necessary discipline required by our Indian youths, in order to be able to shake off their old notions and to look upon an accomplished

* *The Position of Women in India*, pp. 11, 12.

Womanhood as the salt of human society which preserves it from moral decay : to think that woman is not simply

‘ A lovely apparition sent
To be a moment’s ornament.’

but that she is our equal and companion, the sharer of our joys, and our consoler in moments of grief—the nourisher of our purest affections, and a brightening influence, when all is dark and dreary around us, ‘with something of an angel light.’ There is a very pernicious notion prevalent in India, that a free intercourse between the sexes leads to immorality. I confess that, before I came to England, I believed there was a grain of truth in this notion. But now I believe no such thing. My own impression is, that the chief safety-value of public and private morality is the free intercourse between the sexes.”*

Rama says in reference to Sita: “Neither houses, nor vestments, nor enclosing walls are the screen of a woman. Her own virtue alone protects her.”

“*Women must first be Educated.*” As already mentioned, female education has been a favourite subject for essays and speeches during the last half century, yet how little has been done! The aim should be to get the women themselves to take it up. Few things will have a greater effect in this direction than by allowing them to mix with the educated of the other sex. They will feel more than ever their own deficiencies, and be stirred up to provide a remedy.

“*The women themselves do not wish it.*” Most of them, it must be confessed, instead of looking upon their seclusion as a hardship, consider it their pride.

A writer in the *Indian Magazine* says: “It has now become to Indian ladies part and parcel of their creed, their modesty—in a word it is to them the very breath of their nostrils. To do away with it is a violation of one of the virtues of a woman.” Miss Bielby, M. D., says. “A man’s social standing in his own class depends, in a great measure, upon whether he can afford to keep his wife and daughters in Zenana or not. So it has come to pass, that upper-class servants, and other men in similar positions keep their female relations as strictly ‘behind the purdah,’ as a Prince does.”†

The old women, like prisoners immured all their lives, have no idea of the sweets of liberty; but the younger and more intelligent would gladly avail themselves of greater freedom.

Injustice and cruelty of Seclusion.—A Hindu lady said of the life women in Zenanas lead: “It is like that of a frog in a well—

* *Indian Magazine*, 1885, p. 552.

† *Indian Magazine*, for 1886, p. 413.

everywhere there is beauty, but we cannot see it—it is hid from us.” Mr. Dorabji E. Gimi says :

“Indian woman is denied the common enjoyments of life, is thrust behind *purdahs*, and to add insult to injury the excuse for all such unmanly conduct is proclaimed to be her inborn wickedness.

“Among these common enjoyments, that she is denied, the first to be noticed is her right to mix with men or appear in public with her male relatives. It may appear a trifling deprivation. But really there is none more cruel to the sex, and more injurious in its consequences, immediate and remote, to society. By it women are deprived of the only means of outdoor recreation that is within the reach of the mass of men. It is a barbarity which prohibits them from having their full share of the air and light of Nature’s free gift. It is a much less serious evil to name after that this by that custom most public and some private entertainments are, as it were, not for women at all. So much for what the women alone lose.”

The men suffer from their inhumanity by having wives and children more sickly and feeble than would otherwise be the case.

It is a pleasing sight in Bombay to see Parsi ladies of an evening enjoying the fresh sea-breeze in Back Bay. There are some Native ladies in Madras, it is said, who have never seen the sea. A slight change for the better is even there perceptible. A few come to the beach in carriages with their children, and enjoy the sight of the surf.

Course Proposed.

No immediate sweeping changes are recommended, though they will differ among certain classes according to the stage which they have reached at present.

1. Free intercourse between Husband and Wife.—Europeans are astonished at the Native ideas on this subject where the Zenana system prevails. Some illustrations have already been given. Mr. Mullick says that the young wife can see her husband only “at night when the whole house is asleep, and with the lark she must bid him adieu.” If either is sick, it is considered immodest for the other to be at the bedside. *The Bengalee* thus describes the system and its natural result :

“The women are the hardest combatants, and the widows the greatest heroines. They watch the young husband and the young wife with the hate and jealousy of a step-mother. The married couple cannot peep at one another during the day without finding themselves the objects of the bitterest persecution. The normal condition of husband and wife is upset during the day, and during also that part of the night which is not devoted to rest. In some families, owing to poverty of house-room, even this indulgence cannot be obtained. Can a more monstrous state be

conceived, and can it be wondered, that the young men, withheld from the society of their wives, should run greedily for amusement into brothels?"*

Sir Madhava Row gives the following advice :

1. "If your circumstances allow of it, you and your wife should live apart from the family,—in other words, live separately.

2. If you cannot do so, have at least a separate room for yourself in the house, so that you may have therein the company of your wife, without being seen by your elders.

3. Let your wife at her pleasure go into that room and sleep during the day, or meet you there and converse with you, or represent her grievances, difficulties and troubles, or at least escape from the persecution of the mother-in-law and other elder members of the family, whether male or female.

4. In short, enable her to meet you often and freely, so that you may make her happy, may comfort her, relieve her troubles and anxieties, and constantly afford her your sympathy and aid. She will often need your support and solace. Enable her freely to appeal to you for the same.

5. Remember that a large share of the miseries of the wife is due to the restraints placed by the elders of the family on her intercourse and communication with you. Only take means to free her from such restraints, and you will greatly improve her happiness.

(6. This will be noticed hereafter.)

7. Give her small monthly money allowances to spend as she may like, without reference to the elders.

8. In any quarrel between the wife and the elders, do not blindly side with the latter. Your wife is as much entitled to your justice as your elders are to your respect. Moreover, by doing impartial justice, you will better set matters right than by indiscriminately identifying yourself with the elders.

2. Free intercourse between Parents and Children.—Pandita Ramabai says: "Children enjoy the company of father or mother alternately by going in and out when they choose, but the children of young parents are never made happy by the father's caresses or any other demonstrations of his love in the presence of the elders; the notion of false modesty prevents the young father from speaking to his children freely."† Ishuri Dass, of North India, says that a woman, "if she has a child will take the necessary care of it, but will not fondle it in the presence of the elder women of her family."

The picture next page represents an evening in an English family. The parents and children are seated around a table. The father has a newspaper in his hand, but is talking to his sons, one of whom is building a little house with wooden bricks. The mother is teaching sewing to her daughter by her side.

* Notice of Mr. Justice Phear's Joint Family System :

† *The High Caste Indian Woman*, p. 49.



Another picture is given of an Indian family, which is already realised in some cases.



It is this family life which makes a *home*. The advantages are great. Mutual love is promoted. The father is afforded the opportunity of teaching his children valuable lessons. This is the more necessary in India, as the mothers are generally uneducated.

If the reader has children, let him bring them together with his wife every evening, and spend some time with them. In England a part of the evening is sometimes called the "*Children's hour*," because good fathers, devote it, if possible, to intercourse with their children. When they are young, part of the evening should be given to play. A Spanish ambassador once went to the palace of a famous French King. He expected to see the King seated on his throne; but when he went into the room, he saw him on his knees, with his eldest son on his back, playing together "at horses," with the other royal children romping around. The ambassador was about to start back, when the King, looking up to him, said, "My lord Ambassador, are you a father?" "Yes, may it please your Majesty." "Very well," was the reply; "then I shall go on with my game round the room."

The Russian Czar, or Emperor, is the most powerful despot in the world; but he plays with his children just like any other father. When lately on a visit to Denmark, he amused his young nephews and nieces by standing up and letting them try to pull him down.

By taking an interest in the amusements of his children, a father gains increased influence over them which may be turned to the best account.

In the evening the father should also carefully observe the moral conduct of his children. Selfishness is apt to show itself; this should be guarded against. Obedience and truthfulness are other lessons to be taught. Filthy speech should be carefully checked.

Taking meals together.—According to Hindu custom, a wife must never eat with her husband; she must not even be seen eating by him. This is one example, among many others, of the degraded position of Indian women. A master does not eat with his servant. Among enlightened nations, the whole family, except very young children, take their meals together. The advantages of it are thus explained:

"At no time does family life look more beautiful than when father and mother and children are seated around the family table. Nowhere is the family so made to feel its unity. There is no more pleasant and cheerful occasion in a well-ordered home. There is no better opportunity, for parents of piety and culture, to inculcate lessons of thankfulness and temperance, to train to habits of unselfishness and to graceful acts of kindness, and to give ease and refinement of manners."

It may be objected that servants are required for such an arrangement; but it can be managed without them. "Where there's a will, there's a way."

There is no difficulty in the way of husband and wife taking meals together except foolish custom, "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

3. Intercourse with Relatives and Friends.—The circle should be gradually widened. Let relatives, male and female, visit each other. Instead of calling separately, or the men talking with men and the women going into the female apartments, let all meet together and converse. The same course should be followed at entertainments. Friends, who are not relatives, may gradually be treated in a similar manner. Ladies should not, however, be introduced to persons who are immoral. The company of such should be shunned by all.

4. General Intercourse.—This is the last stage. Sir. E. Arnold thus describes the progress made in Bombay :

"Here there were assembled in a really magnificent pillared hall, paved with white and blue marble, some eighty or a hundred of the leading members of Parsi, Hindu, and Mohammedan society, including at least forty native ladies. Sir Frederick Roberts, Mr. Ilbert, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Justice Birdwood, and a number of English residents, mingled with the large native party on perfectly easy and equal grounds ; but no London drawing-room could have presented a scene so bright in colour and character. The Parsi and Hindu ladies—many of them personally most charming in appearance, and all gentle and graceful in demeanour—wore lovely dresses of every conceivable hue—rose colour, amber, purple, silver, gold, azure, white, green, and crimson.

"Assuredly such a gathering is a great and signal token of the increasing friendship arising between the races ; nor could anything be calculated more to impress and gratify a fresh observer coming back, after many bygone years, to modern Bombay."

In Calcutta even further advance has been made. Last year a dinner and evening party were given in honour of Mr. and Mrs. George Yule by Sir Henry Harrison and Mr. and Mrs. Cotton. The *Indian Mirror* says :

"It was, we believe, the first party of its kind in Calcutta—the first dinner given by distinguished Englishmen to which Indian gentlemen and ladies have been freely invited. About sixty guests—ladies and gentlemen, European, Hindu, and Muhammedan—sat down to dinner, at which the health of Mr. and Mrs. Yule and Mrs. Yule Smith was proposed by our worthy hosts, and warmly received. The grounds were illuminated, and an amateur Bengali concert party played well-selected tunes. The ladies contributed to the entertainment by their music, in which a daughter of the well-known Tagore family took part. These social gatherings, promoting, as they undoubtedly do, the growth of friendly feelings between the members of the community, come upon us with peculiar fitness in the wake of the Imperial Jubilee. Sir Henry Harrison and Mr. Cotton have broken through a long standing prejudice,

and set a praiseworthy example which other Englishmen should not be slow to imitate, and to which our countrymen would do well to respond.”*

Cautions.—The wholesale adoption of English social habits is strongly deprecated. They have their good points which ought to be imitated, but their contrary ones which should be shunned.

Friendly intercourse between Europeans and Indians is very desirable, but the latter should take care that it does not lead them into extravagant habits. Some of them have ample incomes, allowing him to copy the elegancies and luxuries of the upper classes of Europeans, but others may be led into a style of living beyond their means.

Another danger is the acquiring of drinking habits. Intemperance is the curse of Britain, the great cause of the misery and crime which prevail among so many in that country. Certain castes and tribes in India have always drank; but the people generally have been temperate. It is most important for the educated classes to adhere strictly to the habits of their ancestors in this respect. Dining with Europeans, or even at parties among themselves, they may be inclined to take wine; but this first step in the downward direction ought to be strongly resisted. In no other course is there safety. Conversaziones, or evening meetings, are, in general, preferable to dinner parties.

Native Princes, following European example, sometimes give balls and encourage horse-racing. There are always pleasure-hunters and “fast men” about courts who, for their own gratification, tempt them in this direction. Habits of dissipation and gambling are thus fostered. The money squandered on them ought to be usefully spent otherwise. Some of the dances are decidedly indecent. Why should liberties be taken with a lady when dancing which would be reckoned as a gross insult at any other time?

Europeans in high position should discourage the adoption of such customs among Indian princes and millionaires.

DUTY TO A WIFE.

This is well expressed in the words of the Church of England marriage service. The man is asked “Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife?... Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour and keep her in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her so long as ye shall both live?” The following promise is afterwards made: “I take thee to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer or poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part.”

* Quoted in *Indian Magazine*, 1887, p. 221.

Love, sympathy, and faithfulness, are the great duties which a husband owes to his wife. These may be manifested in many ways. Some of them have already been noticed, as free intercourse, but attention may be drawn to a few others.

1. **Competent Medical Aid.**—As Lady Dufferin justly says, the men of India “should determine that the wives and mothers and sisters and daughters dependent upon them shall, in time of sickness and pain, have every relief that human skill and nursing could afford them.”

The need is thus shown by a Native writer in the *Indian Magazine* :

“There are various female complaints which, owing to local causes, are perhaps more prevalent in India than in Europe, and for them there is no adequate medical aid available. Unwilling, from a sense of delicacy, to communicate even to their male relatives the character and symptoms of their complaints, native ladies either directly consult or, through their maid-servants, obtain whatever help they can get from village midwives and quacks of their own sex, and the result generally is very serious. When the disease becomes dangerous competent physicians are sometimes, but not often, called in; but they come too late, and, generally speaking, Indian ladies have to depend, for all practical purposes, on the curative powers of nature.”

“Such is likewise the case as regards medical and surgical aid in the lying-in-chamber. Our *Vaids* and *Hakims* do not study the character of puerperal diseases, nor as a rule undertake to attend to them, and the whole duty of puerperal management devolves on our midwives, who, as a body, are utterly incompetent. They belong to the lowest grade of society, and are never trained to their work. When widowed and old, women of the lowest caste, such as *Domes*, *Chamars*, and *Podes*, &c., first seek employment as attendants on women in confinements, and after a time set themselves up as midwives. There is thus no help for Indian women at the most critical period of their lives, except what may be obtained from these so-called *Dhais*.*”

The “Countess of Dufferin Fund,” to provide competent female medical attendance, should be liberally supported. Still, for years to come, the supply must be inadequate. In serious cases properly trained male physicians should be called in.

As already mentioned, to secure kind treatment for the wife, Mann appeals to the selfishness of the husband. Even on this low ground, it is desirable to attend to the health of the wife, for on it depends largely the health of the children and the happiness of the household.

2. **Teaching her to Read and Write, if necessary.**—In the case of an increasing proportion of the wives of educated men, this is not required; but as out of a hundred millions of females in 1881 only

* *The Indian Magazine*, 1887. p. 383.

231,000 were able to read and write, probably the wives of some of the readers are still destitute of that ability. Unless his wife is old or other circumstances peculiar, no educated man has any right to be considered a well-wisher to his country who allows her to remain in ignorance. It is no excuse to say that the wife does not wish to learn. The real cause is the indifference of the husband. If he was in earnest, she would soon catch his spirit.

The husband and wife should always have an hour or so together before retiring to rest. The work of the day will be over and the children in bed, so that there will be time for teaching.

As in the case of children, the instruction should be made as pleasant as possible. A beginning should not be made with the alphabet, but with a short easy word, which the wife should try to copy. A lesson, even for quarter of an hour every evening, would soon give the ability to read.

3. Imparting Knowledge.—This is a wide subject; but only three points will be mentioned.

1. General Information.—The object is to enlarge the little world of Indian women, to lead their thoughts beyond the kitchen and domestic squabbles. At first it will be difficult, on account of their ignorance, to interest them. A beginning may be made with what are called in education "object lessons." A piece of salt would form an excellent subject, how obtained from the sea and mines, its properties and uses. Talks about pearls, gold, silver, &c., might follow. Plants and animals, the structure of the body, the sun, moon and stars, remarkable inventions, descriptions of strange places and strange people, biographies, stories from history, &c., are some other topics. When practicable, they should be illustrated by pictures. A small telescope and microscope would be useful.

Visits to museums would excite curiosity, and give a taste for general knowledge.

2. The Training of Children.—Here instruction is urgently needed. A few points may be mentioned:

Preservation of Health.—As already mentioned, Indian mothers trust largely to superstitious ceremonies to keep their children well, while they neglect sanitary arrangements. Mr. Mullick says, "The Hindu wife has no knowledge of the laws of health, and hence her children are constantly ill. They are made to eat more than they can digest, aggravating their otherwise invalid condition."

Obedience.—Many mothers have no command over their children. They let them do as they please when they are young, and when they grow up they despise their authority. When they try to secure obedience, it is generally by frightening the children with imaginary goblins.

Truthfulness.—This virtue especially requires to be inculcated,

but it is best taught by the mother's example. Illustrations have been given of the way in which they deceive their children or even teach them to tell lies.

Purity.—The obscene speech of Indian homes is one of its darkest features. Mothers should be urged never to use indecent language themselves, and to check at once any approach to it among their children.

Self-Help.—It is a far greater benefit to a child to teach him to help himself than to do every thing for him. As mentioned by Mr. Mullick, some mothers feed their children like canary birds. The principle should be—*not to do any thing for a child which he can reasonably be expected to do for himself.* As soon as he is old enough, let him be taught to wash himself, put on his clothes, comb his hair, take care of his toys, put them away, &c. The children of rich people should have the same training—and not have every thing done for them by servants. Hindus require to be taught self-reliance and the dignity of labour.

Directions will be found on this subject in the little manual on the *Training of Children.*

3. Religious Teaching.—This is, above all, important. Some remarks have already been made about the superstitious beliefs and practices which constitute the whole religion of Indian women.

The husband should teach his wife about the one true God, our Creator and Preserver, our Father in heaven. Instead of bowing down to idols, which can neither see nor hear, which cannot even take care of themselves, worship should be paid to God alone.

Idolatry is the crying sin of India—rebellion against the rightful Lord of the universe. Some educated Hindus deny the charge of idolatry; they pretend that the images are simply to remind people of God. Rammohun Roy says that this excuse was learned from Europeans and thus shows its falsity :

“Whatever Hindu purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hand, or has one made under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *Pran Pratishtha*, or the endowment of animation, by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life but supernatural powers.”

The life which by one ceremony has been brought into the idol, can by another ceremony be taken out.

Mr. S. B. Thakur, at a meeting in England, said that idols are only like photographs, serving to remind us of those we loved. To this Mr. Desmukh well replied : “It is true we like to retain photographs of people we love to remind us of their form and features; but your blocks of stone or your deformed hideous brazen

images, bought at a shop in the bazaar, of what sort of Divinity do they remind us?"

If Mr. Thakur had brought out to this country the image of a donkey with an ape's head on it to show to his friends as a representation of the Queen of England, this would have been an outrage against propriety infinitely less revolting than that for which he pleaded.

The excuse is made that the poor and ignorant need images to remind them of God. They cannot understand His form for He has none. They can remember their parents when far distant; they can love a benefactor whom they have never seen; they can obey the authority of a Queen-Empress though she never set foot on their soil. They can worship God who is a Spirit in spirit and in truth. Idols are a hindrance—not a help to true worship. They give most degrading ideas of God. Would a father be pleased if a son kept a toad to remind him of his father in his absence?

Christians and Muhammadans, far more numerous than the Hindus, can think of God without idols: why should they be necessary in India?



An English Mother teaching her child to pray.

It must be confessed that it will be a very difficult task to lead a woman steeped in superstition from infancy to forsake idolatry for the worship of the Heaven-Father, the Dyaus-Pitar of the old Aryans ; but it is worthy of the effort. Until India gives up her 33 crores of gods and goddesses, she must rank among the semi-civilised countries of the earth.

Family Prayer.—Hindu women, as a rule, have no idea of the nature of true worship and prayer. Their religion consists only in doing puja to an idol or walking round the tulsi plant. The nature of prayer should be explained. In families that are truly Christian, God is worshipped morning and evening. A hymn is sung, a passage is read from the Bible, and all afterwards kneel in prayer. To give some readers a better idea of what is meant, an example will be given of family worship.

The following hymn may be sung :

Glory to Thee, my God, this night,
For all the blessings of the light ;
Keep me, O keep me, King of kings,
Beneath thy own Almighty wings.

Forgive me, Lord, for thy dear Son,
The ill that I this day have done ;
That with the world, myself, and Thee,
I, ere I sleep, at peace may be.

Teach me to live, that I may dread
The grave as little as my bed ;
Teach me to die that so I may
Rise glorious at the awful day.

O let my soul on Thee repose,
And may sweet sleep mine eyelids close ;
Sleep that shall me more vig'rous make
To serve my God when I awake.

If in the night I sleepless lie,
My soul with heavenly thoughts supply ;
Let no ill dreams disturb my rest,
No powers of darkness me molest.

A passage is next read from the Bible. It may be the following :

“ And seeing the multitudes He (Jesus Christ) went up into a mountain ; and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him. And He opened His mouth and taught them saying :

Blessed are the poor in spirit ; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn ; for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek ; for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness ; for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.
 Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.
 Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God.
 Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

NEW TESTAMENT, *Matthew*, V. 1—10.



A prayer like the following may then be offered, all kneeling:

Heavenly Father, by thy protecting care we are brought to the close of another day. Blessed by thy name for continued life and health, for richly supplying all our bodily wants.

But, above all, we thank thee for spiritual mercies. We bless thee for thy great love in giving thy Son to die for us. Thanks be to God for this unspeakable gift. For the sake of Jesus Christ, pardon all the vain thoughts, the guilty words, the foolish and wicked actions by which we have sinned against thee. By his righteousness justify us; by his Spirit purify our hearts and make our lives holy.

God of the families of the whole earth, dwell under our roof. Make this house the abode of faith, of piety, and love. Strengthen the relations which bind us together by drawing us closer to thyself. Give us, as parents, all the grace which we need. Enable us to train our children in the way they should go; to teach them by example as well as precept. Bless the children. Gather them in thine arms; carry them in thy bosom; fill their hearts with love to thee and to one another. Keep

them from the evil that is in the world; spare their lives, if it be thy gracious will; make them holy and useful, and may we at last meet an undivided family in heaven. Bless the servants of this household; make them thy servants, and fellow-heirs with us of thy kingdom.

We commend unto thee all our relatives and friends. May they seek thy face and enjoy thy favour. May we be helpful to one another, and let no root of bitterness springing up trouble us. Bless all men. Enlighten the ignorant; convert the sinful; comfort the sorrowing.

We now commit ourselves to thy care through this night. Let no evil befall us, nor any plague come nigh our dwelling. Whether we wake or sleep, may we be the Lord's. We ask all these blessings in the name of Jesus Christ. *Amen.**

Families where God is thus worshipped in spirit and in truth are likely to grow up loving, happy, and prosperous. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

Christian mothers teach their young children short prayers like the following:

This night when I lie down to sleep,
I give the Lord my soul to keep;
If I should die before I wake,
I pray the Lord my soul to take.

Now I wake and see the light;
God has kept me through the night;
Make me good, O Lord, I pray;
Keep and guard me through this day.

When Christian worship like the above is compared with Hindu customs, it must be seen to be preferable. "As is the god, so is the worshipper." The people of India can never be otherwise than degraded so long as they bow down to the work of their own hands instead of worshipping their great Creator and Father in heaven.

There are many religious questions which will arise in the mind of the thoughtful man,—can sin be forgiven? how can holiness be obtained? Space does not permit these all-important points to be considered. The reader is referred to *The Brahma Samaj and other Modern Eclectic Systems of Religion.*†

Women should be provided with interesting and useful reading.—This is so important and so wide a subject that it will be noticed in a separate chapter.

LITERATURE FOR WOMEN.

The value of the ability to read depends upon the manner in which it is employed. The spread of education in England has not

* From *Prayers for Students and others*, ½ Anna. Sold by Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depot, Madras.

† Price 3 Annas; Post-free, 4 Annas. See wrapper.

been an unqualified success. A good deal of the literature read is 'unwholesome, if not positively immoral in its tone. In India the danger is very much greater from the character of many of the vernacular books. Pandit Sivanath Sastri delivered a lecture about two years ago on "National Literature as an Index of National Character." He said, "Amid much improvement, there is in the present literature of Bengal a strong under-current of impure literature, books not sent to the Bengal Library (the Registrar's Office) but sold by hundreds in the railway platforms. The Pandit exhibited a bundle of these—and read one or two titles to show that he was not exaggerating; but refrained from reading more for fear of advertising what he wished to condemn and destroy."

Difficulties.—There are three obstacles in the way of providing literature for women :

1. *The Paucity of female Writers.*—Out of 125 millions of Native women, only a mere handful can read and write. The wives of Missionaries and especially single ladies engaged in Zenana work are those from whom most help might be expected. Hitherto, however, very few have sought to supply the want. A. L. O. E. is a conspicuous exception, and two or three others might be named in each presidency, but that is all.

2. *The Paucity of female Readers.*—As a rule, books in India must meet their own cost, and the price is greatly increased by small editions. This is a great hindrance to publishing.

3. *The difficulty of Circulation.*—After books have been prepared, the seclusion of Hindu women renders it no easy matter to get them placed in their hands.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE ?

Information under this head is incomplete, especially with regard to books. Details will be given as far as available.

Periodicals.

Thacker's *Indian Directory* gives a list of Newspapers and Periodicals, but it is imperfect, and retains the names of some which have ceased to exist. This is not surprising, for many of the native papers are very short-lived.

Bengal.—The *Bambodhini Patrika*, "the first woman's journal in Bengali, was started in August, 1863." The name implies that it is devoted to the instruction of women. The editor is Babu Umesh Chunder Dutt, a leading member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. It contains some contributions from the pens of Bengali ladies, chiefly in poetry. The *Pancharika* has a number of lady contri-

tutors on its staff. The *Khristio Mokila* is edited by Miss Kamini Seal, a Bengali Christian Lady.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri says :

"But the attention of the educated portion of our females is not confined to these three ladies' journals; many of them are regular and careful readers of other monthly magazines of higher pretensions, whose columns also bear their occasional contributions. Foremost among this class of writers are some of the ladies of the Tagore family of Jorasanko, one of whom has won a name for herself as an authoress of considerable merit. These monthly and other publications are helping to create a stimulus in many female minds and steadily raising the level of their intelligence."*

The American Methodist Episcopal Mission raised a special fund to meet the cost of *The Woman's Friend*. One edition is in Bengali.

The Calcutta Tract Society issued a *Zenana Magazine* for some years. At present it publishes a *Monthly Leaflet for Women*.

North India.—The *Woman's Friend*, in Urdu and Hindi, is edited by Mrs. Badley, of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.

Central India.—The *Sugrivani*, is a monthly magazine published at Rntlam, and edited by a Native lady, commenced in 1888.

Bombay.—The *Stri-Bodh*, in Gujarati, established in 1857, seems to be the oldest magazine for women published in India. "The greater part of it is said to be usually written by Parsi ladies."

Mysore.—A quarterly illustrated magazine for women is issued in Canarese by the Bangalore Tract and Book Society.

Madras.—The *Maharani*, in Tamil, edited and published by Mr. V. Krishnamachariar, is the most tastefully got up periodical for women published in India. It contains coloured illustrations and designs for fancy work, besides instructive matter. It is necessarily much more expensive than the other magazines, a single copy being 6 annas. *The Woman's Friend*, very neatly printed, is issued by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission. The *Zenana Magazine*—an illustrated quarterly, published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, is printed and edited at Nagercoil.

The *Sagunabodhini* and *Amirthavasani* are the titles of other Tamil periodicals for women, but they now seem to be discontinued.

When a separate magazine is not practicable at present, two or three pages in a general magazine may be set apart for female readers.

Good illustrations add much to the interest of periodicals and books. In India they are often badly printed from want of skill in the workmen.

Many years must elapse before India can have its *Graphic* or *Illustrated London News*. Native gentlemen who can afford it

* *Indian Magazine*, 1882, p. 326.

should get one of these papers, and explain to their wives some of their pictures and contents. They cost sixpence each. The *Penny Illustrated Paper* and the *Penny Pictorial News* are cheaper substitutes. *Progress*,* a monthly paper, published in Madras, contains a few illustrations. The contents generally are above women, but the "Page for Junior Readers" would yield some materials. There is an excellent illustrated paper for the young, *India's Young Folks*, published fortnightly at Lucknow by the Rev. A. J. Maxwell. The subscription is Rs. 1½ a year, postage included. It contains a good deal of interesting matter suitable for women. The foregoing are all in English, and would require, in most cases, to be translated.

Books.

Hinduism dooms women to ignorance; hence native literature, prior to the diffusion of Western ideas, cannot be expected to contain any *books* specially intended for them, although there are songs often sung by Indian women.

From the want of classified catalogues of the Publications in each of the languages of India, information is not available as to what has been done by non-Christians in the way of providing books for women.

The following list seems to contain the principal *books* for women published by Christian Societies in India: *tracts* are not included. There may be a few other books, for in some cases the vernacular name does not indicate the character of the work.

Translations of English books written for children are not included.

Bengali.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------|-------------------------|
| Aunt Padma. | 80 pp. | 2 Annas. | C. V. E. S. |
| Bashanta, Story of. | 123 pp. | 4 As. | Calcutta Tract Society. |
| Eastern Blossoms. | 85 pp. | 2 As. | do. |
| Faith and Victory. | 247 pp. | 6 As. | do. |
| Phulmani and Karuna. | 306 pp. | 4 As. | do. |
| The Two Homes. | 131 pp. | 3 As. | C. V. E. S. |
| Uprising of a Child. | 84 pp. | 2 As. | do. |
| Women of the Bible | | | do. |
| Words for Women. | 164 pp. | 4 As. | do. |
| Zenana Magazine. | Vols. 4 | As. | C. T. S. |
| Zenana Reading Book. | 133 pp. | 4 As. | do. |

Assamese.

Phulmani and Karuna. 228 pp.

* Eight annas a year, or with postage, 14 As. The names of subscribers are received by Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras. Payment in advance required.

Uriya.

Phulmani and Karuna. 206 pp.

Hindi.

Faith Victorious. 162 pp. 3 As. North India Tract Society.

Phulmani and Karuna. 266 pp. 3 As. do.

Women of the Bible. 175 pp. 3 As. do.

Zenana Reader, by A. L. O. E. 2 As. C. V. E. S.

Zenana Reading Book. 4 As. do.

Urdu.

Ayah and Lady. 127 pp. 2½ As. C. V. E. S.

Dawn of Light. 134 pp. 2½ As. do.

Phulmani and Karuna. 214 pp. 4 As. N. I. T. S.

Stories of Old Testament Women. 148 pp. 3 As. C. V. E. S.

Story of a Roman Lady. 319 pp. 2 As. A. M. E. M.

Story of Sakhi, an Orphan Girl. 148 pp. 1 An. N. T. E. S.

Susan Grey. 112 pp. 2 As. Amritsar.

Women of the Bible. 204 pp. 3 As. N. I. T. S.

Zenana Reading Book. Arabic and Persian character. 4 As. C. V. E. S.

Punjabi.

The Dawn of Light. 122 pp. 2 As. P. R. B. S.

Zenana Reading Book. 294 pp. 3 As. do.

Do. by A. L. O. E. 122 pp. 2 As. do.

Marathi.

Ayah and Lady. 56 pp. 1 An. - Bombay T. and B. S.

Bala Sundari Tagore. (Out of Print)

Dairyman's Daughter 64 pp. 6 pie. do.

Little Jane. 29. pp. 9 pie. do.

Mother at Home. (Out of print.)

Phulmani and Karuna. 222 pp. 4 As. do.

Reading Book for Girls and Zenanas. 149 pp. 4 As. C. V. E. S.

Tracts for Women. 65 pp. 1 An. B. T. & B. S.

Wanderings of Yamunabai, 667 pp. 3 As. do.

Women of the Bible. 284 pp. 4 As. do.

Gujarati.

Phulmani and Karuna. 166 pp. 4 As. Bombay T. and B. S.

Canarese.

The Good Mother. 96 pp. 4 As. Bangalore T. and B. S.

Phulmani and Karuna. 156 pp. 4 As. do.

Zenana Reading Book. 164 pp. 5 As. do.

Tamil.

Advice to Educated Women. 53 pp. 6 Pies. M. T. and B. S.

Ayah and Lady. 116 pp. 1 An. C. V. E. S.

- Dawn of Light. 108 pp. 2 As. C. V. E. S.
 Good Mother, The. 112 pp. 3 As. do.
 Jessica's First Prayer. 82 pp. 1 An. M. T. and B. S.
 Kardoo, Story of. 72 pp. 1 An. C. V. E. S.
 Phulmani and Karuna. 188 pp. 4 As. C. V. E. S.
 Queen, The (out of print). Mrs. Baboo.
 Reading Book for Zenanas and Girls' Schools. 167 pp. 2 As.
 C. V. E. S.
 Six Months in England. 67 pp. 5 As.
 Songs for Women. 1 An. M. T. and B. S.
 Story of Santai. 50 pp. 1 An. C. V. E. S.
 Women of the Bible. 231 pp. 8 As. C. V. E. S.

Telugu.

- Ayah and Lady. 72 pp. 1 An. M. T. and B. S.
 Jessica's First Prayer. 65 pp. 1 An. Do.
 Mothers in South India. 70 pp. 1 An. Do.
 Phulmani and Karuna. 215 pp. 4 As. C. V. E. S.
 Queen, The. 1 Re. Mrs. Baboo.
 Zenana Reading Book. 135 pp. 3 As. C. V. E. S.

Malayalam.

- Ayah and Lady. 56 pp. 1 An. M. T. and B. S.
 Phulmani and Karuna. 192 pp. 3 As. Do.

As already mentioned, tracts are not included. In that direction, A. L. O. E. has rendered most essential service.

The names of only a few books for women by non-Christian writers can be given. Pandit Sivanath Sastri has written in Bengali a tale, *The Second Daughter-in-Law*, a translation of which appeared in the *Indian Magazine* for 1882. There are three books in Urdu by a Muhammadan author, which contain good moral teaching although the religious colouring is Muhammadan, viz., *Mirat-ul-Arus*, *Banat-un-Nash*, and *Taubat-un-Nasuh*. They are sold at the Government Book Depôt, Allahabad. The last has been translated into English by Mr. Kempson. Paudita Ramabai, before she went to England, wrote in Marathi, *Stridharmniti*, the Duties of Women.

A Translation of *The Spoilt Child*, by a good Bengali writer, appeared in the Journal of the National Indian Association for 1882. It might be adapted to other parts of India. The volume for 1883 contains a translation of *Shornalata*, "a Tale of Hindu Life."

WANTS TO BE SUPPLIED.

Their name is "legion." The work has only just been commenced. The following are some of the classes of publications necessary:

1. **Health and Sanitary Reform.**—The urgent need of publications under this head has already been pointed out.

2. **The Training of Children.**—It has been shown that children, in many cases, not only receive no moral instruction, but are sometimes taught to use deceit and obscene language.

3. **Domestic Economy.**—A simple manual on this subject would be useful.

4. **Social Reform.**—The women, as a rule, are their own worst enemies, opposing strenuously the measures intended for their own benefit. They support early marriage, they discourage widow marriage, they wish to squander money on jewels, on marriage expenses, and false charity.

5. **General Knowledge.**—The boundary of their little world requires to be enlarged. Accounts of common objects, descriptions of animals, explanations of natural phenomena, travels, the wonders of science and art, &c., are some topics which may be mentioned.

6. **Interesting Reading.**—Fables, anecdotes, biographies, and tales, will supply materials. Indian literature is rich in fables. It also abounds with tales, but many of them are of an unwholesome character. Wilson's testimony to the greater number of their turning on the wickedness of women, has already been quoted. The encouragement of trickery is another bad feature. The moral of many of them is, "How to overcome by deceit." Dr. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, at a meeting of the Bengal Branch of the National Indian Association, gave the following advice :

"The moral underlying all works to be pure and harmonious as a whole. The temptation to obscure or ignore one class of virtues when setting forth and extolling another, so common in India, to be studiously resisted. For instance, we have often seen in legendary fictions, rapturous laudations of excellencies of characters, which though bright examples of virtues in one direction, were gross departures from it in another direction. The moral was then mixed with things that were *not moral*. The representative hero of a tale, whether he be transcendently bright in one department or not, must not be stained with gross failings, in other respects."

If educated Indian women are simply to become, like some of their English sisters, "voracious readers" of trashy novels, the change would be no great improvement.

Mr. Krishnamachariar, in a paper read before the Madras Branch of the National Indian Association, quotes the remark of an English writer : "A well-told tale is as rare as a perfect day." It will be no easy matter to provide tales meeting all the necessities of the case. English literature has them in abundance, but in general they are so foreign as to be uninteresting. Some of them may be adapted. *Phulmani* and *Karuna* is based on an English tale, *The Week*.

* History, properly so called, is a blank in Indian literature; so also is biography. These are great drawbacks.

7. **Poetry.**—The bulk of the native literature is in verse, and the same vehicle should be largely employed in the case of women. Beginning from lullabies, there should be a series of poetical compositions, rising upwards, adapted to women, some to benefit themselves, others which they might teach their children.

The poetry for the young should be of various kinds, part simply amusing, part relating to the domestic affections, part moral songs, part religious. The hymns taught by a mother have sometimes exerted a powerful influence through life.

The Madras Tract Society has published in Tamil *Nursery Songs* and *Mathar Kunmi*, advice to women in easy poetry. *Advice to a Young Wife*, in Sinhalese poetry, has been fairly popular. Very much remains to be done in this direction.

8. **Religion.**—A Hindu woman is intensely religious. The remark applies specially to her, that she “eats religiously, drinks religiously, bathes religiously, dresses religiously, and *sins* religiously.” It is a matter of deep regret that this feeling is so often misdirected. Secular benefits, such as health and worldly prosperity, are the main objects in view. Her life is a round of superstitious ceremonies, without any high and holy thoughts of God, and her own character is impressed upon her children. She exerts, as a rule, no beneficial moral influence over her husband.

A series of books, treating of faith and duty, adapted to the circumstances of the readers, is a great desideratum.

Appeal for Writers.

The benefits of female education are generally acknowledged, and it is gradually making progress both through school and home teaching. The need of providing suitable literature has already been shown. To aid in securing this, an earnest appeal is now made to all who can render assistance.

While the help of male writers will gladly be accepted, literature for women can best be prepared by their own sex.

Native books in the Indian vernaculars are, in many cases, translations from the Sanskrit. English can be turned to account in the same way. Books written in it may be translated into the principal languages of India. The late Mrs. Mullens laboured earnestly for a few years among a handful of women in Calcutta. Though dead, she yet speaks by her *Phulmani* and *Karuna*, in the languages of 215 millions of the people of India, and her usefulness will be prolonged for generations to come. Such an example may well stimulate others to enter the field.

Persons who cannot write themselves may render good service

by recommending books which would be suitable for translation, of which would, at least, supply materials.

Every lady engaged in female education may again be reminded of the remark of Miss Greenfield that "much of the success of her work will depend upon a wise choice of books.

WIDOWS.

Number.—One peculiarity of India is the very large proportion of its widows. The census of 1881, dealing with 228,867,402 persons, gives them, arranged by sex, as follows:

| | | | Males. | Females. |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|
| Single | ... | ... | 56,521,018 | 36,254,160 |
| Married | ... | ... | 54,518,665 | 54,878,996 |
| Widowers or widows | ... | | 5,691,937 | 20,938,626 |
| | | | 116,731,620 | 112,071,782 |

It will be seen that the widows number about 21 millions. The foregoing figures refer only to 229 millions out of a total population of 254 millions. Taking the same proportion, the number of widows is increased to 23½ millions.

Nearly every fifth female in India is a widow, while only one in twenty of the males is a widower. The proportion of widows is highest in Mysore, where they are one in four of the female proportion. The Madras Census Report states that every third Brahman woman is a widow. In England in 1881, the proportion of widows was 7½ per cent.

The aboriginal tribes and the lower Hindoo castes permit, more or less, widow marriage. Sir W. W. Hunter estimates the number of Brahman and Rajput widows to whom the law of enforced and penitential celibacy strictly applies as over 2½ millions.*

Causes of the large Proportion of Widows.—These are two: early marriage and the strong feeling among the higher castes against widow marriage. As the so-called lower castes have a tendency to ape the customs of the higher, the prejudice against widow marriage extends to some of them likewise. Sir W. W. Hunter says, "A miserable girl-widow in a coarse mourning garment, with her little head shaven bald (or her hair cropped short), and her penitential round of fasts and expiations is in India the same sort of visible sign of gentility as keeping a man-servant in England."

Condition of Hindu Widows.—For this Europeans must depend on Native testimony, which, as might be expected, differs greatly.

* *The Hindu Child Widow.*

The treatment of widows varies in different families. The darker side of the picture will first be given.

The distinguished Sanskrit Scholar, Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, concludes as follows his first "*Appeal on the Marriage of Hindu Widows*," published in 1855 :

"An adequate idea of the intolerable hardships of early widowhood can be formed by those only whose daughters, sisters, daughters-in-law and other female relations have been deprived of their husband during infancy. How many hundreds of widows, unable to observe the austerities of a Brahmacharya life, betake themselves to prostitution and footicide and thus bring disgrace upon the families of their fathers, mothers, and husbands ! If the marriage of widows be allowed, it will remove the insupportable torments of life-long widowhood, diminish the crimes of prostitution and footicide, and secure all families from disgrace and infamy. As long as this salutary practice will be deferred, so long will the crimes of prostitution, adultery, incest, and footicide flow on in an ever-increasing current—so long will family stains be multiplied—so long will a widow's agony blaze on in fiercer flames."

Sir W. W. Hunter quotes the following from Dewan Bahadur R. Raghoonath Row :

"Let us take the instance of a child, say of three years. This is not an exceptional, but a fairly general instance. Of the fact that she had been once married and had become a widow, she knows nothing. She therefore mixes with children not widowed. Supposing there is a festivity, children run to the scene ; but the sight of the widowed child is a bad omen to the persons concerned in the festivity. She is removed by force. She cries and is rewarded by the parents with a blow, accompanied by remarks such as these : 'You were a most sinful being in your previous births, you have therefore been widowed already. Instead of hiding your shame in a corner of the house, you go and injure others.' The child understands not a word. Some sugar-cane juice is given her, and she is appeased. She can wear no ornaments. She cannot bathe in the manner in which other children bathe. Her touch is pollution. In the meanwhile, if the priest happens to visit the place where the child is, she is immediately shaved and dressed like a widow, in order that she may appear before the priest and get herself branded or initiated into mysteries. Only lately, I saw a child moving about in such a garb ; to the immense sorrow of some, and the amusement of others. She is then asked to eat only once a day. She is made to fast once a fortnight, even at the risk of death.

"She often asks in vain why these things are done to her. During the earlier part of her life, she is told some story or other and quieted. When she reaches eleven years of age, such devices fail. Then it is explained to her that in her previous births, she was a bad woman, created feuds between husband and wife, and God (that merciful Father who is ever kind to all !) being angry, was pleased to ordain that she should, in this generation, be a woman deprived of her husband. This

is generally the first correct intimation to the girl of her having been declared a married female. She learns this with concern and anxiety, but is not able entirely to realize her position. Two more years pass away. Nature asserts its dominion. She begins to feel that, for no fault of hers in this generation, she is denied what her comrades are allowed to enjoy. She becomes an object of suspicion. The hide-and-seek system comes into play. . . . Respectable companions being denied, an evil one is secretly associated with, who opens the world to her. Her passions are roused. Feelings of shame cause her to struggle with them. The life-long war begins, and in most cases passion prevails over shame. She becomes pregnant, she learns it generally when she is advanced in pregnancy more than two months. No respectable doctor will remove the cause of her shame. Quackery must come to her help. Sometimes the object is gained with or without injuring the constitution. Failure is also possible. A series of attempts is then made for seven months to hide her shame.

"If all these fail, then a wretched creature is brought into this world. The next step is to get rid of it. A small conspiracy is formed. It is killed, and its remains are disposed of as best they can be. In this attempt great danger is incurred. The policeman considers it a piece of good fortune to discover such a body. He secures it, and makes a list of young widows. . . . Many a widow, perfectly innocent, is laid hold of, taken to a police station, and marched off to a dispensary for medical examination. Some of them are declared innocent. The rest pay presents to the police, and recover their liberty from the clutches of the criminal law. To the priest, this acquittal is insufficient. His inquisition is set on foot, and is ended invariably by the infliction of a high fine payable to himself, on the receipt of which the girl-widow is branded in token of purification. She may have no money to do all this: she is compelled to court any paramour who will furnish her with the necessary funds, and this money enables her to come out of purgatory. Her relatives, however, are not satisfied. She is shunned by them. It then becomes necessary for her to sell her body for the sake of bread.

"No doubt there are cases in which the girl finds herself strong enough to combat her passions. But what a life does she lead! Privation of food, of clothing, and even of necessary comforts; observance of fasts, which at times extend to seventy-two hours; enforced absence from every scene of festivity; the enduring of execrations heaped upon her if she unwittingly or unfortunately comes in front of a man, a priest, or a bride. These become the daily experiences of her life, which is often prolonged to a great age. . . . Thus it will be seen that the British Government by prohibiting widow-burning and by stopping short there, have contributed towards rendering the condition of our widows worse than it was before."

The author of *Sketches of Hindu Life* describes in strong terms the sufferings endured by widows in consequence of the *ekadasi* fasts. It denotes "the eleventh," the eleventh day of each of the two fortnights into which the Hindu lunar month is divided.

The *chadasi* is a strict fast; nothing in the shape of liquid or solid can be touched by the widow during the twenty-four hours. There is no trace of this stringent rule anywhere in the Vedas. It is an innovation of later date, as are a great many of the present customs and ceremonies observed by the natives of India.

The same writer thus gives the brighter side of the picture :

"The widows of Bengal, notwithstanding the barbarous custom which imposes on them such miseries and afflictions, are not purposely ill-treated by their relatives and friends; on the contrary, in respectable families they are greatly pitied and comforted in their state of abject wretchedness and despair. Widows of a mature age are very much respected, and though they cannot take an equal share with other in certain festivals and ceremonies, their counsel and criticism are earnestly sought for in all important domestic events, and very often they personally superintend the household affairs of everyday life as well as on grand occasions."*

Mr. Mullick bears warm testimony to the domestic services rendered by widows :

"Widowhood in perpetuity may be an unmixed evil in Bengal, but its brightest feature is, the aid it has always lent to household management, to the rearing of children, and to cheap living. Ask any native of Bengal you may, whether his training, his prosperity, aye his life, are not intimately associated with the disinterested toils of a widowed relative, and he is sure to answer in the affirmative."

But Mr. Mullick acknowledges that often the widow is repaid with ingratitude :

"For all her kind services, the treatment she receives from those she serves, is generally improper. She is often made the victim of fraud and chicanery. Vile pretexts are palmed upon her by way of justification. Simultaneously with her husband's death she is made to cast by her ornaments and jewels. The commands of the Shastras are pleaded in support of this course. Some male member volunteers to be her trustee. If the widow has Government securities, the same policy of trust is resorted to. Occasionally, *Paterfamilias* invents a tale of distress and takes the securities as a loan or some other subterfuge is adopted to deprive the widow of her effects. Suffice it to say that she is often fleeced by them."†

Feelings of Hindu Widows.—As has already been mentioned, the mass of Hindu women think that they are as well treated as any women would wish to be. As a class, they have no desire for education. So with the great majority of widows their ideas have been so perverted that they regard the inhuman treatment they receive as commanded by the Shastras and make no complaint. But the more thoughtful and intelligent among them feel

* By Devendra N. Das, pp. 106-109.

† *The Hindu Family*, pp. 118-120.

bitterly their sad condition. The following appeal from a Hindu widow appeared in the *Madras Mail*:

Sir,—I am a daughter of a wealthy official of the Mysore Province, who, although well versed in law, literature and science, yet had the Indian superstition in him, and got me married to an infant like myself. My infant husband was placed in a school. After two years of married life, Providence was pleased to remove my infant husband from this world, and I am left here to lead a life of misery, not for a portion of my life, but during the whole of my mundane existence. Common sense will tell the Hindus,—I mean those Hindus, who oppose widow marriage,—that I am a sorrowful creature. The dawn of the day brings me the thought that there will be no happiness during the day. In the night the face of the one who has gone to sleep the sleep of death comes back to me in dreams, and hangs about my pillows like the face of a ghost. The sun-rise only revives the pain of last night. I am not allowed to mix in joyous parties, or to wear neat clothes or jewels, or observe any 'tamash.' How can I feel when I see my sisters and sisters-in-laws talking merrily with their husbands? The One above alone knows I am not jealous at all, but simply state the difference of my neglected condition and my fortunate sisters' companions,' playmates' happiness. I am young and handsome, but I cannot go to my relatives,' or companions,' or neighbours' houses, even in company with elderly ladies of the house, on festive occasions. In the face of the above circumstances, can any Hindus shew reason why they should not sanction widow marriage?"

Royapettah, 29th Nov. 1884.

JANAKAMMAH.

The following is abridged from a statement made by a widow in the Punjab:

"There are four principal castes amongst Hindus, and of them all, I think the third caste, the Kayasthas (writers), to which I belong, make their widows suffer most.

"All are treated badly enough, but our customs are much worse than those of others. When a husband dies, his wife suffers as much as if the death-angel had come for her also. She must not be approached by any of her relations, but several women, from three to six (wives of barbers) are in waiting, and as soon as the husband's last breath is drawn, they rush at the new-made widow, and tear off her ornaments.

"At the funeral, the relatives, men as well as women, have to accompany the corpse, to the burning ghat. The men follow the corpse, the women come after, and last the widow led by the barbers' wives. They take care that at least 200 feet intervene between her and any other woman, for it is supposed that if her shadow fell on any (her tormentors excepted) she also would become a widow. One of the rough women goes in front, and shouts aloud to any passer-by to get out of the way of the accursed thing, as if the poor widow were a wild beast; the others drag her along.

"Separated from her husband, though she lives she is not alive! Not only is she deprived of comforts, but her friends add to her misery,

Though she is in her corner alone, and must not speak to any one, they are near and talk at her in this way; her mother says, 'Unhappy creature! I can't bear the thought of any one so vile—I wish she had never been born.' 'Her mother-in-law says, 'The horrid viper! She has bitten my son and killed him; now he is dead, and she, useless creature, is left behind.' And this, even though the speakers may themselves be widows.

"The sister-in-law says. 'I will not look at her or speak to such a thing.' They comfort the dead man's mother and say, 'It is your daughter-in-law, vile thing, who has destroyed your house; curse her; for her sake you have to mourn for the rest of your life.'

"The English have abolished Suttee; but alas! neither the English nor the angels know what goes on in our homes. And Hindus not only don't care, but think it good. What! do not Hindus fear what such oppression may lead to! If the widow's shadow is to be dreaded, why do they darken and overshadow the whole land with it?

"I am told that in England they comfort widows' hearts; but there is no comfort for us."*

The following "exceeding bitter cry" comes from a widow in North India:

"Oh! Lord! hear our prayer! No one has turned an eye on the oppression which we suffer, though with weeping and crying and desire we have turned to all sides hoping that some would save us. No one has lifted up his eyelids to look upon us, or to inquire into our case. We have searched above and below, but Thou art the only one who will hear our complaint. Thou knowest our impotence, our weakness, our dishonour. Oh! Lord! inquire into our case. For ages dark ignorance has brooded over our mind and spirits; like a cloud of dust it rises and wraps us round, and we remain like prisoners in an old and mouldering house, choked and buried in the dust of custom. We have no strength to go out; bruised and beaten, we are like the dry husks of the sugar-cane, when the sweet juice has been extracted. All-knowing God, hear our prayer, forgive our sins, and give us power of escape that we may see something of Thy world. Oh! Father! when shall we be set free from this jail? Oh! Lord, for what sin have we been born to live in this prison? Oh! Thou Hearer of prayer, if we have sinned against Thee, forgive: but we are too ignorant to know what sin is."

"Those who have seen Thy works may learn to understand Thee; but for us who are shut in, it is not possible to learn to know Thee. We see only the four walls of a house, shall we call them the world or India?... Oh! God, Almighty and Unapproachable, think upon Thy mercy which is like a vast sea and remember us! Have our sighs, sufficed to exhaust the sea of Thy mercy, or has it been dried up by the fire of fierce oppression with which the Hindu men have scorched us? Oh! God of mercies, our prayer to Thee is this, that

* *Modern Hinduism*, by Wilkins, pp. 365--372.

this curse be removed from the women of India. Create in the hearts of the men some sympathy, that our lives may no longer be passed in vain longing. Thus, saved by Thy mercy, we may taste something of the joy of life.”*

SATI, OR WIDOW BURNING.

Origin.—The barbarous treatment of women in India reached its climax in widow burning. That sons should roast their mothers alive when they became widows, seems too horrible an idea to enter the mind. Yet Hindus, in the nineteenth century, contended earnestly for the privilege.

Widow burning was unknown among the early Aryans. There is no allusion to it in the Vedas although, as will afterwards be mentioned, a text was perverted to justify the practice. Sir. W. W. Hunter thinks that the Hindus adopted the custom from rude Scythian tribes, who sacrificed “concubine and horse and slave on the tomb of the dead lord.” A desire to get the property which would have fallen to the widow, was probably another motive.

To induce widows to submit to death in this cruel manner, life was made bitter to them in every conceivable way. This, however, was not sufficient, so they were told that they would not only be pre-eminently virtuous but enjoy happiness for almost endless ages in another world if they burnt themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands.

“The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband’s corpse, shall equal Arundhati and reside in Swarga.”

“Accompanying her husband she shall reside so long in Swarga as there are 35 millions of hairs on the human body.”

Another text says :

“The woman who follows her husband expiates the sins of three races ; her father’s line, her mother’s line, and the family of him to whom she was given a virgin.”

The consequences of not observing this injunction are thus stated :

“As long as a woman shall not burn herself after the death of her husband, she shall be subject to transmigration in a female form.”†

“The by-standers,” says Colebrooke, “throw on butter and wood, for this they are taught that they acquire merit exceeding ten millionfold the merit of an *aswamedha*, or other great sacrifice. Even those who join the procession from the house of the deceased to the funeral pile, for every step are rewarded as for an *aswamedha*.”

* *The Cry at Night and the Song at Sunrise*, by A. L. O. E.

† *Sati* from *sat*, good, pure.

‡ *English Works of Rammohan Roy*, Vol. I., p. 302.

The editor of Rammohun Roy's English Works says :

"In a great many instances the Suttée was the victim of her greedy relatives, and in more, of rash words spoken in the first fit of grief, and of the vanity of her kindred who considered her shrinking from the first resolve an indolible disgrace. Many a horrible murder was thus committed, the cries and shrieks of the poor Suttée being drowned by the sound of tom-toms and her struggles made powerless by her being pressed down by bamboos."*

Not a few widows, on account of the false hopes held out to them and to escape a life wretchedness, consented to "eat fire." In the year 1817, it was found that, on an average, two widows were burnt alive in Bengal every day. Throughout North India "Suttee Trees" are to be found marking the spot where a widow was burnt. Near the town of Mobarakpore, the widow of a goldsmith, who ended her life in this manner, is worshipped as a saint. Muhammadans and Hindus pray to her and make offerings beneath her tree, especially in times of domestic distress.

Burial alive was practised by some instead of burning.

Abolition of Sati.—The earliest movement in this direction was made by the Serampore missionaries. In 1801 Dr. Carey wrote: "I consider that the burning of women, the burying of them alive with their husbands, the exposure of infants, and the sacrifice of children at Sagar, ought not to be permitted whatever religious motives are pretended, because they are crimes against the State."

The first effort was to put a stop to human sacrifices at Gunga Sagar. When it was brought to the notice of Lord Wellesley, a law was passed prohibiting it under severe penalties, and some sepoys were sent to Sagar to see that it was carried out. The practice ceased at once without any disturbance or murmur.

The next movement was against widow burning. The missionaries considered that the first step towards its abolition was to bring the number of annual victims prominently into view. They accordingly sent ten agents in 1804 to travel from village to village within a circle of 30 miles round Calcutta, to collect information, when it was found that more than 300 had been immolated on the funeral pile within six months. The views of the missionaries were embodied in a minute by Mr. Udny, a member of the Supreme Council, and submitted to Lord Wellesley. This was the first official notice regarding *suttees* ever placed on the records of Government. As Lord Wellesley was to retire a week later, he felt that he could not give the subject the necessary consideration. With his departure all hope of its speedy abolition vanished, and

* Introduction to Works, p. vii.

during the next 25 years 70,000 more widows ascended the pile, and became the victims of a bloody superstition.*

In 1818, Rammohun Roy published his first tract against "Burning Widows Alive." His "Second Conference" on the subject, two years later, was dedicated to the Marchioness of Hastings. The movement excited great opposition among orthodox Hindus, and a newspaper, called the *Chandrika*, was started to support their views.

In Vedic times widow-burning was not practised, and there is not a single verse authorising it. The Brahmans, however, sought support it by the wilful mistranslation of a text. Max Müller says :

"This is perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood." This text, which is the one to be repeated by the officiating priest as the widow walks round the pyre on which her husband's corpse is placed, before ascending it herself, is as follows: "Om! Let those women, not to be widowed, good wives adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, not husbandless, well adorned with gems, let them pass into the fire, whose original element was water." The correct translation is the following: "May these women, who are *not* widows, draw near with oil and butter. Let those who are mothers go first to the altar, without sorrow, but decked with fine jewels." The passage evidently refers to ordinary sacrifices, and not to the immolation of widows.†

Indeed, so far from justifying the custom, the Vedas condemned it. "Rise, woman," says the sacred text to the widow, "come to the world of life, come to us. Thou hast fulfilled thy duties as a wife to thy husband."

"Manu," says Sir Monier Williams, "makes no allusion to the Sati, or faithful, wife, who burnt herself with her dead husband."

In 1829, Lord William Bentinck, after suitable inquiries, passed a regulation declaring the practice of Sati illegal and punishable in the Criminal Courts. The Hindus got up a memorial to Government, affirming that the act of immolation was not only a sacred duty, but an exalted privilege, and denouncing the regulation as a breach of the promise that there should be no interference with the religious customs of the Hindus. Lord William Bentinck refused to suspend the operation of the Act, but offered to transmit their representation to the Privy Council. Rammohun Roy was in England, when the subject came before the Privy Council, and the appeal was dismissed.

The Act extended only to British territory, but the influence of Government was used to secure its abolition in Native States. Stray cases are still reported at times ; but, on the whole, the horrible custom has been suppressed.

* Carey, Marshman and Ward, pp. 99, 100.

† *Modern Hinduism* by Wilkins, pp. 377, 378.

FURTHER MEASURES TO AMELIORATE THE CONDITION OF INDIAN WIDOWS.

LEGISLATIVE MEANS.

Enacted.

Sir W. W. Hunter, referring to the Act against Sati, says :

“The trembling child-widow could no longer be coaxed or pushed on to her husband’s funeral pile, and then held down by long bamboos; and with this triumph of humanity the administrative conscience, during the next quarter of a century, remained quiescent. The Hindu widow’s long death-in-life, her iron cage of penance, her wasting fasts, the disfigurement of her beauty, her harsh privations and enforced celibacy, remained matters of domestic discipline into which the law did not pry. Her only possible escape was re-marriage. But re-marriage was forbidden to her by Hindu custom, and would have plunged her in a deeper infamy than a life of vice.”

The injustice and pernicious effects arising from the custom of prohibiting widow marriage had been felt for some time by intelligent Hindus. To an Englishman if an existing law is unjust or no longer suitable, it seems evident that a new one ought to be made. On the other hand, “To the orthodox Hindu it would bring no sense of conviction to prove that a practice is cruel if it is prescribed. For the suffering to the victim is merely the inevitable result of her sins committed in a past life; and it may serve her as a blessed purification which will bring happiness in the life to come.” The efforts of reformers have therefore been partly directed to show that widow marriage is allowed by Hinduism.

Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, in his pamphlet published in 1855, says :

“Whether the marriage of widows is consonant to our Sastras, is a question which a short while ago, was discussed by some of the principal Pandits of our country. But, unfortunately, our modern Pandits, carried away, in the heat of controversy, by a passion for victory, become so eager to maintain their respective dogmas that they entirely lose sight of the subject they are investigating; and hence there is no hope of arriving at the truth of any question by convening an assembly of Pandits and setting them to debate on it. At the discussion above alluded to, each party considered itself victorious and its antagonist failed.” P. 1.

The law books of the Hindus are so numerous and contradictory, that a long array of conflicting texts may be gathered on almost any subject.

It is generally allowed that the Vedas do not contain any prohibition against widow-marriage. Manu has the following :

157. But she may at will (when he is dead) emaciate her body by

(living on) pure flowers, fruits, (and) roots. She may not, however, when her husband is dead, mention even the name of another man.

158. She must be till death subdued, intent, chaste, following that best (law) which is the rule of wives of a single husband.

159. Many thousands of Brahmans, chaste from youth, have gone to heaven without leaving children to continue the family.

160. Her husband being dead, a virtuous wife, firm in chastity, goes, though childless, to heaven like those chaste (men).

161. But the woman who, from desire of offspring, is unfaithful to (her dead) husband, meets with blame here, and is deprived of her husband's place (in the next world).

162. There is no offspring here begotten by another (than the husband), nor even on marrying another; nor is a second husband anywhere permitted to good women. V.

Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, in his *Marriage of Hindu Widows*, shows that widow marriage is allowed in the *Parasara Samhita*, the law book held to be the guide in this Kali Yuga or Iron Age.

The chief text quoted is the following :

"On receiving no tidings of a husband, on his demise, on his turning an ascetic, on his being found impotent, or on his degradation, under any one of these five calamities, it is canonical for a woman to take another husband. That woman, who on the decease of her husband observes the Brahmacharya (leads the life of austerities and privations), attains heaven after death. She who burns herself with her deceased husband, resides in heaven for as many Kalas or thousands of years as there are hairs on the human body or 35 millions."

The Pandit gives the following explanation of the text :

"Thus it appears that Parasara prescribes three rules for the conduct of a widow; marriage, the observance of the Brahmacharya, and burning with the deceased husband. Among these, the custom of con cremation has been abolished by order of the ruling authorities; only two ways, therefore, have now been left for the widows; they have the option of marrying or of observing the Brahmacharya. But in the Kali Yuga, it has become extremely difficult for widows to pass their lives in the observance of the Brahmacharya; and it is for this reason that the philanthropic Parasara has, in the first instance, prescribed marriage." p. 9.

The reader is referred to the Pandit's pamphlet for a learned defence of his interpretation of the text.

Sir W. W. Hunter says :

"The venerable Brahman's views have been before the orthodox Indian world during more than thirty years; but his three main positions have not been shaken. Namely, first, that orthodox Hindu jurisprudence expressly provides for the re-marriage of Hindu widows; although also providing two other courses of higher spiritual merit

for them, namely, burning with their husband's body on the funeral pile, and penitential celibacy. Second, that the inferiority, never amounting to illegitimacy, attaching in previous astronomical cycles to the sons of remarried widows is not recognised by the texts which authoritatively and explicitly apply to the present age of the world. Third, that the Hindu objections to widow re-marriage rest upon comparatively modern customs which must yield to the higher authority of the texts."*

Widow Marriage Act.—In July, 1856, Lord Canning

"In spite of warnings and clamours, legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows. But he did not venture to preserve to them their civil rights. A Hindu widow on her re-marriage, forfeits all property inherited from her husband, "as if," says the Act, "she had then died." Special enactments regulate the marriage of native Christians, and of the new theistic sect of India. But Lord Canning's Act of 1856 remains, for the Hindu population, the law of the land to this day.

"It has proved a dead letter. Not only does it fail to secure to a widow her civil rights to property inherited from her husband, but it has not in the least degree mitigated the religious abhorrence with which orthodox Hindus regard such re-marriages. After careful inquiry from the native leaders of the Hindu re-marriage movement, who run no danger of minimizing its results, I can only hear of sixty re-marriages under the Act of 1856. The truth is that that law was thirty years in advance of native opinion. The enactment of 1829 against widow-burning had been prohibitive, and punished for acts done. The Hindu re-marriage law of 1856 was permissive, and would not compel either men or women to do an act which they would rather leave undone. All that the law can say to a man or woman is, 'You may marry'; it cannot with propriety say, 'You shall.' Orthodox native opinion has remained until lately too strong for the law and the sad lot of the Hindu widow remains unchanged to this day."†

Even the sixty marriages, in many cases, were largely brought about by money being contributed by the leaders of the movement towards the heavy marriage expenses. Pandit Vidyasagara spent a large sum in this manner. A Hindu gentleman of Cocanada contributed Rs. 14,000 for those in South India.

The loss of property is not the only penalty of widow marriage : both parties are put out of caste. Sir Monier Williams mentions a case which occurred at Ahmedabad. A cloth merchant married a widow of his own caste. Forthwith he was excommunicated. No one was to have any trade dealings with him ; no one was to marry any of his children ; no temple was to admit him ; and if he died no one was to carry his body to the burning ground. He was a ruined man, and had to leave the country and obtain government employment in a distant city.

Hindus boast of their toleration. Christians are allowed to

* *The Child Widow, Asiatic Quarterly Review.*

† *The Child Widow.*

worship only one God ; Hindus have their choice of 33 crores. On the other hand, let a man break any of their absurd caste laws and they are most intolerant.

Proposed Legislation.

Prohibition of Early Marriages.—This would reduce the number of the worst cases of widowhood ; but the reasons given by Government against *present* legislation on this remedy have already been quoted.

Unchastity.—The late Dewan of Indore says : “ The British Bench has added a note that a widow possessed of her husband’s estate cannot be dispossessed of it, if she have illicit intercourse with any man during her widowhood ; although she must be dispossessed of it, under the Widow Marriage Act, if she have licit or lawful intercourse with the same man after *marrying* him !! ”*

Before the Widow Marriage Act, the right of a widow to succeed to her husband’s effects was conditional on her chastity. The reversal of this by the High Court created great alarm among the Hindu community. Mr. Mullick says, “ Young Bengal looked patriot-like, turned up the whites of his eyes and cursed the Honourable Judges for giving judicial sanction to a measure calculated to convert his widowed sisters and widowed daughters into immoral women.”

Sir W. W. Hunter thus explains the objections against a return to the old system :

“ The reformers urge that such a condition of things is not only unjust to the women of India, but scandalous to British legislation. A section of them desire that, if the Statute law is retained the judge-made law should be rescinded, and that the penalty for unchastity should be, at least, equal to the penalty for marriage. But no one who has seriously studied the proceedings which ended in the Privy Council ruling can either hope or wish to see that decision reversed. To make forfeiture of property a legal consequence of personal unchastity would set on foot the most atrocious domestic inquisition which ever afflicted a people. The rich Hindu widow would be surrounded by spies, and subjected throughout life to the calumnies of hired traducers. The courts would become the instruments of extortion, and the public morals would be outraged by indecent slanders against innocent and helpless women.”

Forfeiture of Property on Marriage.—After referring to the foregoing proposal, Sir W. W. Hunter says :

“ A larger section of the reformers urge, therefore, that the Statute law itself should be altered, and that a widow should no longer forfeit her interest in her husband’s property by re-marriage.

* *Review of Progress, &c.* p. 21.

"This contention was carefully considered by the framers of the Hindu Re-Marriage Act of 1856. The main difficulty is that the Hindu law, in granting the succession to the widow, does so on the distinct understanding that she will continue to perform the duties and religious functions incident to the status of widowhood. The most important of these functions are of the nature of recurring expiatory offerings, intended for the spiritual benefit of the deceased husband and his ancestors; and they cannot be efficaciously performed by the widow if she becomes the wife of another man. Her interest in her husband's property is not truly an interest for life, but only during her widowhood.

"The great body of reformers would think an extension to the liberty of the re-marrying widow dearly purchased at the price of debarring Hindu widows, as a class, from their present right of succession to their husband's property, and from the enjoyment of it *durante viduitate* (during widowhood)."

Modified Proposals.—Sir W. W. Hunter says :

"It is questionable whether the time has not now come to modify the forfeiture clause of the law of 1856, in regard to property which a Hindu widow inherits under her husband's will. That clause found entrance into the Hindu Widow's Re-marriage Act of 1856 only at a late stage of the Bill, and, so far as the records show, without any very full discussion. Since then, the Hindu texts have been re-examined by new lights.... Testamentary dispositions of property are also more largely resorted to. In 1856, the Legislature was probably in the right to assume that if a Hindu husband did not give his widow express liberty to re-marry in his Will, he left his property to her on the understanding that she would not re-marry. But it is a question whether the time has not now come, to make the legal presumption run the other way. This would be effected by enacting that, unless a Hindu husband left his property to his widow on the express condition of her perpetual celibacy, she should not, by re-marriage, forfeit the interest conveyed to her by the Will. The measure should apply only to Wills made after the law was fully known to the Hindu community, and the rights of reversioners would have to be considered. In any case the Act would only deal with the class of interest conveyed to the widow by the Will; and subject to the limitations placed by the Will on that interest."

Sir W. W. Hunter mentions the following opinion held by the Bombay Government :

"While this presumption would apply to both moveable and immoveable property, the Bombay Government points out a more partial but a more immediate remedy. In parts of India where a widow has an absolute power of disposal in moveable property inherited from her husband, it thinks it reasonable to exempt that property from forfeiture by reason solely of her re-marriage. The Bombay Government seems to hold that as the Hindu law gives her the right to alienate such property in any way, she should not lose her right by alienating it in one particular way, namely, by re-marriage."

The Government of India, in reviewing Mr. Malabari's proposals and the opinions he collected, made the following remarks :

"5. Of the suggestions made in the course of the voluminous correspondence quoted in the preamble, the only two which do not seem to the Government of India to be open to serious objection on ground of principle are (1) the amendment of Section 2 of Act XV. of 1856 as to the forfeiture of property of a widow on re-marriage; and (2) the supply of machinery by which a Hindu widow, who fails to obtain the consent of her caste fellows to her re-marriage, may nevertheless marry without renouncing her religion.

"But although there is much to be said in favour of each of these suggestions, the Governor-General in Council, as at present advised, would prefer not to interfere, even to the limited extent proposed, by legislative action until sufficient proof is forthcoming that legislation is required to meet a serious practical evil, and that such legislation has been asked for by a section, important in influence or number, of the Hindu community itself." p. 2.

REMEDIES WITHIN THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE.

It may be said that even legislative measures come under this head, such as the prohibition of early marriage; but it will be limited to proposals which may at once be carried out by any family so disposed.

1. **There should be sorrow for past injustice and cruelty.**—Most Hindus think that the present treatment of widows is according to the Shastras, and that they have no grounds of complaint. A Madras M. A. lately said, "I admit that the lot of our widows is far from an enviable one, but I deny that my countrymen and women as a class do anything to make it more unhappy than it need be." There is an English proverb, "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." Men and women ought to be treated alike. It is a maxim of the highest authority in morals, "Do to others as you would wish them to do to you." "A Hindu Lady" thus states the case:

"I entreat my countrymen to judge of the miseries of widows by transferring the same penalties to men. Suppose it had been enacted that when a man lost his wife he should continue celibate; live on coarse fare, be tabooed from society, should continue to wear mourning weeds for the remainder of his life, and practise whether he would or no, never-ending austerities! In short, if widowers were subjected to the same hard lot as the widows, I ask, would my countrymen not have long since revolted against such inhuman treatment? Can there be any shadow of a doubt that they would have torn these Draconian statutes to tatters, and indignantly repudiated the claim of the barbarous Manu and his crew to impose such vicious yoke upon them? But if men, with their better physique and greater enlightenment,

are unable to tolerate a slavish yoke like this, is it decent, is it humane, to make poor helpless ignorant women the victims of a system the like of which has not disgraced any civilised society?"*

It has been asked why should such a cruel treatment of widows, so different from that of the early Aryans, have arisen among the Hindus? "The answer must be sought in the perversion of the natural feelings of man, in the absolute power which a corrupt priesthood gained over a superstitious people, playing into the hands of masculine egotism, by forging religious sanctions for the tendency of the strongest to oppress the weaker."† Principal Caird justly says that "The worst of all wrongs to humanity is to hallow evil by the authority and sanction of religion."

True sorrow for past misdeeds is always followed by reformation. Some of the ways in which this should be shown will be noticed.

2. Loud wailings at death should be discouraged.—Sir Madhava Row says: "Upon the occurrence of widowhood, prevent or discourage too many visits of condolence attended with loud wailings, which only increase grief, instead of assuaging it."

3. The use of any unkind words or epithets should be guarded against.—Sir Madhava Row says: "Forget not for a moment that a widow is a most unfortunate being, and always deserves the utmost compassion. Let her have the benefit of your kindest words and deeds. Let her be ever treated with every respect and regard. Let her not suffer from you an unkind look, tone, word or even gesture."

Hindus often charge a widow with her husband's death; he has been taken away from her to punish her sin in a former birth; the younger she is, the greater sinner she must have been to be overtaken so soon; and her accusations are proportionally malignant. Her sin must be expiated by a life of penance.

A thief, to screen himself, will often try to accuse an innocent person. In the case of child-widows, it is the parents who are to blame. If they had not married their daughter till she was fully grown, she would not have been a widow.

There is no proof that we existed before; there are many reasons against such an assertion.

The extensive Indian vocabulary of abuse contains several terms fitted to wound the feelings of a widow. She has enough to bear without being contemptuously reminded of her sad condition.

4. Shaving the head or even cropping the hair, &c. should be discontinued.—Long hair is a woman's glory; why should her

* *The Indian Magazine*, for 1885, p. 587.

† Do. 1887, p. 190.

sufferings be needlessly increased by being deprived of it? It is allowed, however, that a plain dress is becoming in a widow, at least for a time.

It is the custom to take off the widow's jewels. Sir Madhava Row says: "If the poor widow is to be divested of anything dear to her, let your sympathy delay the thing as long as possible, especially if she is young."

The object of some of the Hindu practices is to render widows less an object of temptation, but their chastity may be secured in other ways less objectionable.

5. **The Ekadasi fasts should be given up.**—There is no more reason why the widow should fast than the widower. It is right that she should be temperate in eating, for "fulness of bread" is an incentive to lust. But this does not require the Hindu severity.

6. **Widows should be treated justly.**—Mr. Mullick says that the widow is "often made the victim of fraud and chicanery." Sir Madhava Row says: "Let not a pie of her money or a particle of her jewellery be misappropriated. Protect her against fraud and deception from any quarter. Neither yourself nor any member of your family should borrow anything from her, lest it should not be returned, and she be too delicate in feeling to ask for its return."

7. **Widows should be treated with kindness.**—Sir Madhava Row makes the following suggestions under this head:

"Give her for shelter a quiet dry and healthy quarter of the house. It must not be too near a drain, privy, bath-room or cattle-shed. Give her sufficient simple food, and also sufficient simple clean cloths. If she fall sick, arrange kindly for her comfort and medical treatment.

"Give her a small monthly allowance for trifling contingencies, and also for purposes of religion and charity. Ungrudgingly allow her to visit her parents, brothers, and sisters. Let her freely mix with the other members of the family and partake of their comforts and pleasures as far as may be. If they go out for any temple festival or other diversion, let her also be one of the party. Let her be associated in any general consultations which take place in the family. If she is at all elderly, she will be able to afford many useful suggestions."

8. **Widows should be taught to read and supplied with suitable books.**—Good books are the best companions in solitude. They would help to remove the feeling of loneliness, furnish employment, and stimulate to noble conduct.

9. **Young widows should be allowed to marry.**—There are cases of men of forty years of age marrying girls of eight, whereas if they took a widow they would have a wife able to be a helpmeet.

10. **Fitting employment should be provided for them.**—The *Indian Messenger* justly remarks of the widow: "Give her honest and useful work, work that would ennoble her soul and give her a

relish for existence, and there will be less complaint about her condition."

Some of the ways in which they may be employed will be mentioned.

1. *Domestic Duties*.—In the great majority of cases this is all that can be expected of them. Already they do good service in this way in their respective families. Sir Madhava Row thus describes their work and the benefits resulting from it :

"How the widows should be treated has been already stated. If properly treated, they generally prove extremely useful in the domestic sphere : so much so, that every family would find its comfort and convenience increased by having some related widow under its protection. From a sense of obligation, she is ever anxious to make herself useful. Her useful services may be roughly enumerated. She faithfully watches house and property in the absence of the other members. She carefully and affectionately brings up the children. She attends to the children, and indeed, others of the family during sickness. She attends to the store-room and also to the dairy. She looks after the cleanliness and sanitation of the house. She occasionally cooks for the family. She prepares and preserves the pickles required. She renders general assistance to the wife, specially in her toilet. She attends to the guests, and assists in religious ceremonies. She occasionally grinds or pounds corn : lays out grains for drying in the sun. She makes cakes on festive occasions. She is almost indispensable on occasions of childbirth. In all these respects, no paid servant could ever render so much good and faithful service. By such services she abundantly repays her protector for the small cost of her protection. By protecting widows, therefore, you will please God and benefit yourself."*

2. *Employment as Teachers*.—Considering the great want of teachers for girls' schools, it has been proposed that widows should be utilised in this way. Pandita Ramabhai hopes to establish an Institution partly for their training as teachers. Mr. S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, M.A., B.L., in a paper lately read before the Madras Branch of the National Indian Association, remarked :

"There is especially one class of women whose sympathies I wish to enlist in the cause of higher education. I mean Hindu widows. As a class they enjoy more leisure and freedom than married women. When they have no children to take care of, there is nothing to prevent them from devoting themselves to the great cause of education. Shall we not be conferring an inestimable boon on them by opening to them a new world of innocent pleasure, which, while it adds to the wealth of their enjoyment, contributes also materially to the welfare of the country ? I think that every endeavour should be made to induce them to educate themselves and to qualify themselves in those professions where there is so much opening for them and for some of which they are peculiarly fitted—I mean the profession of lady teachers, doctors, nurses, &c.

Nature has given woman as a class a sweet voice and fine ear. If they receive proper training, they become excellent teachers of music to young girls. Similarly, after a little training, teach them stitching, cooking, and the various other accomplishments which it is necessary for young girls to learn. The requisite training can be given in the institution I have mentioned above. Every encouragement and facility should be given to them to join the institution by the offer of scholarships and other similar inducements. It is the absence of such facilities and false sentiment which stand in the way of their turning their minds to such useful occupations. We must try our best to overcome both."

Sir Alfred Croft, Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, at a home meeting of the Association, thus gave his experience :

"We have also tried to utilise Hindu widows. We should rejoice if we could do anything to alleviate their lot; but women who become widows at a mature age, and possibly after a life spent in ignorance of letters, do not furnish promising material for the supply of teachers. It is, in fact, a hopeless task to convert any class of persons wholesale into teachers merely because they command our sympathy. We have tried these plans and other plans too, but all our efforts have practically failed, partly because a professional teacher requires to have a long and early training and a special aptitude for the work, and partly, I may say chiefly, for another reason. It is that the idea of an independent career for women is as yet unfamiliar to the Indian mind. We must live in the hope that the idea will become more familiar as time goes on and civilization advances. We must go on educating as many girls as we can, in the hope that, as education spreads, there may spring up an effective demand for female teachers, and in the farther hope that, in the varied circumstances of native life and society, there may be found an increasing number of young women willing to take the position of teachers and keep up a supply equal to the demand."*

Sir A. Croft's remarks are true that it is "hopeless to convert any class of persons wholesale into teachers merely because they command our sympathy;" also that ignorant "widows of a mature age do not furnish a promising material for the supply of teachers." Still, among the many millions of widows some may be found who can be utilised in the way proposed. At the census of 1881, the number of male teachers was 166,356, and they have since considerably increased. The number of female teachers was 4,345. Connected with the families of the teachers there must be a considerable number of widows, some of them young enough to be trained. Such might be employed in the same town or village, residing with the male teachers.

There are three essentials to success. 1. The widow should bear a good character. 2. She should be fit for her work. 3. She should have a home among relations who would take care of her.

* *Indian Magazine*, 1886, pp. 178, 179.

Besides teachers, the families of Government servants of different grades and respectable private persons might be rendered available for the supply of suitable candidates.

It is true that some past attempts have failed; but this arose from a wrong selection and want of proper care. With judgment, the difficulties may be overcome, and every year will increase the supply of educated widows. The experiment about to be made by Ramabai will be watched with interest.

3. *Employment as midwives, nurses, &c.* Trained midwives are greatly needed. They would prevent much suffering, and save many thousand lives every year both of women and children. Some widows who are too old or otherwise unfit to become teachers, might be utilised in this manner.

According to Hindu ideas, a woman in child-birth is impure, and probably only widows of low caste would accept the employment.

With the extension of Lady Dufferin's scheme, there will be increased facilities for the training of such persons.

11. **Widows should have the comfort of true religion.**—Hinduism teaches the poor widow that her sufferings are on account of her sins in a former birth, and dooms her to life-long misery. On the other hand, Christianity teaches that she did not exist previously, and that God reveals Himself as the "Husband of the widow, the Father of the fatherless;" "Let thy widows trust in me," is His gracious invitation.

One would suppose that such glad tidings to widows would be joyfully received; but generally it will be far otherwise. Man is naturally proud; he wishes to merit heaven by his own supposed good works. Undoubtedly many Hindu widows think that they have acquired a stock of merit which will secure to them happiness in another world. Still, there are some who will listen, and every means should be employed to make known to them the truth.

CONCLUDING REVIEW.

Claims of Women.—It was well said at a meeting in Calcutta: "There is no hand so gentle as a woman's hand, no eye so observant, no foot so soft, no ear so wakeful, no head more unselfishly thoughtful, no heart more unceasingly loving, no life more devoted than woman's."

Gratitude and duty should impel men, in their turn, to do all they can for women. Manu, perhaps knowing that these motives would have little force with the men he had to deal with, appealed to their self-interest. Even on this low ground alone, the improvement of women should be zealously sought.

Three reasons may be urged :

1. *To have healthy homes.*—Sickness is a great drawback to happiness in many ways. There is the expense of doctors, other things must be neglected to attend to the patients, the mind is kept anxious, and death may follow, taking away a beloved son, it may be only one of the family. Why do so many educated Hindus die of diabetes and carbuncle after little more than middle age? If Hindu mothers observed the laws of health, instead of trusting to charms, and ceremonies, more than half the sickness in families might be prevented, and several years added to the average life.

2. *To have well-trained children.*—Parents make great sacrifices for their children. With what care do they watch over them night and day when they are feeble, helpless infants! How readily they give up their rest, their comfort, their pleasures for the sake of their children; how they toil and save to provide for all their wants! Sometimes, however, they are repaid with ingratitude. "Sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child." A father may be rich and prosperous; but an ungrateful, wicked son will cast a dark shadow over all. On the other hand, affectionate well-behaved children supply the want of riches and sweeten the cup of affliction. The future life of children depends mainly on their training. Spoilt, petted children are always the most disobedient, the most ungrateful. No home can be truly happy where the children are not properly brought up, and this rests chiefly with the mother.

3. *To render political reform of real value.*—It is changes of this kind which now mainly absorb the attention of educated Hindus. The following caution by the most active member of the National Congresses should carry great weight with them. Mr. A. O. Hume says in a letter to Mr. Malabari :

"Nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all those other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status."

"Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds *pari passu* (with an equal pace) with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove vain."*

The Lucknow *Advocate* truly says: "Political progress is but a house built on sand, unless it is based upon a high morality and developed social institutions."

ESSENTIALS TO PROGRESS.—These may be summed up under two heads :

* *Infant Marriage, &c.*, pp. 71, 73.

1. Government Co-operation.—The Hon. Mr. Justice Scott, of the Bombay High Court, says in a letter to Mr. Malabari :

“ If you wait till individual Hindus take up and carry through, single handed, without any outside aid, any great change in their social system, you will realise the fable of the countryman who sat by the river bank and waited for the stream to run dry before he crossed over to the other side. It is not in human nature to expect great changes to be effected in a society by its own members, when the advocates of change have to face family estrangement, social ostracism and caste excommunication as a probable result of their efforts. You must in such circumstances take some middle course. Mr. Melvill suggests a *modus operandi*. ‘ A few representatives of each caste,’ he says, ‘ must take the lead.’ I fully endorse that view ; but I would add that the action these leaders must take, is not on the lines of purely internal reform, but rather in favour of internal reform backed by a very moderate amount of Government interference.”*

Rao Bahadur G. H. Deshmukh, late Member of the Legislative Council, Bombay, expresses a similar opinion :

“ It has become a point of honour in Hindu society, to keep widows unmarried. Those that keep their widows in this state are considered of the highest and purest caste. Within these fifty years many lower castes have given up re-marriage simply to approach the Brahmins. No reform can be carried out unless some political influence is brought to bear upon it. The history of the world shows this very clearly. If Government had not stepped in and prohibited *suttee*, infanticide, suicide, self-inflicted tortures, &c., we would have seen these cruel spectacles to this day.”*

2. Enlightened Public Opinion.—This is the chief element, for it would secure the former without which also it would be of little value. The late Sir M. Melvill says :

“ Even if the law should declare that no girl under twelve should be a wife, nor consequently a widow, it does not follow that the society in which the girls live will not treat them as widows for the purpose of re-marriage. The priests may go through the same ceremonies as now, and attach to them the same efficacy. The law may say that these ceremonies constitute only a betrothal ; but the priest may say that they constitute a marriage, religiously, if not legally, binding ; and that the girl is really a widow, and cannot be re-married. Unless the influence of the priests be shaken, the girl may be treated as a widow, whatever the law may say.”†

With regard to deferred marriage the Hon. K. T. Telang, of Bombay, remarks :

“ The man who wishes to initiate this reform finds his difficulties neither in the Shastras, which are only imperfectly if at all understood,

* *Infant Marriage*, §c. p. 47.

† *Infant Marriage*, §c. p. 96.

nor in the caste, which, as such, has not claimed to exercise jurisdiction in the matter, but in those nearest and dearest to him, in his family and among his relations. To many of them the new departure is distasteful, first, because it is a new departure; secondly, because it is looked upon as calculated to defer the enjoyment of the great blessing of having a son; and thirdly, though this perhaps only to a small extent, because it is calculated to interfere with the *éclat* of the celebration of the 'second marriage!' These are the real difficulties in the way of reform."*

Means of Enlightening Public Opinion.

The following may be mentioned:

1. **Education.**—This powerful agency has, in general, not been utilized as it ought to be. It has often been simply literary, apparently without a thought that it ought and might contribute very considerably to the material and moral progress of the people. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, when Inspector of Schools in Bengal, wrote:

"I would ask why should Greeshchnunder Chuckerbatty be expected to know 'what circumstances enabled Shakespere to exhibit an accurate knowledge of Greek Mythology,' or 'in what respect the dramatic compositions called 'Mysteries' differ from those called 'Moralties,' and other facts of a like nature? On the other hand, it is of very great importance, that he should see clearly the danger of living with an open sewer running under the lower floor of his house, or the cruelty of marrying his children at an immature age, or the impolicy of exhausting the soil of his fields by the disregard of important principles in chemistry: and it is very important that his mind should comprehend the sublimity and beauty of the laws by which his own body and every thing around him are governed; and that his heart should, if possible, be awakened to the great facts and conclusions of Natural Theology."†

It is admitted that some changes for the better have been made since the above words were written; but much yet remain to be done.

From the earliest stage to the highest, the moral elevation of those under instruction should be kept in view.

Importance of School Books.—It has been remarked, "*Whatever you would put into the life of a nation, put into its schools.*" One of the most effectual modes of accomplishing this is to put it into the *School Books*. They are read by the children when the memory is quick and retentive. Impressions are then produced which remain through life. Dr. Duff says:—

'Give me,' says one, 'the songs of a country, and I will let any one else make the laws of it.' 'Give me,' says another, 'the school books of a country, and I will let any one else make both its songs and its laws!'

* *Infant Marriage*, &c. p. 52.

† Bengal Public Instruction Report, 1856-57, A p. A., pp. 2, 3.

An intelligent teacher, if compelled to use inferior class books, will make up largely for their deficiencies by oral instruction. In India, however, except in a few superior schools, as has been well observed, "the book is every thing, for the master cannot supply what it fails to give."

But even in the case of the best teachers, it is a great advantage to have good text-books. Oral instruction must be limited, and if the pupils can *read* as well as *hear*, the lessons will be doubly impressed upon the mind.

Need of Adaptation.—When Lord Northbrook and Sir George Campbell, intelligent, thoughtful men, visited certain schools in India, few things struck them more forcibly than the want of adaptation in the text-books to the country. Teachers from Scotland introduced the text-books used at home, apparently without considering that books suitable for Christian children in the North Temperate Zone, were not adapted for the use of Hindu children in the Torrid Zone. As well might a farmer sow the same seed on the burning plains of the Carnatic as within sight of the Grampians.

There are three great objections to the use of Home Books in this country :

1. *They are not intellectually adapted to India.*—While lessons on such subjects as the Robin-redbreast, crossing sweepers, &c., are very appropriate for children in Britain, it is manifest that they are not suited to beginners in this country.

The Report of the Education Commission has the following remarks on the use of such books in India :

"Adapted or unadapted, the books that are most suitable, because conveying the most familiar ideas, to English children, are most unsuitable to natives of India. Though often compelled to read about such things, the Indian learner knows nothing of hedge-rows, birds-nesting, hay-making, being naughty, and standing in a corner." p. 346.

Advanced students should be made to understand such allusions, but they are out of place in elementary School books.

But there are more serious objections to their use.

2. *Home Readers are not fitted to counteract the social and moral evils under which India groans.*—The tendency to run into debt, neglect of female education, early marriages, the cruel treatment of widows, caste, &c., are crying evils, not one of which is alluded to in books published in England ; but which can be exposed in books prepared specially for India.

3. *Home Readers are not adapted in a religious point of view.*—

It is true that Government Schools profess to be conducted on the principle of "perfect religious neutrality ;" but this does not apply to Mission and Aided Schools, which are free to give religious instruction.

In some of the largest Mission Schools in India, home "Readers," pure and simple, are used. As a general rule, school books prepared in India are on home models. In the colleges English literature is studied, which necessarily has no direct bearing upon social reform in India. In some cases vernacular books, abominably filthy, have been prescribed for University examinations on account of their literary merits. Occasionally even the English selections have been objected to on moral grounds. The Madras University requires this year as one of its subjects Shakspeare's King John, the first act of which is very unsuitable for study by young men and women. The same complaint was made of one of the Calcutta University selections. The *Epiphany* recommends the preparation of a Moral Text-Book for University Syndicates!

Professor Darmesteter thus condemns the result of the present system :

"How the educational influence of England has proved superficial and has failed to touch the moral fibres is evidenced by the movement all political and no way social, that it has produced."

This language is too strong ; but it contains a large amount of truth. The seed has not been sown, and consequently the fruit is wanting. The education has been largely literary, without reference to the circumstances of Indian students or bearing on their moral character.

Certain social customs may be considered as trenching on religion ; but there are others the evils of which might be pointed out in books for schools of all classes ; *e. g.*, want of thrift, the tendency to run into debt, marriage expenses, &c. There is also no objection to urging one of the most important reforms—female education. This might begin in the Primer by a sentence like, "Girls should go to school as well as boys," and be enlarged upon more and more in subsequent "Readers."

Social reform might occupy a prominent place in the Moral Text-Books which have been proposed for Schools and Colleges.

University Prizes.—Mr. Lee Warner, while condemning Mr. Malabari's proposal with reference to the Universities, made the following suggestion :

"I see no reason why the University should not accept an endowment for founding a prize for the best essay on the subject of Hindu customs, matrimonial and others."*

Wealthy Indians, interested in the cause, could in few ways help on the movement more than by endowments for such a purpose. It would secure the attention of some of the most promising students being turned to the subject for generations to come.

* *Infant Marriage*, §c. p. 60.

Co-operation of Teachers and Professors.—It was the warm interest of professors, like Dr. Reid, which kindled the enthusiasm for female education displayed in 1849 by the students of the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay (See page 21). Similar zeal would greatly help on the movement at present.

Teachers may show their interest in social reform by using school books in which it forms some of the lessons, and by oral teaching. Pupils should be urged to get their sisters to attend school, or, if that is not practicable, to teach them at home. On various points, essays might be written, and they might form topics for discussion.

Mr. Chandavarkar, addressing Bombay students, said that “he looked upon them as the rising hopes of the country, looked up to them more than to any one else for the light and the life of which India stands in great need now, and of which India would stand in all the greater need in the days to come.”

Whether those now under training will become a power for good, depends much upon their teachers and professors. Their pupils will, in some measure, imbibe their spirit.

The Press.—“The Fourth Estate” is a growing power in India. In 1835 there were only six Native Papers in India, and “these in no way political.” Their number now must be nearly 500.

As might be expected, the Indian Press, to a large extent, reflects “Native Public Opinion.” A few journals advocate social reform and express enlightened view. Many confine themselves largely to politics. Professor Darmesteter says :

“The politicians of India are like those of other countries; the supreme object of politics is not reform, but only a place in the budget. ... Now India asks for an Indian parliament, for admission into the higher ranks of the Civil Service, for all such reforms as interest a small clique or a small body of the *élite*, call it by any name you like.”*

Other papers, like “Eminent Hindu Gentlemen” in Calcutta, seek to defend everything national.

The *Subodha Patrika* has the following remarks on such conduct :

“What else there can it be but a false semblance of patriotism which should require of us to throw the veil over every iniquity that may be committed by natives and hold the fiercest light of criticism to the slightest delinquency on the part of European officers of Government? Rather one would think there is a clear duty laid upon all who care for the progress of the people to expose the faults and shortcomings of their countrymen as well as all glaring instances of misconduct that may fall under their observation. In this way alone, is it possible to take any effectual measures against their prevalence. Which then is true patriotism and which is false? 28th Oct. 1888.

* Preface to Letters on India.

The motto from Sir Madhava Row on the title page should be pondered by Indian editors, and their strength should be given to free their country from the "self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and therefore avoidable evils" from which it suffers. Instead of urging the people to "self-help," many papers simply lay the blame of every thing at the door of the British Government.

It is satisfactory that there is, on the whole, an improvement. No journal would now be established, like the *Chandrika*, to support widow-burning. With the diffusion of enlightened views, the press will become one of the most potent instruments for promoting social reform.

The Anglo-Indian papers treat chiefly of politics and material progress; but help is occasionally given to social reform. As a rule, much more might be done to aid the movement.

General Literature.—Besides educational works and the press, a free use should be made of literature in every form; as leaflets, tracts, tales, learned treatises, prose and poetry. Though the influence of books is generally much less than that of the voice, they have the advantage of being able to be multiplied indefinitely. They can reach lonely stations where no lecturer is ever heard; they can penetrate the recesses of the Zenana. They are helpful to other agencies, preserving or deepening impressions which have otherwise been produced.

Much might be done to improve the condition of women by scattering broadcast over the country pithy papers on various points, as has been done in the case of the National Congress. Reformers, with the requisite means, should take up this work.

Lectures.—These may be very useful. The audience generally consists of persons already more or less interested in the subject, and the seed falls, in some measure, on a prepared soil, and may fructify. They are an excellent mode of beginning a movement in any place.

Associations.—"Union is strength." When it is desirable in England to influence public opinion on some important question or to benefit a particular class of the community, one of the first steps taken is to form a society for the purpose. Already several Associations have been formed in India for Widow Marriage, and for Social Reform generally. Their number ought to be multiplied indefinitely. Every town in the country, every large village, should have its organization. If taken up by even one zealous man, he would find persons to join him.

Rules of Associations.—It is an important question whether Societies should confine themselves to one main object or deal with all of a kindred character. Each plan has its advantages and disadvantages. The decision must be determined partly by the circumstances of each place. In a large city it may be possible to

find sufficient reformers to work two or three associations; in small towns one general society may be the best arrangement. The principal objects might be somewhat as follows:

1. The promotion of Female Education by aiding in the establishment of girls' schools and encouraging home teaching.

2. Reform in Marriage Customs; *e. g.*, regulating the age, expenses on betrothal and wedding, dowry, intermarriage between classes closely allied, and the suppression of any objectionable customs.

3. The improvement of the condition of Widows.

4. The discouragement of Nautches and other customs prejudicial to social purity.

5. The promotion of greater friendly intercourse between different classes of the community.

6. The delivery of lectures, the circulation of papers on social reform, petitioning Government, &c.

Arrangements might be made for a monthly lecture or address.

In England petitions to Parliament are one of the chief ways of indicating public opinion. In India the danger is lest Reactionists should get up counter-petitions with a much larger number of signatures.

Mr. Malabari suggests as one object "the curtailment of expenses on foolish customs, particularly caste dinners."

The notions of the people about charity require to be corrected. Much of the money given in this way goes simply to the encouragement of idleness and vice.

Pledges.—In several Hindu Societies which have been formed members gave pledges not to marry their daughters under a certain age; but it was generally found that when the time came for them to be carried into practical effect, they were broken. The Hon. K. T. Telang says:

"A 'pledge' would probably succeed in driving away people from the association rather than in attracting them to it. The object of the association should be, I think, to familiarize the people with the evils of the prevailing system, and to help anybody, be he a member or not, who is ready and willing to break through the system himself. If the members themselves break through it, well and good; the success of the association will be greater, more rapid, and more complete than in the other alternative. But I don't think the success should be imperilled in advance, as it will be if a 'pledge' is insisted on, which by the hypothesis we are not prepared practically to redeem. I must add, too, that I have not much faith in the operative character of pledges of this sort."*

Ladies' Associations.—In England and America ladies are some of the most energetic workers of Societies. A small beginning has

* *Infant Marriage, &c*

also been made in India. The Brahmos of Calcutta have Ladies' Associations. Mr. S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, M.A., B.L., suggests that the work of female education should be "intrusted to Committees consisting solely of European and Native ladies." He adds :

"But as a *sine qua non* for the Hindu ladies taking any interest in the work of these committees, the discussion should take place in the vernaculars. Arrangements should also be made for the inspection of schools under their management by those committees from time to time. I confess that Hindu ladies will not be of any great service in the beginning in carrying on the real work of the committees, but I have no hesitation in saying that what is wanting in this direction will not only soon be made up, but from the beginning the gains in other directions will be immense, and women taking an interest in the work will be of incalculable service in spreading female education in Southern India."*

The *Bangalore Spectator* shows what may be done ever by one person.

"We are glad to hear that the Home organization for the Education of Hindu ladies is working satisfactorily. This evening all the lady pupils will assemble at Rugby Hall, the residence of the Hon. Justice T. R. A. Thumboo Chettiyar at the invitation of Mrs. Thumboo Chettygaru. The educated and enlightened Native ladies of Mrs. Thumboo Chettygaru's position and social standing must take the lead in encouraging female education in this country. Mrs. Thumboo Chettygaru deserves great praise for the worthy example she has set in bringing together her educated sisters to meet several European ladies at her residence, so that they may be mutually benefited by appreciating the value and usefulness of education."

Personal Example.—It is a very old maxim, that "Example is better than precept." Homer said more than 2000 years ago, "Nor be thou a mere talker of words, but a doer of actions." The Bengalis have a proverb "In words mountain-like; in deeds mustard-seed-like." Mr. P. C. Mozumdar said in Calcutta : "Now, when our women are in this condition to go and utter orations and then rest in peace under a soothing sense of self-complaisance must bespeak much equanimity of mind and conscience; but whether it bespeaks sufficient manliness is quite another question." Dr. Miller gave the following advice to the young men of Madras : "The educated Hindus should not forget that fine discussions and elegant speeches, and long orating, would not help them a bit towards removing the great evils of enforced widowhood and infant marriage. There must be action and self-denial."

The following are gradual stages of individual action :

1. *Refusing to join in "boycottiny" reformers.*—It is to be regretted that there are educated Hindus who have not yet reached

* *Indian Magazine*, 1888, p. 484.

even this low mark of progress. Mr. H. J. S. Cotton says of some in Bengal with regard to caste :

"Nevertheless the institution is as powerful among those who disregard many of its rules as it was with their fathers who rigidly observed them all. They find it as hard to bear excommunication themselves, and are as disposed to inflict that punishment upon wrongdoers of their community, as was the case with their ancestors in the past."*

2. *By countenancing reformers.*—This may be done in various ways: by joining associations, attending meetings, contributing towards the expense of reform movements, presence at widow marriages, friendly intercourse with reformers, &c.

3. *By refusing to attend infant marriages, nautch parties, &c.*—The Hon. K. T. Telang says :

"One practical mode in which it will be in the power of all of them to do so is to decline to attend any of the *tamashas* which are taking place so frequently in Bombay, and on occasions in the mofussil also, 'in honour of' the weddings of little children. This will be one practical method of discountenancing the present mischievous system. And its effects will not, I am persuaded, be quite insignificant."†

Mr. Telang referred specially to officers of Government; but the duty applies to all. If Europeans in high position set the example, the influence would be considerable.

4. *By the following measures in his own family :*

1. Securing education for all its female members, and providing them with wholesome literature.

2. Gradually allowing women to mix in society.

3. Postponing the marriage of his daughters till they are of mature age.

4. Curtailing marriage expenses, refusing to employ nautch girls, and forbidding the use of obscene language or any other objectionable customs.

5. Treating widows with kindness, as suggested at pages 130-135.

One great cause of the poverty of India is the immense sums spent on ornaments instead of employing them usefully. Women should be taught that the best adorning is not gold or pearls or costly array, but good works.

Educated men are doubly bound to carry out reform. When an orthodox Hindu marries his infant daughter, he supposes that he is obeying a religious command. When an educated man does so, he is violating his conscience, and strengthening a pernicious custom simply to please the ignorant multitude.

* *New India*, p. 142.

† *Infant Marriage*, &c. p. 54.

THE CAUSE OF INDIA'S DEGRADATION AND THE MOTIVE
POWER TO RAISE HER.

As already remarked, the greatest degradation is to be unconscious of its existence. The Hon. P. Chentsal Rao thus describes the state of things :

"It is a fact that the system of infant marriages and enforced widowhood has gained a firm footing in this country, and the generality of us have nearly lost all feeling in the matter. The so-called orthodox portion of the community and the uneducated classes under their influence have not only lost all feeling in the matter, but their hearts are so much hardened that they even persecute those that endeavour to relieve them."*

He says also :

"I confess it has always been a puzzle to me how a system so inhuman and so cruel, has found existence in a country remarkable for its charities, and among a class of men who have cultivated their feelings of kindness to such a nicety that they dread to kill an ant or cut open an egg !"

The *Kaiser-i-Hind* urged charitable Hindu citizens, who raised a cry for mercy to criminals and to the sacred cow during the Jubilee holidays, to have mercy on their *gherni gie*, that is 'the cows at home' (widowed sisters and daughters) before invoking mercy on others. The *Indian Spectator* adds :

"The Hindus ought to be the most charitable race on earth, and their charity extends to the lowest creature crawling thereon. But custom has sadly perverted their instincts. In the most cherished relations of life they stick only to the form, regardless of the spirit. They are tenderly mindful of disabled horses, bullocks, dogs, monkeys, &c., and have regular institutions for their relief. But for the captives at home, disabled for life, they have little mercy. In his heart of hearts the ignorant Hindu believes a widow to be a criminal whom it is a sin to succour or to countenance." 27th Feb. 1887.

Still worse evils than infant marriage and enforced widowhood existed in India. Hindu mothers threw their first-born into the Ganges to be devoured by crocodiles; sons roasted their mothers alive when widowed, as an act of the greatest merit !

Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara says :

"Custom is the supreme ruler in this country; Custom is the supreme instructor; The rule of Custom is the paramount rule; The precept of Custom is the paramount precept."

"Where *men* are void of pity and compassion, of a perception of right and wrong, of good and evil, and where *men* consider the observance

* *Indian Magazine*, 1886, pp. 430, 431.

of mere forms as the highest of duties and the greatest of virtues, in such a country would that women were never born."

Rao Bahadur G. H. Deshmukh remarks :

"The masses still grope in darkness. They are bound to these customs and the foolish teachings of their priests. It must not be forgotten that priests derive a very large benefit from perpetual widowhood. A widow thinks that her misfortunes arise from her not having attended to religious duties in former lives, and therefore she must devote her time and wealth to pilgrimages and so on. The wealth of most widows is devoured by priests. It is the widows, rich and poor, that maintain the priesthood in luxury."*

To show the evils of the present system has little influence with the orthodox. The Hon. M. G. Ranade says :

"Mere considerations of expediency or economical calculations of gains or losses can never move a community to undertake and carry through social reforms, especially with a community like ours, so spell-bound by custom and authority. Our people feel, and feel earnestly, that some of our social customs are fraught with evil ; but as this evil is of a temporal character, they think that it does not justify a breach of commands divine, for such breach involves a higher penalty. The truth is, the orthodox society has lost its power of life, it can initiate no reform nor sympathise with it."†

The people have been taught by their spiritual guides to "call evil good, and good evil ; to put darkness for light and light for darkness." Hinduism is at the root of India's degradation. It is this which is responsible for early marriage and enforced widowhood. It is this which has sought to keep women and the bulk of the population in ignorance, which has split up the people into countless sections, which, in the name of religion, doomed women to a life of infamy, which kindled the *sati* fire. These are all but some fruits of the Upas tree which has, for untold ages, been the curse of India. It is not sufficient to lop off branches ; the root must be removed.

Mere education will not remedy the evils. Graduates and undergraduates are now counted by tens of thousands, but last year Principal Wordsworth alluded to the "learned and venerable Dewan of Indore" as "fighting almost single-handed his strenuous battle against cruel custom and perverted erudition."

The Hon. P. Chentsal Rao thus states the general feeling in Madras :

"Those that have been benefited by Western Education are either apathetic or timid. They have yet attained only the stage of agreeing in theory, but not in practice. Education has opened their eyes, but not equally so their hearts. I am, however, glad to say that they do not

* *Infant Marriage*, §c. p. 31.

† *Infant Marriage*, §c. p. 15.

join the crusade against the reformers, although they do not give them any practical help. When I say this, I refer only to the general state of things; for I must admit that there are some educated men who give us their active co-operation, while again, on the other hand, there are others who, notwithstanding their high education and University degrees, have joined the opposition, and thrown all obstacles in their power in the way of reform.”*

With many so-called educated men, self-sacrifice is “all moonshine.”

Mr. Ranade expresses the following opinion :

“Our deliberate conviction has grown upon us with every effort that it is only a religious revival that can furnish sufficient moral strength to work out the complex social problems which demand our attention... Only a religious revival, a revival not of forms, but of sincere earnestness which constitutes true religion, can effect the desired end.”

It is a “renovated heart which alone furnishes the necessary stimulus” to reformers.

When Christianity was first made known in Europe, the state of society, even in the most civilised nations, was most corrupt. Adultery was a *fashionable* crime. The power of divorce was extended to the wife, and was used so freely that Seneca, Nero’s tutor, wrote : “What woman need now blush at being divorced, when there are high-born ladies who count their years by their husbands.” A single temple to the goddess Venus had a thousand prostitutes for its priestesses.

Even at such a time Christianity had a most elevating influence. The late Dr. Kay, formerly of Calcutta, says :

“Woman was at once re-instated in her original position as the ‘help-mate’ of man;—no longer his slave or plaything, but his counsellor and friend. Her natural meekness and tenderness, which had so often made her the easy prey of tyranny or sensuality were now seen acting in noble combination with firmness and energy. She was now found exhibiting an earnest appreciation of the loftiest spiritual truth, and supporting by her generous sympathy and devoted piety those who had to bear the brunt of that fierce contest with evil, which was the commencement of the world’s regeneration.”

The conduct of some of them extorted from the heathen orator Libanius the exclamation : “O gods of Greece, what women there are among these Christians !”

Dr. Kay thus refers to the influence of Christianity as an evidence of its divine origin :

“Let us think only of what meets the eye on the most superficial survey of the world; of such facts as these :—that polygamy has pre-

* *Indian Magazine*, 1886. p. 431.

vailed over almost the whole expanse of Asia ; that throughout the vast empire of China and in the greater part of India, female children are betrothed in infancy ; that in almost every pagan race, ancient or modern, females are given away in marriage without their own consent ; that in many they are bought and sold in the market ; that divorce can in most cases be had on easy terms ; that not only the Brahman of India, but the Polynesian savage, and even the Negro slave of the West Indies, would feel themselves degraded, if they allowed their wives to eat with them ; that intellectual culture, when apart from the sanctifying influences of Christianity, has nowhere checked,—has rather precipitated,—the derangement of the relation of the sexes to each other ;—let these facts be duly weighed, and then let us turn to witness the purifying and ennobling operation of Christianity on the character of woman, raising her,—I will not say, to a position of equality with man, but to the consciousness of her own proper work as his counsellor, fellow-worker and comforter ; and who will not admit the supernatural origin of a religion which alone has provided means (at once so simple and so profoundly efficacious) for subduing ‘the corruption that is in the world through lust ?’ ”

“This tender reverence for woman,” says another writer, “is no mere product of culture and civilisation, for it was unknown to Greece and Rome in the zenith of their refinement ;....it is the reflection on earth of that self-devoting love which brought the Son of God down from heaven ; it is an echo of those accents which, on the hills of Galilee and in the streets of Jerusalem, ever drew to the Saviour’s side those who needed His love the most.”

When the women of India accept God’s offered mercy through Jesus Christ, when their hearts are purified by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, then will they be raised to their true position, becoming “ministering angels” to all around them, and encouraging every good and noble aspiration. The same course would also raise up among the men the most earnest, persevering and successful reformers.

The humbling confession must be made that many who are called Christians are such only in name, and simply bring disgrace on the religion they profess ; but, taken as a whole, the elevating influence of Christianity is apparent. “That power, which not only transformed the Northmen, and Teutons, and Huns, but renovated the disorganized society of the old Greek-Roman world, will alone enable India to rise and claim her place among the nations of the redeemed.”

Dr. Kay concludes with an appeal to Christian women in India which, in spirit, may be applied to all :

“Into what particular channels you would do well to direct your efforts, is not for me to say :—your own minds following the guidance of Providence, will tell you better than I can, *if only you are earnest in*

wishing to do good. All I would urge on you is:—Remember that you have in this land above fifty millions of sisters, *capable* of acquiring all the virtues that adorn the female character, but now held down in ignorance, and moral foulness, and superstition. Remember this, and, by God's grace, you may so pass the time of your sojourning here, that, whatever else you do or leave undone, at least, your prayers,—your alms,—your faith,—your charitable holy religious lives,—shall ascend as a memorial before God, and shall draw down His blessing on India, until this spiritual wilderness 'rejoice and blossom as the rose.' '*

**The Influence of Christianity on the Position and Character of Woman.*

PUBLICATIONS FOR INDIAN READERS.

PROGRESS.

This is a Monthly Illustrated Periodical for the educated classes in India and Ceylon. It contains articles on some of the great questions of the day; biographies of eminent men and women; descriptions of remarkable places; entertaining narratives; with a summary of news, literary, scientific, political and general. Each issue contains some illustrative pictures.

One feature is a page for students, giving Examination papers from the three chief Indian Universities, extracts from Convocation Addresses, and other suitable matter.

The Periodical is especially recommended to TEACHERS. It would give new ideas to their pupils, while the page for students would be very useful to those preparing for examinations.

The subscription is only 8 As. a year; with postage 14 As. Three copies may be sent for $\frac{1}{2}$ anna postage.

A specimen copy will be forwarded to any address on sending a half anna stamp to Mr. A. T. SCOTT, Tract Depôt, MADRAS.

INDIA AND ENGLAND.

ENGLAND'S WORK IN INDIA. 142 pp. 3 As. Post-free, 4 As.

By SIR W. W. HUNTER. A graphic sketch is given of India Past and Present; the causes of Poverty and the means of improving the temporal condition of the people are pointed out.

PICTORIAL TOUR ROUND INDIA. Royal Quarto 66 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ As.

An imaginary tour round India, with visits to Nepal and Cashmere, describing the principal cities and other objects of interest. A coloured engraving is given of the Queen-Empress, with 78 woodcuts illustrative of the Himalayas, Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Bombay, Madras, Trichinopoly, Madurai, &c. Remarks are added on India Past and Present; Alleged and True Causes of Indian Poverty—Supposed or Real; Twelve available means for promoting the Wealth of the Country, etc.

PICTORIAL TOUR ROUND ENGLAND. Royal Quarto. 56 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ As.

Description of the chief places of interest; Public Schools and Universities; English Agriculture and Manufactures; the British Government; Home Life; England an example and warning to India. With 104 woodcuts.

HEALTH.

THE WAY TO HEALTH, A SANITARY PRIMER. 64 pp. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ As. Post-free, 2 As.

A simple work on the subject for schools. Intended to meet the Government Elementary Standard under this head.

CHILD BIRTH: FOR INDIAN PARENTS. 36 pp. 1 Anna. Post-free, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ As.

How to have safe delivery, and strong, healthy children.

MY CHILDREN: THEIR HEALTH. 12mo. 106 pp. 2 As. Post-free, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ As.

Management of Infancy; Health; the Diseases of Children, Accidents; short notices of the most useful Medicines.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INDIAN STUDENT'S MANUAL. 12mo. 352 pp. 8 As. Post-free, 9 As.

Hints on Studies, Examinations, Moral Conduct, Religious Duties, and Success in Life.

TRAVELLING BY LAND, ON SEA, AND THROUGH THE AIR. 4to. 18 pp. 1½ As.

Various modes of travelling in different parts of the world, with numerous illustrative woodcuts.

PICTURE FABLES. 16mo. 64 pp. 1 Anna.

Interesting fables, with numerous illustrations.

THE GODS OF THE NATIONS AND THEIR WORSHIP. 4to. 40 pp. 1½ As.

The Worship of the Heavenly Bodies, the Elements, Plants, Animals; Ancestral and Demon Worship; the four principal Religions of the world; with 38 woodcuts.

STORIES FROM EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY. 4to. 28 pp. 1½ As.

State of the world at the beginning of the Christian era; how the Gospel was first brought to Europe; persecutions of the Roman Emperors; accounts of Martyrs; Constantine the first Christian Emperor; with several illustrations.

STORIES FROM EARLY BRITISH HISTORY. 4to. 40 pp. 1½ As.

An account of the progress of Civilization in early Britain, and how the people became Christians.

ILLUSTRATED STORIES FROM HISTORY. 4to. 40 pp. 1½ As.

Interesting Stories from the history of different countries, with a number of pictures.

SHORT PAPERS FOR SEEKERS AFTER TRUTH. 12mo. 112 pp. 1 Anna.

A guide to Religious Inquirers, treating of the Existence of God, Sin, the Need of a Revelation, the leading Doctrines of Christianity, and the Object of Life.

SHORT PAPERS FOR YOUNG MEN. 12mo. 104 pp. 1 Anna.

A Sequel to the foregoing. Hints on General Conduct, the Choice of a Profession, and Success in Life.

LETTERS TO INDIAN YOUTH ON THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY. 12mo. 207 pp. 6 As. Post-free, 7 As.

By the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell. External and Internal Evidences of Christianity; Examination of Popular Hinduism, Vedantism and Muhammadanism.

ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH. 12mo. 67 pp. 1½ As.

By the same author as the preceding.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. 12mo. 48 pp. 1 Anna.

An account of the heavenly bodies, with numerous pictures. The falsity of the pretended science of the Astrology is pointed out, and its evil effects are shown.

The Anna Library.

PICTURES AND STORIES OF WILD BEASTS. 46 pp. 1 Anna.

An account of lions, tigers, bears, &c., with anecdotes.

PICTURE STORIES FROM ENGLISH HISTORY. 46 pp. 1 Anna.

Stories from Canute to the time of Henry VIII.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

CASTE:

ITS SUPPOSED ORIGIN; ITS HISTORY; ITS EFFECTS; THE DUTY OF GOVERNMENT,
HINDUS, AND CHRISTIANS WITH RESPECT TO IT; AND ITS PROSPECTS.

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!"

Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I.

"One of the constant duties of a loyal citizen will be to help to bring back the golden day of the Krita Yuga, by breaking down the walls of partition that sever brothers from brothers."

Rev. E. P. Rice, D. A.

M A D R A S:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY.

1st. Ed.]

1887.

13,000.

PREFATORY NOTE.

Caste has been well described as "the most intolerant and exacting taskmaster that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man." It is a pleasing sign of progress that its evils are beginning to be felt, and that some intelligent Indians are seeking to deliver their country from its bondage. The present pamphlet is intended to aid these reformers in their noble design. Many have not access to Public Libraries, and it is expensive to purchase all the books that require to be examined. The compiler has sought to bring together, within moderate compass, the opinions of some of the best Oriental scholars, Indian and European, bearing on the subject. The following are the works which have chiefly been consulted :—

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

Banerjea, Rev. Dr. Krishna Mohun, Essay on Caste.

Barth. Religions of India.

Bhattacharyya, K. K., Tagore Law Lectures.

Bower, Rev. Dr. H. Prize Essay on Hindu Caste.

Cotton, H. J. S., New India.

Dubois, Manners and Customs of the People of India.

Duff, Rev. Dr., The Indian Rebellion.

Hunter, Sir W. W., India.

Madras Census Reports for 1871 and 1881.

Manu's Ordinances, translated, by Burnell.

Mitchell, Rev. Dr. Murray, Hinduism Past and Present.

Muir, Dr. John, Sanskrit Texts.

Müller, Professor Max, Works,

Sherring, Rev. M. A., Hindu Tribes and Castes.

Siromani, J. S., Commentary on Hindu Law.

Wilkins, W. J., Modern Hinduism.

Williams, Sir Monier, Religious Thought and Life in India.

Wilson, Rev. Dr., Indian Caste.

Some of the leading Native newspapers have also furnished materials.

National vanity and false patriotism may be unwilling to listen to anything from a foreigner. Some Indian critics, instead of directing attention to the subject, may simply follow the well-known legal advice, "Abuse plaintiff's attorney." On the other hand, the Romans, the greatest conquerors of antiquity, held the maxim, *Pas est ab hoste doceri*, It is allowable to learn even from an enemy. But the compiler expects more generous treatment from others.

If a darker view has been taken of caste than is usually entertained, it is substantially that expressed by some of the ablest men who have studied the subject. Readers, however, should use their own judgment, and draw their own conclusions.

MADRAS, September, 1887.

J. MURDOCH.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| HINDU ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CASTES | 4 |
| TRUE ORIGIN OF CASTE | 8 |
| THE LAWS OF CASTE ACCORDING TO MANU | 16 |
| BUDDHIST OPPOSITION TO CASTE | 19 |
| CASTE REVIVAL | 19 |
| EFFECTS OF CASTE | 21 |
| OPINIONS OF CASTE | 35 |
| DUTY WITH REGARD TO CASTE : | |
| I. DUTY OF GOVERNMENT | 38 |
| II. DUTY OF HINDUS | 44 |
| III. DUTY OF CHRISTIANS | 51 |
| PROSPECTS OF CASTE | 51 |

CASTE.

INTRODUCTION.

The English word *Caste* is probably derived from the Portuguese *Casta*, race. It is especially used by Europeans to denote the different classes into which the Hindus are divided. *Varna*, colour, and *Jāti*, race, are Indian names. *Chātūrvarna*, the country of the four colours, is an ancient distinguishing epithet of India. To the present day, caste is regarded by other nations of the earth as the characteristic feature of the Hindus. In the earlier ages of society the system prevailed extensively throughout the world; but in course of time it was abandoned in all countries except India and Ceylon.

Among no other nation was it ever observed with such strictness or enforced by such severe penalties as among the Hindus. From birth to the funeral pile, it directs every movement. The Hindu, by day and night, at home or abroad, in waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, in all the customs of the society in which he moves and in the events determining his entire life, is always under its pervading and overmastering influence.*

Mr. Wilkins, in his *Modern Hinduism*, makes the following quotation from Dr. Wilson:—

“To give some idea of the minute regulations of this system of caste, and how its laws are framed to regulate the life of its slaves, it may be mentioned that it has for infancy, pupillage, and manhood its ordained methods of sucking, sipping, drinking, and eating; of washing, anointing; of clothing and ornamenting the body; of sitting, rising, reclining; of moving, visiting, travelling; of speaking, reading, listening, and reciting; and of meditating, singing, working and fighting. It has its laws for social and religious rites, privileges and occupations; for education, duty, religious service; for errors, sins, transgressions; for intercommunion, avoidance and excommunication; for defilement and purification; for fines and other punishments. It unfolds the ways of committing what it calls sins, accumulating sin, and putting away sin; of acquiring, dispensing and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession, dispossession of property; and of bargains, gains, loss, and ruin. It deals with death, burial and burning; and with commemoration, assistance and injury after death. It interferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows, or what is supposed to proceed and follow life. It reigns supreme in

* Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*.

the innumerable classes and divisions of the Hindus, whether they originate in family descent, in religious opinions, in civil or sacred occupations, or in local residence; and it professes to regulate all their interests, affairs and relationships. Caste is the guiding principle of each of the classes and divisions of the Hindus viewed in their distinct and associated capacity." pp. 125-6.

"That the thoughtful and educated of men of India," says Mr. Sherring, "should patiently endure its tyranny—a tyranny the most relentless, and at the same time the most senile and unreasonable ever exercised by the human mind in its greatest corruption—is a phenomenon unparalleled in the history of our race." Even the lowest and most degraded of the people, who are spurned from the temples, are some of them as great sticklers for caste as the highest.

Among the Hindu population in Ceylon, caste is much the same as in India. In a modified form it exists, more or less, among the Sinhalese. Most of the Sinhalese have a very mongrel religion. Demon worship was at first the only superstition, and it still exerts the strongest hold upon them. Buddhism was afterwards introduced; but, though condemned by it, demon worship retained its power. The worship of the Hindu gods and the caste system were introduced from India. The Sinhalese mingle the three. Some of them seek to add a little from Christianity. Only a comparatively small number are sufficiently enlightened to adhere to one religion.

Hindu Caste Peculiar.—It is often alleged that caste distinctions are similar to the civil and social distinctions of European and other nations; but there is an essential difference. Recently it was thus explained by Mr. G. N. Chandavarkar, the Bombay delegate to England:—

"I have heard the question asked by the apologists of caste—'Does not caste exist in England too? Will a lord, generally speaking, not think it degrading to marry a farmer's daughter?' I reply that caste in the form and under the circumstance in which it exists in India does not exist anywhere else. An English lord may, generally speaking, think it degrading to marry a farmer's daughter, but a farmer in England can hope to be a lord himself. What Cardinal Newman says of Christians is true of the English: 'They never pronounce of any one, now external to them, that he will not some day be among them.' In India, on the other hand, a Brahman is a Brahman and a Sudra is a Sudra; the latter can never hope to rise to the level of the former. There is consequently not that bond of 'good fellowship' between the two, and caste has encouraged in India the growth of the principle of what Cardinal Newman calls 'repulsion between man and man.'"

Indian caste is derived from *birth* alone. It cannot be transferred from one class to another; it cannot be gained as a reward for the highest merit or bestowed as an honorary title by the most

powerful monarch.* As well might an ass be changed into a horse. The Queen of England can raise any of her subjects to the peerage, but she cannot alter the caste of a Hindu. The highest nobleman in England may enter the cottage of the humblest person in England, and sit with him at table ; not so in India.

At the same time, it must be allowed that in England there is far too much pride of rank and wealth. Mr. Justice Talfourd, in some of his last words, lamented "that separation between class and class which is the great curse of British society, and for which we are all, more or less, in our respective spheres, in some degree responsible."

Investigation of Caste.—In former times it was considered sufficient to follow the custom. This led to a stationary condition of society. The present is an age of inquiry. The question regarding every institution is, not whether it is *old*, but whether it is *good*?

Most Indians have very erroneous ideas of the "ancients." They look upon those who lived thousands of years ago as very old and very wise ; while the present generation are compared to children. The very contrary is the case. *We are the ancients.* The world is now older by thousands of years ; those who lived long ago are like the children. We ought also to be the wiser.

It is granted that institutions and customs, especially those of long standing, should not be condemned or changed without careful consideration and sufficient reasons. The object of the present Paper is to seek to lead Hindus to make this inquiry. When books were comparatively few, existing only in manuscript or shrouded in Sanskrit, any examination of the question was very difficult. Now the principal works bearing on the subject have been printed, and several of them translated into English. Any intelligent person having access to them is able to form his own opinion.

An all-devouring credulity is an attribute of the uneducated Hindu or even one of the Pundit class. The greatest self-contradictions, the wildest tales, do not awaken his common sense. The following remarks are intended only for men trained to weigh evidence and to reason logically. As a rule, authorities are quoted, and, where practicable, the opinions of eminent scholars are given on each point.

* The Brahmins have devised a way for the Maharaja of Travancore. He is made a twice-born by passing through a golden cow or lotus. The cow is of the same weight as himself, and is afterwards cut into pieces and distributed among the Brahmins. Probably the same plan would be efficacious in other cases, if people were willing to bear the expense. The Maharaja afterwards cannot eat with the members of his own family ; but he is admitted to the high privilege of seeing the Brahmins enjoying their meals, and of eating in their presence.

Criticism.—It is not enough to pooh-pooch statements as simply those of an Englishman. The *Lahore Tribune* accused the writer of ignorance, because he spoke of an unknown *Krita Yuga*, instead of the *Satya Yuga*. The *Calcutta Liberal* thought it had caught the writer tripping, even with regard to the literature of his own language, in ascribing the words

“How small of all that human hearts endure,” &c.

to Johnson instead of Goldsmith. The fact is that six lines of *The Traveller*, beginning with the above, were written by Johnson.

The *Lahore Arya Patrika* says that the writer “seldom reasons logically;” so it teaches him by a syllogism of its own. “We also close our remarks on the book called *India’s Needs* with the advice, that God does not want conversion of men to Christianity; for, if He would, He could have created all men Christian.” (Oct. 19, 1886.) On the same principle God does not want the conversion of men to the *Arya Samaj*; for if He would, He could have created all men such! So with every other religion. The writer once recommended a Hindu parent to send a child to a school. The reply was that God gave every one at birth sufficient knowledge, and that education was not necessary. The reasoning of the *Arya Patrika* is equally profound.

Readers should judge for themselves. Critics may be mistaken as well as authors.

HINDU ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CASTES.

The common belief among the Hindus is that the Brahmins proceeded from the mouth of Brahma; the Kshatriyas from his arms; the Vaishyas from his thighs; and the Sudras from his feet.

Dr. John Muir, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, devoted great attention to an examination of the Hindu books with regard to the origin of caste. The results are contained in a volume of 532 octavo pages.* Numerous extracts are given in the original Sanskrit, with English translations, of passages bearing on the subject. Only a very few of the principal can be quoted; but the general conclusions at which Dr. Muir arrived will be given.

The learned Dr. Wilson of Bombay published a work on Caste in two volumes. Mr. Sherring, of Benares, gave, in three quarto volumes, detailed accounts of the Indian castes. The Census Reports also contain more or less information on the subject.

Rig-Veda.—The oldest known passage which makes mention of the fourfold origin of the Hindu race is the 90th hymn of the 10th Book, called *Purusha Sukta*, or the hymn to *Purusha*.

* *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Volume I. *Mythical and Legendary Accounts of the Origin of Caste*, with an Enquiry into its Existence in the Vedic Age. Trübner.

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. 6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass, with him the gods, the Sadhyas, and the rishis sacrificed. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What arms (had he)? What (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brahman was his mouth; the Rajanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs; the Sudra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vayu from his breath. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters; in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds."

Oriental scholars are agreed that the Vedic hymns were composed at dates widely apart from each other. The general opinion is that the Purusha Sukta is one of the latest, belonging to the Brahmana period.

Satapatha Brahmana.—Works of this class, though later, are considered of equal authority with the Vedas. The Satapatha Brahmana gives the following account of the origin of the castes:—

"(Uttering) 'bhuh,' Prajapati generated this earth, (uttering) 'bhuvah,' he generated the air, and (uttering) 'svah,' he generated the sky. Saying 'bhuh,' Prajapati generated the Brahman; (saying) 'bhuvah' he generated the Kshattria; (and saying) 'svah,' he generated the Vis." II. 1, 4.

Taittiriya Brahmana.—This treatise gives another account:—

"This entire (universe) has been created by Brahma. Men say that the Vaisya class was produced from the Rig Veda. They say that the Yajur Veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sama Veda is the source from which the Brahmans sprang." III. 12. 9.

The same Brahmana states elsewhere:—

"The Brahman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sudra from the Asuras." I. 2, 6, 7.

Manu.—After describing how Brahma, the parent of all worlds, was born in a golden egg, he says:—

"31. That the world might be peopled, he caused the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet." Book I.

In the next verse Manu gives a different account:—

"32. Having divided his own body into two, he became a male by half, by half a female: on her that Lord begat Viraj."

"33. But O best of twice-born men! know that I am he, the creator of all this world, whom that male Viraj, having practised austerity, spontaneously produced." Book. I.

Mahabharata.—In this voluminous work different accounts of the origin of caste may be expected. In the Santi-parva, Bhṛigu makes the following statement :—

“There is no difference of castes : this world, having been at first created by Brahma entirely Brahmanic, became (afterwards) separated into castes in consequence of works. Those twice-born men who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to violence, who had forsaken their duty and were red-limbed, fell into the condition of Kshatriyas. Those twice-born who derived their livelihood from kine, who were yellow, who subsisted by agriculture and who neglected to practise their duties, entered into the state of Vaisyas. Those twice-born who were addicted to mischief and falsehood, who were covetous, who lived by all kinds of work, who were black and had fallen from purity, sank into the condition of Sudras. Being separated from each other by these works, the Brahmans became divided into different castes.”

In the same Santi-parva the creation of the four castes is ascribed to Krishna.

“Then, again, the great Krishna created a hundred Brahmans, the most excellent, from his mouth, a hundred Kshatriyas from his arms, a hundred Vaisyas from his thighs, and a hundred Sudras from his feet.”

Bhagavad Gita.—Chapter IV. contains the following :—

“The Deity said, ‘The fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the apportionment of qualities and duties.’”

These duties are described in Chapter XVIII.

Vishnu Purana.—In the 6th Section of Book I, Parasara professes to tell how Brahma formed the human race :—

“3. When true to his design, Brahma became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) prevailed sprang from his mouth ; (4) others in whom passion (*rajas*) predominated came from his breast ; others in whom both passion and darkness (*tamās*) were strong, proceeded from his thighs ; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs and feet.”

Vayu Purana.—The 8th Chapter states that in the Krita Age there was only one caste :—

“62. There were then no distinctions of castes or orders and no mixture of castes. Men acted towards each other without any feeling of love or hatred. 63. In the Krita age they were born alike in form and duration of life, without any distinction of lower and higher.”

Bhagavata Purana.—The Second Book accepts the usual account of the origin of the castes. The Ninth Book declares that in the Krita age there was only one caste :—

“There was formerly only one Veda, only one god, Narayana, one Agni and one Caste. From Pururavas came the triple Veda in the beginning of the Treta.”

Dr. Muir's Conclusions.—After examining many other passages, the results arrived at are briefly the following :—

It is abundantly evident that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes ; but, on the contrary, present the greatest varieties of speculation on this subject. Explanations mystical, mythical, and rationalistic, are all offered in turn ; and the freest scope is given by the individual writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture.

The most common story is that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Purusha, or Bramha. The oldest extant passage in which this idea occurs is found in the Purusha Sukta ; but it is doubtful whether, in the form in which it is there presented, this representation is anything more than an allegory. In Manu and the Puranas, the mystical import of the Vedic text disappears, and the figurative narration is hardened into a literal statement of fact.

In other passages when a separate origin is assigned to the castes, they are variously said to have sprung from the words *bhuh*, *bhuvah*, *syah* ; from different Vedas ; from different sets of prayers ; from the gods and the Asuras ; from nonentity, from the imperishable, the perishable, and other principles.

In the Vishnu, Vayu and Markandeya Puranas, where castes are described as coeval with the creation, we are allowed to infer that during the Krita age the condition of the whole race was one of uniform happiness ; while the actual separation into castes did not take place, according to the Vayu Purana, until men had become deteriorated in the Treta age.

In one passage men are said to be the offspring of Vivasvat ; in another his son Manu is said to be their progenitor ; whilst in a third they are said to be descended from a female of the same name. The passage which declares Manu to have been father of the human race, explicitly affirms that men of all the four castes were descended from him. In another remarkable text the Mahabharata asserts that originally there was no distinction of classes, the existing distribution having arisen out of differences of character and occupation. Similarly, the Bhagavata Purana in one place informs us that in the Krita age there was but one caste.

The very different opinions with regard to the origin of caste are an illustration of the remark in the Mahabharata :

“Contradictory are the Vedas ; contradictory are the Shastras ; contradictory all the doctrines of the holy sages.”

When witnesses in a court of justice give conflicting evidence, discredit is thrown upon all their testimony. Writings cannot be infallible which involve self-contradictions. One would think that no man in his senses would accept the account of creation in the Purusha Sukta as literally true. The old Hindu writers framed

their geography and astronomy out of their own heads, and it was much the same with their accounts of the origin of caste. Each one followed his own fancy. However monstrous the fiction, it did not matter. There is a nursery rhyme in England about the cow jumping over the moon. Very young children accept this as true, and most Hindus are just as credulous.

TRUE ORIGIN OF CASTE.

The second volume of Dr. Muir's *Origin* by numerous quotations, that the Aryan Hindus are of "Trans-Himalayan Origin and akin to the Western Branches of the Indo-European Race." This is fully admitted by Indian scholars. Professor Bhandarkar said at Bombay :

"Europeans have successfully traced the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, and shown that the Aryans of India, composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vais'ya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe except the Turks, the Hungarians and the Fins."

Professor Max Müller, in his *Chips from a German Workshop*, has an admirable review of Dr. Muir's work. The following remarks are chiefly abridged from these two writers.

Caste arose from two chief causes : 1 Difference of Race. 2. Difference of Employment. Locality is a third element of minor importance, which will be noticed under the second head.

1. DIFFERENCE OF RACE.

The ordinary names for caste prove this. *Jati* means race ; *varna*, colour, arising from difference of race.

In the Vedas there are only two castes,—the *Aryas* and the *Dasyus*. A short account will be given of each.

Aryas.—This word, meaning noble, probably comes from *ar*, to plough,—the nations following agriculture being more civilised than the wandering races.

At a very early period a tribe speaking a language not yet Sanskrit or Greek, or German, settled in the highlands of Central Asia. As they multiplied, more land was needed for cultivation, fresh pastures for their cattle. In search of these, bands went off at different times. The main stream flowed towards the north-west. The earliest to migrate were the ancestors of the Celts, who probably found Europe a jungle, traversed by wandering tribes. They were followed by the ancestors of the Italians, Greeks, Germans, and Slavonians.

"The Hindu," says Max Müller, "though perhaps the eldest, was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family. He saw

his brothers all depart towards the setting sun, and then turning towards the south and east, he started alone in search of a new world."

Language proves that, without doubt, the ancestors of the principal nations of Europe and the Hindus once dwelt together.

"The terms for God, for house, for father, mother, son and daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree, identical in all the Indo-European idioms, are like the watchwords of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger; and whether he answer with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognise him as one of ourselves. There *was* a time when the ancestors of the Celts, the Germans, the Slavonians, the Greeks and Italians, the Persians and Hindus, were living together within the same fences, separate from the ancestors of the Semitic and Turanian races."*

The Aryans were then no longer dwellers in tents, but builders of permanent houses. As the name for king is the same in Sanskrit, Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic, we know that kingly government was established and recognised by the Aryans at the prehistoric period. They also worshipped an unseen Being, under the self-same name. We have in the Veda the invocation *Dyaus pítur*, the Greek *Zeus páter*, the Latin *Jupiter*; and that means in all the three languages what it meant before these three languages were torn asunder—it means Heaven-Father!

Hence the European, whom the Hindu regards as an unclean Mlechha, is a long separated brother, who once dwelt with him in the same mountain home, speaking the same language, and worshipping the same God.

The Aryas, descending the passes of the Hindu Kush, slowly migrated towards India by Kabul. Like many succeeding invaders, they probably crossed the Indus at Attock. The tribes which they found occupying the country will next be described.

Dasyus.—This name was applied by the Aryas to the aborigines of India whom they sought to dispossess of their lands. The word is supposed to mean *enemies*. So many of them were enslaved that the word *dasa* was applied to a servant. They also so frequently plundered their conquerors, that long afterwards their name was employed as the common term to describe a prowling robber.

The Dasyus were non-Aryan tribes. Remains of them are still found all over India. The main body was driven to the south, and to the present day all the languages spoken there, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, &c., are quite distinct from the Sanskrit.

The Aryas, coming from a cool climate, were fairer in complexion than the Dasyus. The Aryas prided themselves on their colour,

and called the Dasyus "the black skin," just as some ignorant, vulgar Europeans of the present day call Hindus "niggers." The noses of the Dasyus were not so prominent as those of the Aryas. Hence the Dasyus were described as "goat-nosed" and "noseless," whereas the Aryan gods are frequently praised for their beautiful noses.

In other passages of the Vedas, the Dasyus are represented as keeping no sacred fires, and as worshipping mad gods. Nay, they are even taunted with eating raw flesh, and with feeding on human flesh. The following are Vedic invocations with regard to the Dasyus:—

"Indra and Soma, burn the devils, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness! Hew down the madmen, suffocate them, kill them; hurl them away, and slay the voracious.

"Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon! May he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred upon the villain who hates the Brahman, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable."

Some, at least, of the Dasyus, were not so barbarous as they are represented by the Aryas. The wealth of the Dasyus is spoken of in several places; *e. g.*: "Subdue the might of the Dasa; may we through Indra divide his collected wealth." They had forts and cities. "Indra and Agni, by one effort together ye have shattered 90 forts belonging to the Dasyus." "O Indra, impetuous, thou didst shatter by thy bolt 99 cities for Puru."

The following is abridged from Dr. Muir:—

We may conceive the Aryas proceeding from the Indus in a south-easterly direction into a country probably covered with forest, and occupied by tribes of a dark complexion, speaking a strange language. The Aryas, meanwhile, as they advanced, and gradually established themselves in the forests, fields and villages of the aborigines, would not be able at once to secure their position, but would be exposed to constant reprisals on the part of their enemies, who would avail themselves of every opportunity to assail them, to carry off their cattle, disturb their rites, and impede their progress. The black complexion, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden attacks under cover of the impenetrable forests and the darkness of night, they would make on the encampments of the Aryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them as demons.

The Aryas, after advancing some way, would halt to occupy, to clear and cultivate the territory they had acquired; and the aborigines would continue in possession of the adjacent tracts, sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with their invaders. At length the further advance of the Aryas would either drive the

Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country or would lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerors as the lowest grade in their community.

The first great distinction was between the white and dark races, the conquerors and the conquered, the freeman and the slave. The Sudras undoubtedly were the aboriginal races of India subdued by the Aryan invaders. One of the earliest tribes brought under subjection was called *Sudras*, and this name was extended to the whole race.

"This ancient division between Aryan and non-Aryan races, based on an original difference of blood, was preserved in later times as the primary distinction between the three twice-born castes and the Sudras. The word *ārya* (noble) is derived from *ārya*, which means householder, and was originally used as the name of the third caste, or the Vaisyas. These Aryas, or Vaisyas, formed the great bulk of the Brahmanic society, and it is but natural that their name, in a derivative form, should have been used as a common name of the three classes into which these Aryans became afterwards divided."*

II. DIFFERENCE OF EMPLOYMENT AND LOCALITY.

"The three occupations of the Aryans in India were fighting, cultivating the soil, and worshipping the gods. Those who fought the battles of the people would naturally acquire influence and rank, and their leaders appear in the Veda as *Rajas* or kings. Those who did not share in the fighting would occupy a more humble position; they were called *Vis*, *Vaisyas*, or householders, and would no doubt have to contribute towards the maintenance of the armies. But a third occupation, that of worshipping the gods, was evidently considered by the whole nation to be as important and as truly essential to the well-being of the country, as fighting against enemies or cultivating the soil."

"No nation was ever so anxious to perform the service of their gods as the early Hindus. It is the gods who conquer the enemy, it is the gods who vouchsafe a rich harvest. Health and wealth, children, friends, flocks and gold are all the gifts of the gods. Among a nation of this peculiar stamp the priests were certain to acquire great influence at a very early period, and like most priests, they were as certain to use it for their own advantage."

At first any one might preside at a sacrifice. Great importance was attached to the hymns which were sung. "A hymn by which the gods had been invoked at the beginning of a battle, and which had secured to the king a victory over his enemies, was considered

* *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II. The other quotations are from the same work.

an unfailing spell, and it became the sacred war-song of a whole tribe." These hymns were handed down from father to son as the most valuable heir-loom. Writing was then unknown. A knowledge of the hymns was confined to a certain class who "impressed the people with the belief that the slightest mistake in the words or in the pronunciation of the words,* would rouse the anger of the gods. Thus they became masters of all religious ceremonies, the teachers of the people, the ministers of kings. Their favour was courted, their anger dreaded, by a pious but credulous race."

The Brahman was at first simply an assistant at sacrifices, by whom or for whom conducted. Afterwards he became a *purohita* (one set in front) or family priest. This office became hereditary, and those who held at courts became the advisers and counsellors of kings. Such a post was peculiarly favourable to the designs of a crafty and ambitious priest, and must have offered him exceptional opportunities for promoting the hierarchical aspirations of his order.

The Aitareya Brahmana says, "Verily the gods do not eat the food offered by the king who is without a *purohita*; wherefore let the king, who wishes to sacrifice, place a Brahman at the head." VIII. 24, 25.

In the Veda we still find kings composing their own hymns to the gods, royal bards, *Rajarshis*, who united in their person the powers both of king and priest. The family of *Visvamitra* has contributed its own collection of hymns to the *Rig-Veda*; but *Visvamitra* himself was a *Kshatriya*. If in later times he is represented as admitted into the Brahmanic family of the *Brigus*, this is but an excuse invented by the Brahmins, in order to explain what would otherwise have upset their own system. *Visvamitra* was the author of the *Gayatri*. Professor *Bhattacharjya* says, "What more convincing evidence could there be of the exceedingly small importance attached to caste in the *Rig-Veda* time, than that the holiest text in the whole body of the Veda should have been attributed to a member of the *Kshatriya* tribe?"†

King *Janaka* is represented in some of the *Brahmanas* as more learned than any of the Brahmins at his court. He also asserted his right of performing sacrifices without the intervention of priests. *Mannu*, the most famous legislator, too, was by birth a *Kshatriya*.

As the influence of the Brahmins extended, they became more and more jealous of their privileges, and, while fixing their own claims, they endeavoured at the same time to circumscribe the duties of the warriors and householders. Those of the *Aryas* who

*The priests, among the old Romans, to acquire greater power for themselves, taught the same. Hence a sacrifice had sometimes to be repeated thirty times on account of mistakes made. Even a pause in the music at a wrong time, required the whole to be begun afresh.

† *Tagore Law Lectures*, p. 110.

would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts, and they were chiefly known by the name of Vratyas, or tribes. The aboriginal inhabitants again, who conformed to the Brahmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted a fourth caste, under the name of Sudras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyus (Manu x. 45.)

This Brahmanic constitution, however, was not settled in a day, and we find everywhere in the hymns, in the Brahmanas, and in the epic poems, the traces of a long-continued warfare between the Aryas and the aboriginal inhabitants, and violent contests between the two highest classes of the Aryans striving for political supremacy. For a long time the three upper classes continued to consider themselves as one race, all claiming the title of Arya, in contradistinction from the fourth caste, or the Sudras.

After long and violent struggles between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, the Brahmins carried the day, and, if we may judge from the legends which they themselves have preserved of those struggles, they ended with the total destruction of most of the old Kshatriya families, and the admission of a few of them to the privileges of the first caste. Parasurama is the great hero of the Brahmins.

"He cleared the earth thrice seven times of the Kshatriya caste, and filled with their blood the five large lakes of Samanta, from which he offered libations to the race of Bhṛigu. Offering a solemn sacrifice to the king of the gods, Parasurama presented the earth to the ministering priests. Having given the earth to Kasyapa, the hero of immeasurable prowess retired to the Mohendra mountain, where he still resides; and in this manner was there enmity between him and the race of the Kshatriyas, and thus was the whole earth conquered by Parasurama."*

This account of the struggle is grossly exaggerated, and it is difficult to say how much truth there is in it.

By the time of Manu, however, the Brahmins were high above the Kshatriyas before whom, but a few centuries earlier, they had cringed and fawned.

Manu's explanation of the Mixed Castes.—Manu represents the various castes as the result of mixed marriages between the four original castes. According to him, the four primitive castes, by intermarrying in every possible way, gave rise to 16 mixed castes, which by continuing their intermarriages produced the long list of the mixed castes.

If we look more carefully, says Max Müller, we shall find that most of these mixed castes are in reality the professions, trades, and guilds of a half-civilised society. They did not wait for mixed marriages before they came into existence. Professions, trades, and

handicrafts had grown up without any reference to caste. Some of their names were derived from towns and countries where certain professions were held in particular estimation. Servants who waited on ladies were called Vaidchas, because they came from Videha. In other cases the names of Manu's castes were derived from their occupations. The caste of musicians, for instance, were called *Venas* from *vina*, the lyre. Now it was evidently Manu's object to bring these professional corporations in connection with the old system of castes, assigning to each, according to its higher or lower position, a more or less pure descent from the original castes. The Vaidyns, for instance, or the physicians, evidently a respectable corporation, were represented as the offspring of a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother, while the guild of the fishermen, or Nishadas, were put down as the descendants of a Brahman father and a Sudra mother.

Thus a new system of caste came in of a purely professional character, though artificially grafted on the rotten trunk of the ancient castes. This is the system which is still in force in India, and which has exercised its influence on the state of Indian society for good and evil.

Dr. Cornish takes the same view as Professor Max Müller, and gives the explanation of Manu's system :—

"No dependence can be placed on Manu's authority for the origin of these mixed castes. Such people existed in his time, and their existence had to be accounted for, and it is always an easier thing for a Hindu author to make fanciful assertions than to adhere to the sober domain of fact, and hence probably the wonderful legends of their origin from certain mixtures of castes."

"It is characteristic of the Brahmanical intolerance of the compilers of the code that the origin of the lowest of all (*the Chamūla*) should be ascribed to the intercourse of a Sudra man and Brahman woman, while the union of a Brahman male with a Sudra woman is said to have resulted in one of the highest of the mixed classes. Indeed it was quite lawful in ancient times for a Brahman to take a succession of wives from the inferior castes.

"The object of the regulations regarding admixture of castes seems to have been to visit with the heaviest pains and penalties any irregularities of the *females* of the twice born-castes, and their degradation, and that of their offspring, for unions with inferior or impure castes; and consequently in the origin of mixed castes, Manu assigns to the offspring of the Brahman woman the lowest degradation of all.

"Again, the Chunchu or Chentsu, a race of hunters and forest men, are spoken of by Manu as 'sons of Brahmans by women of the Vaidcha class,' whereas these identical people exist to this day, as they had existed probably thousands of years before the caste system was known, as an aboriginal people living in forests, subsisting on the products of the chase, and such roots and vegetable substances as require no cultivation. The whole of the chapter relating to mixed castes is so puerile in tone,

and shows so much of class hatred and intolerance, it gives such freedom of intercourse to Brahmans without disqualification; and heaps such dreadful penalties on the incontinence of Brahman women, that the object of the compilers is at once apparent. It is plain that the account of the origin of mixed castes is entirely fanciful, and that not the smallest reliance can be placed on the authority.

"The whole caste system, as it has come down to us, bears unmistakable evidence of Brahmanical origin."*

"Men who have the same interests, the same occupations, the same principles, unite in self-defence, and after acquiring power and influence they not only defend their rights, but claim important privileges. They naturally impose upon their members certain rules which are considered essential to the interest of their caste or company. These rules, sometimes of apparently the most trifling character, are observed by individual members with greater anxiety than even the laws of religion, because an offence against the latter may be pardoned, while a disregard of the former would lead to an instant exclusion or loss of caste. The more lucrative the trade, the more jealously it was guarded, and there was evidently no trade in India so lucrative as that of the priests. The priests were, therefore, the strongest advocates of the system of caste, and after investing it with a sacred character in the eyes of the people, they expanded it into an immense spider's web, which separated class from class, family from family, man from man, and which, while it rendered all united action impossible, enabled the watchful priests to pounce upon all who dared to disturb the threads of their social tissue and to wither them to death."†

Manu's account of the supposed multiplication of castes is just as mythical as that of the supposed origin of the four castes from Brahma. The longer quotation from the Mahabharata gives the true explanation—it arose from difference of employment.

When the Brahmans could not extirpate the worship of the aboriginal demons, they adopted them, calling them incarnations of some of their gods. In like manner, they have connected different occupations with their caste system.

Mr. Sherring thus explains how subdivisions of castes may have taken place :

"The caste separated into clans, each of which managed its own affairs, held *panchayats* or councils, and maintained a distinct and independent existence. As these clans were not amenable to one another or to the caste itself considered as a federal whole, gradually they became jealous of each other's rights, and at length, impelled by the national habit of

* *Madras Census Report* for 1871, pp. 122, 123.

† Nearly the whole of this section, except where otherwise stated, is from professor Max Müller.

exclusiveness, abandoned one another reciprocally, and assumed to themselves absolutely all the functions and prerogatives of castes."*

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* attributes many of the subdivisions to jealousy between rival families :

"The principal cause of the multiplication of castes is continual quarrel and misunderstanding among men holding a certain degree of social rank."

To the foregoing, Sir A. C. Lyall would add, as a source of Indian caste, Sectarian differences, "meaning the castes which are produced by difference of religion, by new gods, new rites, new views, and new dogmas."†

THE LAWS OF CASTE ACCORDING TO MANU.

The *Ordinances of Manu* constitute the highest authority for the laws of Hindu caste. It is not certain when this work was composed. Mr. Siromani says :—

"There is a tradition that Manu has undergone three successive redactions. The introduction to Narada states that the work of Manu originally consisted of 1,000 chapters and 100,000 slokas; Narada abridged it to 12,000 slokas, and Sumati again reduced it to 4,000. The treatise which we possess must be a third abridgment, as it only extends to 2685."‡

Manu's regulations give the ideal of government and justice according to the Brahmans. The work is so extensive that only a few quotations can be made.

BRAHMANS.

Their Claims.

92. Man is declared purer above the navel; therefore the purest (part) of him is said by the Self-Existent to be his mouth.

93. Since he sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first-born, and since he holds the Vedas, the Brahman is, by right, the lord of all this creation.

94. Him the Self-Existent, after having performed penance, created in the beginning from his own mouth, for presentation of oblations to the gods and offerings to the manes, (and) for the preservation of all this (world.)

95. What being is there superior to him, by whose mouth the gods eat oblations and the manes offerings ?

* *Hindu Tribes and Castes*. Introduction. Vol. ii. xxii.

† *Asiatic Studies*, p. 6.

‡ *Commentary on Hindu Law*, p. 16.

98. The birth of a Brahman is a perpetual incarnation of *dharma*; for he exists for the sake of *dharma*, and is for the existence of the Vedas.

99. When the Brahman is born, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, to guard the treasury of *dharma*.

100.* Thus whatever exists in the universe is all the property of the Brahman; for the Brahman is entitled to all by his superiority and eminence of birth.

101. The Brahman eats his own alone, wears his own, and gives away his own; through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, the other people enjoy (all they have)." Book I.

Punishment of Brahmins.

379. Shaving the head is ordained as (the equivalent of) capital punishment in the case of a Brahman, but in the case of the other castes capital punishment may be (inflicted).

380. Certainly (the king) should not slay a Brahman even if he be occupied in crime of every sort; but he should put him out of the realm in possession of all his property, and uninjured (in body).

381. No greater wrong is found on earth than killing a Brahman; therefore the king should not even mentally consider his death." Book VIII.

The atonement for killing a Sudra is the same as for killing the following animals :

132. On killing a cat, an ichneumon, a daw, or a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he should practise the observance (ordained for) killing a Sudra., Book XI.

SUDRAS.

Created for Servitude.

91. One duty the Lord assigned to a Sudra—service to those (before mentioned) classes, without grudging." Book I.

413. But a Sudra, whether bought or not bought, (the Brahman) may compel to practise servitude; for that (Sudra) was created by the Self-existent merely for the service of the Brahman.

414. Even if freed by his master, the Sudra is not released from servitude; for this (servitude) is innate in him: who then can take it from him?

410. • The king should . . . make the Sudra (act) as the slave of those who are twice-born. Book VIII.

123. Merely to serve the Brahmins is declared (to be) the most excellent occupation of a Sudra; for if he does anything other than this, it profits him nothing.

129. Indeed, an accumulation of wealth should not be made by a Sudra even (if he is) able (to do so), for a Sudra getting possession of wealth merely injures the Brahmins. Book X.

417. A Brahman may take possession of the goods of a Sudra with perfect peace of mind, for, since nothing at all belongs to this (Sudra) as

his own, he is one whose property may be taken away by his master." Book VIII.

Reward of Servitude.

125. The leavings of food should be given (him) and the old clothes ; so too the blighted part of the grain ; so too the old furniture." Book X.

Punishment of Sudras.

270. If a (man) of one birth assault one of the twice-born castes with virulent words, he ought to have his tongue cut out, for he is of the lowest origin.

271. If he make mention in an insulting manner of their name and caste, a red-hot iron rod, ten fingers long, should thrust into his mouth.

272. If this man through insolence gives instruction to the priests in regard to their duty, the king should cause boiling hot oil to be poured into his mouth and ear.

279. If a man of the lowest birth should with any member injure one of the highest station, even that member of this man shall be cut (off) : this is an ordinance of Manu.

280. If he lift up his hand or his staff (against him), he ought to have his hand cut off ; and if he smites him with his foot in anger, he ought to have his foot cut off.

281. If a low-born man endeavours to sit down by the side of a high-born man, he should be banished after being branded on the hip, or (the king) may cause his backside to be cut off.

282. If through insolence he spit upon him, the king should cause his two lips to be cut off.

283. If he seize him by the locks, let the king without hesitation cause both his hands to be cut off. Book VIII.

Treatment of certain Castes.

51. The dwelling of Chandalas and Swapacas (should be) outside the village ; they should be deprived of dishes ; their property (consists of) dogs and asses.

52. Their clothes (should be) the garments of the dead, and their food (should be) in broken dishes ; their ornaments (should be) of iron ; and they must constantly wander about.

53. A man who practises the rule of right should not desire intercourse with these (people) ; their business transactions must be among each other ; their marriages (should be only) with their equals.

54. Their food (for which they are) dependent on others should be given in a broken dish ; they should not wander by night among the villages and towns." Book X.

Sudras not to receive Religious Instruction.

80. One may not give advice to a Sudra, nor (give him) the remains (of food) or (of) butter that has been offered. And one may not teach him the law or enjoin upon him (religious) observances.

81. For he who tells him the law and he who enjoins upon him (religious) observances, he indeed, together with that (Sudra), sinks into the darkness of the hell called Asamvṛta (unbounded.) Book IV.

The 2635 verses in Manu's Ordinances contain some rules which are good, many frivolous, and others bad. The foregoing extracts give the spirit of the laws regulating caste.

BUDDHIST OPPOSITION TO CASTE.

Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, is supposed, to have lived about the sixth century B. C. He was a Kshatriya and freely admitted all castes into his priesthood. In the Dhamma Pada, "Foot-steps of Religion," he thus describes the true Brahman :—

"391. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points.

"393. A man does not become a Brahman by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth: in whom there is truth and righteousness he is blessed, he is a Brahmana.

"407. Him I call indeed a Brahman from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy have dropt like mustard seed from the point of a needle."

Pandit Ashwaghosha, a learned Buddhist of Nepal, wrote a Sanskrit treatise, called *Vajra Suci*, the Needle of Adamant, exposing caste. Some of his arguments will be noticed hereafter.

"Throughout the whole of the Buddhist period in India," says Sherring, "of a thousand years and upwards, strong opposition was cherished, by the Buddhists against caste. During the dominancy of their religion, which lasted perhaps six or seven hundred years, caste was necessarily in a very depressed state; and people generally enjoyed a condition of social freedom which they had not enjoyed since the earliest ages of Hinduism."

CASTE REVIVAL.

Jainism is closely allied to Buddhism, and the two prevailed extensively throughout India for several centuries. The revival of Hinduism was largely owing to Sankara Acharya, who is supposed to have lived about the ninth century of the Christian era. He was a native of Malabar on the West Coast, of the tribe of Namburi Brahmans. He travelled all over India, engaging in successful controversy with Buddhists and Jains or with Hindu sects. In Malabar he is said to have divided the four original tribes into 72, or 18

subdivisions of each, and to have assigned to them their respective rites and duties.

It is generally supposed that Buddhism and Jainism were extirpated by severe persecution. Madhava Acharya relates how his royal follower Sudhawan, a prince in Southern India, "commanded his servants to put to death the old men and children of the Buddhists from the bridge of Rama to the Snowy Mountains; let him who slays not be slain." In Hindu temples in South India may be seen representations of Buddhists and Jains impaled, with dogs licking the blood which trickles down. The Hindu account is that they seated themselves on the stakes rather than renounce their faith.

There were certainly local struggles; but whether there was any general persecution may be doubted.

The Brahmans, on regaining their supremacy, made the caste rules more stringent than ever. Marriages which were freely permitted by Manu were forbidden. The facility for intermarriage has given place to rigid exclusiveness, so that it is now absolutely impossible for the pure castes to intermarry with the mixed, or for the mixed to intermarry with one another.

Not only is intermarriage between different castes forbidden, but the same castes are split up into numerous subdivisions, which keep nearly as much aloof from one another as if they were distinct castes. Mr. Sherring, in his work on *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, enumerates nearly 2000 subdivisions of Brahmans. Sir W. W. Hunter says, "They follow every employment from the calm *pandits* of Behar in their stainless white robes or the haughty priests of Benares, to the potato-growing Brahmans of Orissa, 'half-naked peasants struggling along under their baskets of yams with a filthy little Brahmanical thread over their shoulder.'"^{*}

Mr. Sherring thus describes the divisions among the Brahmans :—

"Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that they are socially separated from one another as far as it is possible for them to be,—neither eating nor drinking together, nor intermarrying, and only agreed in matters of religion and in the determination to maintain the pride and secular dominancy of their order. The Brahmans display all the vices of a family divided against itself with more than ordinary intensity, for each one presumes on his purity of caste and birth, and affects the airs and ostentation of an eldest son and heir."

The five tribes of Brahmans in the north, known as Gour, would be excommunicated if they partook of a meal sitting together on the same carpet.

^{*} Hunter's *Gazetteer of India*.

Sir W. W. Hunter says; "In 1864, I saw a Brahman felon try to starve himself to death, and submit to a flogging rather than eat his food on account of scruples as to whether the birthplace of North-Western Brahman, who had cooked it, was equal in sanctity to his own native district."

The Kshatriyas reckon 590 separate tribes. Even the very lowest castes have their subdivisions. Mr. Sherring says:—

"The curse of Brahmanism has fallen on all native society and blighted it. Each caste, down to the lowest, is eaten up with self-satisfaction and self-admiration. Indeed, it is a notorious fact that the most debased castes yield to none in the punctilious strictness with which they observe caste prejudices and carry out caste regulations."

In some respects, however, caste has been relaxed under British rule and Western civilization. It is elastic, and adapts itself to the inevitable.

EFFECTS OF CASTE.

Division of labour exists in all civilised countries. Priests, soldiers, merchants, farmers, mechanics, and servants, are found in every one of them. It is *Hindu Caste*, a peculiar system, which has now to be considered. Its good and bad features, real or supposed, will be noticed in turn.

ADVANTAGES OF CASTE.

The following seem to be the principal:—

1. **Division of labour secures a certain degree of Excellence.**—A savage who does everything for himself can never rise in civilization. It marks a distinct advance when there are separate professions. The knowledge and skill acquired by the father descend to the son.

2. **Some measure of Protection.**—Caste, as it were, makes a man a member of a larger family, having the same interests, and bound to help one another.

3. **Cleanliness.**—This is undoubtedly promoted to some extent, by the care about utensils, bathing, &c. Some Indian houses are beautifully clean.

4. **Respect for Authority.**—This was one characteristic of the Hindus in former times. At present, not unfrequently, *insolence* is mistaken for *independence*.

5. **Moral Restraint.**—The moral code of Hindu caste greatly differs from modern ideas, as will afterwards be mentioned; but it acts as a check in certain directions and upon certain classes.

To the above, Sir Lepel Griffin would add its value in a political point of view to the British Government :

"If England continue to rule with justice, moderation, and impartiality, with clean hands and an honest and eager desire to work for the good of the people, there is no fear that the Hindus will ever turn against her. And the explanation of this security is chiefly to be found in caste, which, by depriving the people of ambition, has left each man content with his position in life. Last year, Mr. Lowell, the late American Minister, told us that one of the advantages of democracy was that it enabled a man to 'climb from a coal-pit to the highest position for which he was fitted.' But in India, fortunately for society and the government, the collier would have no inclination to climb at all. Every occupation, even thieving, is hereditary; and the rules of caste ordinarily compel a man to follow the occupation of his forefathers, except where English influence and education have displaced the conservative tradition in a favor of a more democratic view of the rights of humanity. But the English embroidery is only upon the hem of the mysterious garment of Indian life, and the great mass of the people are unaffected by the straggles of the young men of our schools and colleges to obtain a share in the offices at the disposal of Government. Even with these, the spirit of caste is still strong, and a wise policy would encourage and not stifle it."*

There is, however, another side of the picture which will now be given.

DISADVANTAGES OF CASTE.

The following may be mentioned :—

1. **Physical Degeneracy.**—West, an English physician, author of one of the best treatises on the "Diseases of Children," says, "*First among the causes of sickly infancy and premature death may be mentioned the intermarriage of near relatives.*" The Hindus have been split up into probably about a lakh of subdivisions, each holding itself aloof from all others. Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar gives the following illustration :—

"I am sure I am not guilty of exaggeration when I say that the Mudaliyars residing in Madras are divided into as many as fifty sections, no one of which can intermarry with any other. The same difficulty of intermarriage exists among Nayudus, and Pillais, and Reddis. It is needless to expatiate on the evil, in a physiological and social point of view, of marriages being contracted between parties so closely related, and of the choice of a husband or wife being confined within such narrow limits."

Caste is also mainly responsible for another cause of physical degeneracy—early marriages. A Bengali defender of caste in the *Calcutta Review* says, "One thing is quite clear, if girls be not

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. I, p. 467.

married early enough, there can be no certainty that they won't marry outside the caste community."

2. **National Poverty.**—Three causes of this may be mentioned :

1. *Restriction on foreign commerce by forbidding to leave India.*—One of the wealthiest cities in ancient times was Tyre, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. It was built on a small island, connected with the mainland, and had only a few miles of territory. The prophet Ezekiel says of it, "Where thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise." Isaiah characterises it as, "The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth."

In modern times, England is, perhaps, the richest country in the world. One great cause of this is her commerce. Every sea is traversed by her ships; her merchants are to be found in every land where wealth can be gained.

The great Creator intended that there should be free intercourse between the different nations of the earth. Nearly every country is noted for some article of produce. By interchange each is benefited.

Caste teaches the people of India to regard all beyond their own country as impure Melechhas, and threatens with expulsion any who dare cross "the black water." As far as it has power, caste seeks to prevent the people from gaining the wealth which results from foreign commerce. The Parsis are wiser. Parsi merchants are to be found in London and China, thus largely increasing their business and their profits.

2. *Caste tends to make professions hereditary.*—The late Dr. Krishna Mohan Banerjea says, "The Hindus improved their arts, sciences, and social institutions up to a certain point; they left some of their neighbours behind them in the scale of civilization;—and there they stopped. Their caste prevented the full development of their faculties." Professor Bhandarkar said in Bombay, "Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu." For three thousand years the Indian plough has been little better than a crooked stick. Caste leads to a stationary civilization. In England some of the greatest improvements in the arts have been made by men who did not belong to the trade, as cotton-spinning and the steam-engine.

3. *Caste makes labour degrading.*—England owes her wealth perhaps even more to her manufactures than her commerce, though they are mutually helpful. The Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea may again be quoted: "In civilized countries, every encouragement is held out to the cultivators of the arts, especially the fine arts. Their professions are esteemed honourable—their labours are amply

rewarded by men of taste and refinement..... The pernicious system of caste taught a different lesson to the Hindus. The civil architect is branded as a bastard. The carpenter and the goldsmith are accursed, because the Brahmans chose to take umbrage at them. How could the arts flourish in such a society? How could a person of sensibility aspire to distinction in the cultivation of arts which are considered so low?"

Dr. Banerjea quotes from the *Brahma Vaibarta Purana* the reasons why certain castes were degraded.

Carpenter.—Born from Vishvakarma and a Sudra mother. Degraded by the curse of the Brahmans, whom he did not readily supply with wood necessary for a burnt offering.

Painter.—Vishvakarma and Sudra mother. Degraded by the curse of the Brahmans for his faults in painting.

Goldsmith.—Degraded by the curse of the Brahman for stealing gold belonging to Brahmans.

Civil Architect.—Born of a painter and Sudra harlot. Degraded because base-born.

Mlechcha.—Born of a Khastriya father and Sudra mother. Begotten on a forbidden day. Mlechchas are further described as "People born without the precincts of the 'excellent land of India,' whose ears are not bored, who are cruel, daring, invincible in battle, impure in practice, violent and without religion."* "In their country the regenerate must not even temporarily dwell."

There is an Indian proverb to the effect, that by two things you can distinguish a bullock from a ploughman,—by its horns and its tail. The country is being flooded with candidates for Government office, who are mere *consumers*—not *producers*. Improved agriculture, developed manufactures, and foreign commerce, are the real ways by which India may be enriched, but caste discourages or forbids them all.

3. **Intellectual Progress hindered**.—A Bengali writer on caste thus shows how this result was produced:—

"None but a Brahman, declared the Shastras, should read the Veds, or impart religious instruction, and as the Veds and their Angas included all the literature and sciences of the country—grammar, versification, arithmetic, and mathematics—the law thus effectually enjoined ignorance to the rest of mankind. The consequence has been a total prostration of intellect and of mental energy, not only in the general mass of the community, but even among that favoured class itself. Learning has dwindled down to childish frivolity, and religion to ceremonial purity. Our Pandits of the present day are a set of lazy, superstitious weak-minded men, living mostly on the community, without contributing at all to its welfare; having, some of them a little dexterity in threading the dreams of metaphysics, and the unenviable ability of framing specious

* Hindu Caste, pp. 25, 26.

arguments for perplexing the plainest truths. The cause of so much deterioration is easily explained. When literature and the sciences were ensured in perpetuity to the Brahmans, it became no longer their interest to acquire real knowledge, and the means of making themselves and their brethren wiser and happier. The arts of imposition held out to them more lucrative employment. To cheat and delude the mass, whom the laws had consigned to ignorance and misery, promised them palpable advantages; and they possessed by birthright the means of deceiving with impunity. The temptation was too great for human nature to resist, and it was not resisted."

Brahmans who have not had the advantage of English education are, as a rule, the foes of social progress. They are utterly narrow-minded. They believe that the whole circle of human knowledge is contained in Sanskrit writings, and the most bigoted of them are fully persuaded that to learn anything beyond the Sastras is quite useless.*

For every Brahman in India there are at least twenty members of other castes. All these, according to caste, are doomed, more or less, to ignorance. God has not limited intellectual gifts to one small section of the community. Bunyan, author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, was a tinker; Burns, the Scottish poet, was a ploughman; Jeremy Taylor, one of the greatest English divines, was the son of a barber, as was Lord Tenterden, a distinguished English lawyer; Shakespeare was the son of a butcher; the author of the Tamil *Kurral*, probably the best ethical poem ever written in India, was a Pariah. If learning is confined to the few, the rich talents which may exist in the many are undeveloped.

4. **Hostility to Social Reform.**—What are the leading social evils under which India is suffering? The neglect of female education, early marriages, the treatment of widows, and the enormous expenses of caste feasts. Caste lies at the root of all, and is the great obstacle to reform. The following extract is from the *Indu Prakash* :—

"Does a Brahman wish to marry his daughter at a mature and marriageable age? There comes the tyrant caste and says, 'You shall not keep your daughter unmarried beyond the age of 8 or 10, unless you choose to incur the penalty of excommunication.' Does a man wish to countenance either by deed or word the marriage of little girls plunged into life-long misery and degrading widowhood? Caste says, 'No, you will be excommunicated.' Does a man wish to dispense with any of the unmeaning and idolatrous ceremonies with which Native society is hampered? Caste says, 'No, you will be excommunicated.'"

There are thousands of educated Hindus who feel these social evils almost as acutely as Mr. M. Malabari, and make speeches

* Sir Monier Williams, *Modern India*, p. 287.

against them ; but, with a few noble exceptions, they submit to the yoke of caste all the same.

Considering the tyranny of the system, it must be allowed that it requires a considerable amount of moral courage to resist it. Sir Monier Williams gives the following illustration of its working :—

“ When I was in Gujarat, in 1875, a man named Lallu-bhai, a cloth merchant of Ahmedabad, was proved to have committed a heinous caste crime. He had married a widow of his own caste, and to marry a widow is, in the eyes of a Hindu, a most awful offence. A woman once married, belongs to one husband for time and eternity. Forthwith, he was sentenced to complete excommunication. No one, either of his own or any other caste, was to be allowed to associate with him ; no one was to eat with him ; no one was to have any trade dealings with him ; no one was to marry any of his children ; no temple was to receive him as a worshipper ; and if he died, no one was to carry his body to the burning ground. On the morning after the sentence was passed, he went to the bazaar as usual, but not a person would buy from him or sell to him ; he could get no home to live in ; and none of his debtors would pay him their debts. It was impossible to sue them, as no one would give evidence. He was a ruined man, and had to leave the country, and obtain Government employment in a distant city.”*

5. Individual Liberty is crushed.—“ The caste of India,” says Sherring, “ is indissolubly blended with the social life of the Hindu, and is as much a necessity to him as food to eat, as raiment to wear, and as a house to live in. Indeed, he can often dispense with raiment, and during most of the year he prefers the court outside his house to the hot rooms within ; but he can never free himself from caste, can never escape from its influence.”

Caste has its “ thousand and one” regulations, nearly all childish and frivolous, and some of them leading to much suffering. “ Does a Brahman,” says the *Indu Prakash*, “ wish to dine with a man of another caste ? However thick friends they may be of one another, caste says, ‘ No, you must not do that, or you will be excommunicated.’ If a Brahman feel thirsty and has no other water but such as is brought by a Sudra near him, he cannot drink it ; for caste forbids it at the pain of excommunication.” During famines people, dying of hunger, have refused food offered to them by Europeans.

“ An individual Hindu,” says Dr. Duff, “ follows the example of his caste, just as a sheep or a wild pigeon follows the example of the flock. There are *local* variations observable in the customs and usages of the same caste. In one place a Hindu will consent to do what in another he would peremptorily refuse to do, simply because in the former he is countenanced by the example of his brethren and not in the latter ; just as a flock of sheep or pigeons may, from accidental causes, somewhat vary its habits or movements in

* *Religious Thought and Life in India*, pp. 472, 473.

different localities." There is no true liberty among the Hindus; they are the bondslaves of caste.

6. **The Growth of Nationality is hindered.**—The Hindus love their children, they are zealous for their caste; but except in the case of the enlightened few, their sympathies do not extend beyond these narrow limits. Hence Max Müller says, "The Indian never knew the feeling of nationality"—he did not think of his country as a whole.

The Romans had a maxim, "Divide and conquer." The Brahmans acted on the same principle. By splitting up the people into numerous sections, they more easily retained their supremacy. "A nation divided against itself, is the proper description of the Hindu race." Hence they have become an easy prey to foreign invaders: Sir Lepel Griffin, as quoted, thinks it politic on the part of the British Government to encourage caste.

A new feeling of nationality is springing up among educated Indians, but this is in direct opposition to caste. The "National Congresses," regarded with enthusiasm, would be impossible under Manu's caste regulations. Sudras compose the great majority of the population; but if they had presumed to attend and sit in the presence of the "twice-born," banishment and mutilation would have been the reward of their presumption.

7. **Discord between classes.**—This is especially the case in South India, where the hold of caste is strongest. There an additional division prevails of *Right-hand* and *Left-hand* castes. Dubois thus describes the result:—

"This particular distinction has turned out to be the most baneful that could have been imagined for the tranquillity of the state, and the most injurious to the peace of the citizens. It has proved the perpetual fountain of disturbance and insurrections among the people, and a continued principle of endless jealousy and animosity amongst all members of the community.

"The opposition between the *Right-hand* and the *Left-hand* arises from certain privileges to which they both lay claim; and where any encroachment is made by either, it is instantly followed by tumults. Gentlest of all creatures, timid under all other circumstances, here only the Hindu seems to change his nature. There is no danger that he fears to encounter in maintaining what he terms his right, and rather than yield it he is ready to make any sacrifice and even to hazard his life.

"I may be permitted to relate one instance at which I myself was present. The dispute was between the caste of Pariahs and shoemakers, and produced such dreadful consequences through the whole district where it happened that many of the peaceable inhabitants had begun to leave their villages for a place of greater safety. Fortunately in this instance, matters did not come to an extremity, as the principal inhabitants of the district seasonably came forward to mediate between these vulgar

castes, and were just in time, by good management, to disband the armed ranks on both sides that only waited the signal of battle.

"One would not easily guess the cause of this dreadful commotion. It arose forsooth from a shoemaker, at a public festival, sticking red flowers in his turban, which the Pariahs insisted that none of his caste had a right to wear."

Dr. Cornish mentions another claim. "The right-hand castes have the privilege of erecting *twelve* pillars to sustain their marriage booths, while the left-hand castes may not have more than *eleven* pillars !

"The quarrels arising out of these small differences of opinion were so frequent and serious in the seventeenth century that in the town of Madras it was found necessary to mark the respective boundaries of the right and left hand castes, and to forbid the right hand castes in their processions from occupying the streets of the left hand, and *vice versa*."*

With a more efficient police, such open caste disputes are now rare, but the spirit remains. A few years ago a great disturbance was threatened in Masulipatam, because certain castes whitewashed their houses. The magistrate refusing to prevent this, a telegram was sent direct to the Governor.

The Madras Census Report for 1881 says, "Except the members of the admittedly degraded and depressed castes, each Shudra thinks, or professes to think, his caste better than his neighbour's. The Shanar claims to be a Rajput. The Kammala and the Patnui (weavers) growl th t, if they had their rights, they would be recognised as Brahmaus."

There are constant quarrels about precedence, nor is it confined to this. The Bengali writer on caste already quoted says :—

"Each of these divisions (the lower orders) has a class of men called *paramániks*, members of which exercise the most unlimited inquisitorial powers, each within his own jurisdiction of one or more villages, prying even into the minutest circumstances of life, and interfering with every domestic incident, unless bought off with a bribe. Thus domestic happiness, the dearest of all dear things on earth, is subjected to the vulgar intrusion and despotic interference of men who make their inquisitiveness the source of their wealth."

"Instead," says Principal Caird, "of breaking down artificial barriers, waging war with false separations, softening divisions and undermining class hatreds and antipathies, religion becomes itself the very consecration of them."

8. **The Heart is hardened against Suffering.**—A few illustrations of this may be given.

As far as the rules of caste allow, the Hindus are as hospitable as

* *Madras Census Report for 1871*, p. 129.

most other nations ; but it is a sufficient excuse for not rendering help that the sufferer belongs to a lower class or to a class unknown. Bishop Heber writes :—

“ A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village, (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago,) nobody knows what caste he is of, therefore nobody goes near him, lest they should become polluted. He wastes to death before the eyes of the whole community, unless the jackals take courage from his helpless state to finish him a little sooner, and, perhaps, as happened in the case to which I alluded, the children are allowed to pelt him with stones and mud.”

The late Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, says, “ I have seen a man lying crushed with broken limbs beneath a cocoa-nut tree which had fallen upon him, while the spectators were making no effort to remove the destructive load from his body.”

The above are not solitary cases. The Rev. J. Vaughan says :—

“ Outside their own caste the weal or woe of their fellows affect them in no degree whatever. We have again and again witnessed along the great pilgrim routes of India harrowing illustrations of this sad truth. We have seen poor creatures, smitten with disease, lying on the roadside passed by hundreds of their co-religionists with no more concern than if they were dying dogs ; we have seen the poor parched sufferers with folded hands and pleading voice crave a drop of water to moisten their lips, but all in vain. Hundreds thus perish, untended, unpitied, unaided ; perhaps even before death does its work, the vultures and jackals begin theirs, and thus lines of whitened bones and blackened skulls, border the roads leading to the sacred shrines ; and whence this worse than brutal callousness ? What has dried up the springs of human sympathy ? *It is Caste.* This first of all taught the people to look upon differing castes as different species ; it next taught the lesson of defilement by contact ; thus utter isolation and heartless selfishness account for the whole of the sickening scenes described.”*

More enlightened views are beginning to prevail among some, and a large-hearted benevolence, embracing all, is not unfrequently exhibited. Still, such is not the caste spirit.

9. Caste seeks to degrade nearly the whole Human Race, and ranks some beneath the brutes.—The most refined Englishman is an impure Mlechha. When Sir Monier Williams, the Oxford Professor of Sanskrit, first visited India, he was struck by the fact that pandits always came to see him early in the morning. He learned afterwards that it was to save an additional bathing from the pollution they had contracted by meeting him. Even a Sudra has been known to beg a European not to enter his house, to avoid the expense of getting it purified. This would not be required in the case of a dog. The very shadow of a European is defiling to a

* *The Trident, the Crescent and the Cross*, pp. 31, 32.

felon in a jail, and will make him throw away his food. The same thing happened when a little English girl, by chance, touched the wooden platform on which two prisoners were preparing food : the whole was thrown away.

According to caste, the great majority of the Hindus are born slaves. Quotations have been given from Manu as to the way in which they are to be treated and regarded. But the height of injustice and cruelty is reached in the case of the Chandals and some other castes (see p. 18).

Mr. Sherring thus describes the condition of the low castes and the feelings with which they are looked upon :—

“For many long ages they have been a down-trodden and oppressed race, have been treated by the higher castes almost as savages, have been purposely kept ignorant and debased, have been compelled to labour very hard for the scantiest fare, and have been led to regard themselves in the same light in which they are regarded by other castes, namely, as an unclean, vile, ungodly, and contemptible race, not worthy to enter a temple or to come near a Brahman, or to perform any religious duty except vicariously through the priests, or to receive the smallest amount of useful knowledge, or to hold any position except that of serf and clods of the ground.”

“The repugnance to the outcaste is hereditary. The Hindus impart it to their children; they hand it down from one generation to another; they display it perpetually in their dealings with this unfortunate race, whom they vilify by the use of every epithet of abuse which can possibly portray the loathing and disgust with which their minds are filled. No amount of patient, faithful, and ill-rewarded service, performed by a member of those despised tribes, can soften the heart of the Brahman or Rajput, and lead him to think and act differently.”

Sir Lepel Griffin says, “Much of Central India is inhabited by Bhils, an ancient people of singularly gentle and simple ways. But it is exceedingly difficult to persuade the Rajput chiefs and their Brahman ministers to treat their subject Bhils with common humanity. They look down upon them as dogs, whom only the eccentric philanthropy of the British Government can find excuse for protection.”

In Travancore certain castes ought not to come nearer to a Brahman than 74 paces. They are required to make a grunting noise as they pass along, that if necessary on the approach of their superiors, they may retreat from the high road.

The so-called low castes have some of them very disagreeable but necessary duties to perform. Without them, cities would soon become uninhabitable. The feeling towards them should rather be

one of gratitude than repugnance. It is thus well described by Carlyle :—

“Venerable to me is the hard hand, crooked, coarse, wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue indefeasibly royal as of the sceptre of this planet. Venerable, too, is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled, with its rude intelligence, for it is the face of a man living man-like. Oh, but the more venerable for thy rudeness and even because we must pity as well as love thee, hardly-entreated brother ! For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed ; thou wert our conscript on whom the lot fell, and fighting over battles, wert so marred. For in thee, too, lay a God-created form, but it was not to be unfolded ; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of labour, and thy body, like thy soul, was not to know freedom. Yet, toil on, toil on ; *thou art in thy duty, be out of it who may.*”

10° **Caste fills a few with pride and arrogance.**—There are proud and haughty men in all countries ; but the pride of the Brahmans is peculiar. Their pretensions are thus stated by Dr. Wilson :—

“They only must read and interpret the Vedas. Their wrath is as terrible as that of the gods. They claim to have kicked, beaten, cursed, and frightened, and degraded the highest deities, and distressed and destroyed their children. One of their number, Brihaspati, the instructor of the gods, is said to have turned the moon into a cinder ; and another, Vishvakarma, to have cut the sun into twelve pieces ; Agastya swallowed up the ocean at three sips, and gave it out salt !”

The following syllogism, translated from the Sanskrit, is current over India :—

“The whole world is under the power of the *gods* ;
The *gods* are under the power of the *mantras* ;
The *mantras* are under the power of the *Brahman* ;
The *Brahman* is therefore our God.”

According to Manu, the Brahman is not to be put to death for the greatest crimes. Garuda, the bearer of Vishnu, used to eat every creature except Brahmans, who, if swallowed, would have caused an insufferable pain in his stomach. Manu says :—

“165. A twice-born man, having merely assaulted a Brahman out of desire to slay him, abides a hundred years in the hell Tamisra.

“166. Having designedly struck him out of anger, even with a straw, for 21 births he is born from sinful wombs.” Book IV.

Life, however, must not only be preserved, but rendered comfortable. Land given to a Brahman secures heaven ; a red cow, a safe passage across the boiling infernal river Vaitarani ; a house, a heavenly palace ; an umbrella, freedom from scorching heat ; shoes, freedom from pain in walking ; feasting of Brahmans, the highest

merit. A proper gift to a Brahman on a death-bed will secure heaven to a malefactor.

On the other hand, property *taken* from a Brahman entails the heaviest curse. The *Sri Bhagavat* says, "Whosoever taketh property belonging to Brahmans, whether it was given to them by himself or others, is born as a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years."

The masses have thus been led to regard the Brahman's curse as the most appalling calamity, and his blessing as the highest possible good.

Through caste, says Dr. Banerjea, "some are puffed up; others are depressed. ALL ARE MORALLY DETERIORATED."

11. Caste concentrates religion on outward ceremony, and perverts moral feeling.—What offences are punishable by expulsion from caste? Eating, drinking and marrying contrary to rule. Take the case of the Ahmedabad merchant who suffered so much for marrying a widow of his own caste. Suppose he had become a drunkard, ruined his body by debauchery, been guilty of perjury, theft and murder, all these would not have affected his caste. During the Mutiny, Nana Sahib, at Cawnpore, sent butchers to murder a large number of English women and children: all this did not pollute him; but had he spared a little English girl and drunk a cup of pure water from her hand, he would at once have been expelled.

It is true that caste rules with respect to eating and drinking are often violated. There are numbers of Hindus in Calcutta who eat the flesh of the cow and get drunk in English hotels, who still retain their caste. But let one visit England to study, and he is excluded. A pundit for 5 Rupees will write a tract ridiculing the Hindu gods, but for 5,000 Rs. he would not take a glass of water from a European. Caste is far more to a Hindu than religion.

The Stomach the seat of Hinduism.—It has been well remarked: "Other religions may be seated in the mind and soul—but the stronghold of Hinduism is the stomach. A Hindu may retain his faith against all argument, and against all violence, but mix a bit of beef in his food, and his religion is gone! Not that he renounces it, but that it repudiates him. Let half a dozen Hindus seize one of their own caste, and forcibly thrust forbidden food down his throat, and that man has ceased to have any rights in this world or the next."

Thus the conscience of the Hindu is perverted, and the true distinctions between right and wrong are so far destroyed. The heaviest caste penalties are inflicted for actions which may even be commendable, as going to England for study. "Under caste" says Dr. Duff, "that is accounted sin which is no sin, and that is no sin which is most heinous in the sight of a holy God."

To observe the rules of his caste is the Hindu ideal—the “Whole Duty of Man.”

12. Caste is founded on a blasphemous Falsehood, and leads to Falsehood.—According to caste, the Deity is an enormous male, with mouth, hands, thighs, and feet, giving rise to different orders of men endowed with different qualities of good and evil,—of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* (truth, passion, darkness) as they come from God, and with essentially different laws and institutions. These laws, however frivolous, vexatious, and injurious, it ascribes to God, and in His name demands on their behalf universal obedience. It is, consequently, most impious in its very foundations.

Caste is also maintained by falsehood. The supremacy of the Brahman involves constant lying, either implied or uttered. The same remark applies to many of the other castes. There are comparatively few of the higher castes who really are what they claim to be. Of Southern India the last Madras Census Report says:—

“It may be safely accepted that the mass of the people are not Aryan; that indeed none of them are Aryan, except the Brahmans; possibly not all of these, for there are several classes or subdivisions of Brahmans of more or less hazy origin. All the rest of the so-called Hindus may, if they please, call themselves Shudras, but they are in fact a Dravidian or Turanian or Scythian people who have adopted, in a very highly-developed form, the Aryan caste system, whose germs are found in the four-caste system of Manu.

“Of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas there are probably few, although there are many who claim to belong to these Aryan castes. The *soi-disant* (self-called) Kshatriyas are principally the small Rajas and their followers of swordsmen, the Bondilis or Muchias and a few more. Those claiming to be Vaishyas are some of the merchant and trading castes. They are very numerous, and the claim has never been admitted for many of them.”

“The Shetti is no longer the only merchant or shopkeeper. On the contrary, the potter and the fisherman turned traders merely add Shetti to their names.” pp. 103, 104.

Dr. Burnell says, “I know some families in Southern Canara which now claim to be Brahmans, and are called so, but inscriptions show that 500 years ago they were Jains. Much doubt is thrown on the origin of the Gurukkal or Saiva priests of the Tamil country, and some wealthy traders in Madura have suddenly set up a claim to be Brahmans.”*

“There are “manufactured Brahmans” also in the north. Hunter’s *Orissa* cites “well-known legends of large bodies of aliens being from time to time incorporated even into the Brahman caste.” The same writer says, “In many outlying Provinces, we see non-Aryan chiefs and warlike tribes turn into Aryan Rajputs before our eyes.” The Bengali defender of caste in the *Calcutta Review*, says, “Just

* Translation of *The Ordinances of Manu*, p. 6.

now there is a hot controversy going on in Hindu society as to whether or not the Bunnya caste in Bengal are the representatives of the ancient Vaisya caste."

It was the same even in early times. Yudishtira says in the *Vana-parva*: "O most sapient Serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition of humanity, on account of the confusion of all castes. All (sorts of) men are continually begetting children on all (sorts of) women."

The foregoing evils of caste refer to the whole of India; but its worst type is to be found in the Kulinism of Bengal. A king, named Ballala Sen, a son of the river Brahmaputra (!), gave the title of *Kūl* or honourable, to certain Brahmans. Brahmans of a lower order are most anxious to get a Kulin son-in-law. Hence large sums are paid to them to marry their daughters. There are Kulins with twenty, fifty, or even a hundred wives. But the marriage of Kulin females is cruelly stringent; these must not on any account be given to any unless they are of an equal or superior grade. The poor Kulin father is often in the greatest difficulty. He cannot allow his daughter to marry any one of a lower grade; he cannot afford to purchase a husband in his own. It would be a great disgrace to allow her to remain unmarried. His only resource is to appeal to some decrepit old Kulin Brahman, who has already a multitude of wives, to save the honour of his family by adding one more to his list.

Kulin polygamy carries with it a license to indulge, to an almost unlimited extent, the vilest passions of human nature, while it occasions an untold amount of misery and crime.*

"The system of caste," says Principal Caird, "involves the worst of all wrongs to humanity—that of hallowing evil by the authority and sanction of religion."

The advantages and disadvantages of caste have now been stated, and the latter are considered far to outweigh the former. "Taken in excess even nectar is poison." Sir Lepel Griffin brings forward "contentment" as one of the good results of caste. But "contentment" may be simply a proof of degradation. Bishop Caldwell says of the women of India: "In their own opinion they have nothing to lament as a class, but are as well treated as women could wish to be, and are perfectly content." *The Hindu* says, "The contentment of our people is the result of moral death during centuries."

Granting that the advantages of caste have been greatly underrated, and its disadvantages exaggerated, the retention or abandonment of the system should hinge upon the answer to the following question:

Is caste consistent with strict justice between man and man?

* Abridged from *Modern Hinduism*, by Wilkins.

The burning words of Kingsley are true :—

“Foremost among them stands a law which I must insist on, boldly and perpetually, a law which man has been trying in all ages, as now, to deny, or at least to ignore; though he might have seen it if he had willed, working steadily in all times and nations. And that is—that as the fruit of righteousness is wealth and peace, strength and honour; the fruit of unrighteousness is poverty and anarchy, weakness and shame. It is an ancient doctrine and yet one ever young. The Hebrew prophets preached it long ago, in words which are fulfilling themselves around us every day, and which no new discoveries of science will abrogate, because they express the great root-law, which disobeyed, science itself cannot get a hearing.”*

As well may man gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles, as expect good results, on the whole, from an iniquitous system.

Caste is very much like slavery. Under good masters slavery has its advantages; but, taking it all in all, it is to be condemned for its injustice. So with caste. The old Romans had a saying, “Let justice be done though the heavens should fall.” This, in the end, is the wisest and best course.

OPINIONS OF CASTE.

The writer, in the estimation of the observers of caste and of some of its European advocates, may seem to have painted the disadvantages of caste in too strong colours. Each feature ought to be examined, and its consistency with truth considered. But the view he has given is the same as that held by some of the ablest and most intelligent men in India, deeply interested in the welfare of the country.

A “member of the highest, wealthiest and most influential of the strictest sect of Brahmans,” in an Essay on Caste, for the following reasons, pronounces it a “HUGE SHAM” :—

“How many of us, may I ask, satisfy the requirements of caste? I do not mean among our own heterodox selves, but among the bigoted conservatives, who with our uneducated women form the stronghold of the caste ethics? Our motto seems to be, not that they should not be violated, but that we should take care not to be found out in the breach. Ninety-nine out of a hundred Brahmans do not perform the *Sandhya* in proper time, never study the Vedas at all, seldom think of the sacrifices required daily, and do not even wash as often as the rules enjoin. Yet no one objects. We go through the ceremonies in a mechanical way, either without understanding them, or without being edified if we do. We are, without the slightest compunction, reciting the Vedas in the hearing of those who, if Manu were the ruler, would have had molten lead poured into their ears for their pains! We are content even to study

* Limits of Exact Science applied to History.

our own Vedas from non-Brahmanical pandits like Max Müller. We talk glibly of widow marriages and sea voyages, and shock the orthodox world beyond all forgiveness. We have renounced our ancestral and Gita-prescribed pursuits of life and duties, and have adopted mammon worship in hundreds of ways. We never even make a *namaskāra* to our idols, and, like consummate cynics, sneer at the most serious observances of our orthodox brethren. We educate our girls, and make them study our sacred literature in the teeth of tenets which degrade our women to the level of Sudras. What prevents our travelling in other lands and acquiring practical wisdom? What makes our practical religion so ridiculous in the eyes of other religionists? CASTE. It is demoralizing in its effects, engenders self-sufficiency, narrows our sympathies, and is alike opposed to reason and conscience. Its refrain is that the bulk of the human race should for ever hopelessly continue to be the helots of a narrow oligarchy irrespective of religious purity, wealth, or intellectual superiority. It in effect represents the Divine Father of mankind as a partial Being, with human and earthly passions and leanings. I repeat therefore that caste is a HUGE SHAM, and if we are true to ourselves, to human nature, to God's eternal laws, and to our country's real good, we ought to renounce it."*

Pandit Shiva Nath Sastri.—The following are the heads of a lecture on the effects of caste :—

(1) It has produced disunion and discord. (2) It has made honest manual labour contemptible in this country. (3) It has checked internal and external commerce. (4) It has brought on physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles. (5) It has been a source of conservatism in every thing. (6) It has suppressed the development of individuality and independence of character. (7) It has helped in developing other injurious customs, such as early marriage, the charging of heavy matrimonial fees, &c. (8) It has successfully restrained the growth and development of national worth; whilst allowing opportunity of mental and spiritual culture only to a limited number of privileged people, it has denied these opportunities to the majority of the lower classes, consequently it has made the country negatively a loser. (9) It has made the country fit for foreign slavery by previously enslaving the people by the most abject spiritual tyranny.

Babu Keshab Chandra Sen.—An appeal to "Young India," contains the following :—

"Next to idolatry and vitally connected with its huge system is caste. You should deal with it as manfully and unsparingly as with idolatry. That Hindu castism is a frightful social scourge no one can deny. It has completely and hopelessly wrecked social unity, harmony, and happiness, and for centuries it has opposed all social progress. But few seem to think that it is not so much as a social but as a religious institution that it has become the great scourge it really is. As a system of absurd social distinctions, it is certainly pernicious. But when we view

* Quoted in the *Indian Evangelical Review*.

it on moral grounds it appears as a scandal to conscience, and an insult to humanity, and all our moral ideas and sentiments rise to execrate it, and to demand its immediate extermination. Caste is the bulwark of Hindu idolatry and the safeguard of Brahminical priesthood. It is an audacious and sacrilegious violation of God's law of human brotherhood. It makes civil distinctions inviolable divine institutions, and in the name of the Holy God sows perpetual discord and enmity among His children ! It exalts one section of the people above the rest, gives the former, under the seal of divine sanction, the monopoly of education, religion and all the advantages of social pre-eminence, and visits them with the arbitrary authority of exercising a tyrannical sway over unfortunate and helpless millions of human souls trampling them under their feet and holding them in a state of miserable servitude. It sets up the Brahminical order as the very viceregents of the Deity and stamps the mass of the population as a degraded and unclean race, unworthy of manhood and unfit for heaven. Who can tolerate this woeful despotism, this system of abhorrent slavery, this robbery of divine authority ? Fellow-countrymen, if you abjure idolatry and rally under the heavenly standard of the true God, you must establish and organize a new brotherhood on the basis of enlightened thoughts and sentiments : in this reformed alliance you must discard and discountenance all caste distinctions, that truth may be freely embraced by all, Brahmin and Sudra alike, and both by virtue of birthright may secure access to the blessings of spiritual freedom, progress and happiness, without let or hindrance. Abandon idolatry and seek the worship of the true God ; kill the monster caste and form a rational and religious brotherhood of all your reformed countrymen."

Rev. Dr. Duff.—Educated Hindus, throughout India, owe a deep debt of gratitude to this distinguished missionary. It was largely through his influence that the modern system of education was introduced. What did he think of the effects of caste ?

" In point of fact, has not caste, even in the judgment of many of the more candid of its favourers and palliators, *tended*, in all ages, under all changes of dynasty, and amid circumstances the most diverse, to cramp and paralyse the vigour of the mental faculties,—to retard, if not wholly obstruct, the progress of civilization,—to arrest and freeze up the genial current of benevolent feeling, and saturate the whole soul with an isolating, accursed selfishness,—to extinguish every spark of true patriotism, and quench all zeal in the promotion of joint enterprises of public utility,—to banish alike the conception and the reality of human duties and virtues, or duties and virtues pertaining to man as man,—to defeat the ends of truth and righteousness between man and man, and aid and abet the notorious national habits of cruelty and perjury,—to form and consolidate, as by the spell of a freemasonry, those harpy-like fraternities of religious mendicants, and other unproductive classes, that gorge themselves on the very life-blood of the industrious throughout the land,—to facilitate the associated aggregation of dacoits, thugs, and other desperate confederacies for the commission of deadly crimes,—to foster and encourage secret cabals, plots, and conspiracies, that may burst forth in a tempest of conflagration and rapine, massacre and blood,—to externalise all

morality, converting it into a ceaseless round of forms, rites and ceremonies, the most puerile, unmeaning, and degrading; thus practically annihilating all moral distinctions, leaving the people without a conscience, and the universe without a God or Righteous Moral Governor?*

Indu Prakash.—Some extracts have already been made from this influential Bombay journal. The remainder is given below :—

“The question is not about going to England, but about an unmanly submission to the vilest and most absurd prejudices of the caste system and Hinduism, which nothing can check and uproot but a spirit of noble independence, rigid moral firmness, and genuine patriotism. The prohibition to go to England is the least of our complaints against the tyranny of caste.”

It “extends from the most trifling to the most important affairs of Hindu life. It cripples the independent action of individuals, sows the seed of bitter discord between the different sections of society, encourages the most abominable practices, and dries up all the springs of that social, moral, and intellectual freedom which alone can secure greatness, whether to individuals or nations.”

“Oh God, have mercy on our fallen-countrymen! Give them true knowledge of Thy Fatherhood, and their brotherhood; that our countless millions may be bound by one social tie, and joining hand with hand, and heart with heart, move onward in the path of freedom and righteousness, knowledge and glory, and national regeneration.”

DUTY WITH REGARD TO CASTE.

This is a question of the greatest importance and of no small difficulty. So long as it is confined to talk, its settlement is easy; but practical action is a very different thing.

Some writers dwell upon the evil that would result from the immediate abolition of caste. This is the last thing to be dreaded. Caste will “die hard.” The fear is—not lest it should give up the ghost too quickly, but lest it should require to apologize, like Charles II. for being such an “unconscionable time” in taking its departure. In one form or another, it will exist on the earth as long as the human race in its present condition. “The spirit of caste never dies.”

Duty with regard to caste may be noticed, in turn, under three heads—the British Government, Hindus, and Christians. . .

I. DUTY OF GOVERNMENT.

The British Government should no longer use its vast influence to maintain caste distinctions.—The Sepoy Rebellion was a terrible result of petting and pampering caste. It is granted that something has already been done. Means have been taken to prevent caste combinations in the Native army. All castes may draw water from

* *The Indian Rebellion*, pp. 344–346.

public wells, be admitted into public schools, and sit together in railway carriages. The fact that Brahmans have had practically a monopoly of Government official service has also received some attention. Dr. Cornish remarked :—

“Politically it is not to the advantage of the Government that every question connected with the progress of the country should be viewed through the medium of Brahman spectacles. The contempt which the Brahmans evince for the lower classes, is in itself a serious bar to their usefulness in many phases of official life, and the true policy of the state would be to limit their numbers in official positions, and to encourage a larger proportion of non-Brahmanical Hindus and Mussulmans to enter official service, so as to allow no special pre-eminence, or great preponderance of any particular caste.” Census Report for 1871, p. 197.

To the present time, however, the British Government, not *intentionally* but *indirectly*, is one of the chief agencies for the perpetuation of caste distinctions, and with them of caste feuds. This is done in two ways :—

1. *By registering in the Census Returns the most minute caste distinctions, and entering them in a scale graded according to caste ideas.*—The Madras Census Returns for 1881 gave 19,044 Caste names (Report, vol. I. p. 102). Dr. Cornish says, “The castes are entered in the order in which native authorities are pretty generally agreed as the order of their relative importance.” Report for 1871, p. 117). The arrangement and the number belonging to each in the Madras Presidency in 1881 are given in the following table :—

| No. | Caste Name. | Occupation. | Total Number. |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | Brahmans | Priests | 1,122,070 |
| 2 | Kshatriyas | Warriors | 193,550 |
| 3 | Shetties | Traders | 640,017 |
| 4 | Vellalars | Cultivators | 7,767,463 |
| 5 | Idaiyars | Shepherds | 1,586,000 |
| 6 | Kammalars | Artizans | 849,901 |
| 7 | Kanakkan | Writers | 102,472 |
| 8 | Kaikalar | Weavers | 979,062 |
| 9 | Vanniyar | Labourers | 3,751,093 |
| 10 | Kushavan | Potters | 263,975 |
| 11 | Satani | Mixed Castes | 625,455 |
| 12 | Shembadavan | Fishermen | 873,448 |
| 13 | Shanan | Toddy-drawers | 1,621,111 |
| 14 | Ambattan | Barbers | 348,390 |
| 15 | Vannan | Washermen | 528,535 |
| 16 | Pariahs | Labourers | 4,439,253 |
| 17 | Others, including “Not Stated.” | ... | 2,811,841 |
| | | | 2,8497,666 |

Government, of course, repudiates all claim to settle precedence,—of placing shepherds above writers, fishermen above toddy-drawers, &c. but the effect is all the same. Shepherds, in the Government Tables, are of the fifth grade; writers of the seventh, &c. Such a classification may gratify the pride of a small section, but it tends to perpetuate caste disputes among the great bulk of the population.

It should be stated that in the Census Returns Native Christians are not required to give their original castes.

2. *By entering Caste Distinctions in other public documents and making inquiries in Court about Caste.*

The Bombay Government Education Directory* may be given as an example. It contains a column, "Caste or Religion." The following are some of the entries. "Vania, Brahman, Hindu, Kshatriya, Bania, Coppersmith, Kunbi, Lohar, Mali, &c."

With regard to the other point, the following illustrations may be given. In the Telugu country, to the north of Madras, numbers belonging to the shoemaker caste, considered one of the most degraded, have become Christians. Brahman officials, when summoning them as witnesses, &c. have wished to add to their Christian names the opprobrious caste designation. English Magistrates in Court have tried to elicit it from the witnesses themselves. The attempt, in some cases, has been successfully resisted. A witness, when asked to give his caste, has simply said, "I am a Christian," and the Magistrate has been obliged to give way. If a Hindu is thrust out of his caste by becoming a Christian, there is no justice in compelling him to answer to the caste name.

No part of the Proclamation of 1858 is more frequently quoted than

"It is our further will, that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge."

Brahmans and other so-called high castes consider the employment of a comparative handful of Europeans as a breach of this pledge; but they think it quite proper to exclude the lower castes.

The following recommendations by the late Dr. Duff indicate the right course on the part of Government:—

"Let us henceforth proclaim it to all India and the world, that in future, we are, as a Government, to have nothing whatever to do with caste, as such,—that we are to ask no questions concerning it—that we are to look to the *highest qualifications* for particular business in view, and to *these alone*, as the determining elements in the selection of candidates. Let us honestly act out the spirit and intent of such a proclamation, by practically proving to India and the world, that whosoever

* See *Bombay Educational Record* for April, 1887.

brings the most eminent qualifications into the labour-market throughout every department—military, judicial, fiscal, police, or educational—must thereby ensure a decided preference, and fetch the highest price. And let it further be made to be felt, that mental attainments, original and acquired, as well as official aptitude, actual or potential, being equal, he will be the object of choice whose moral character, not in the Hindu ceremonial sense, but in the true European or Christian sense, is best established; or whose openly avowed and consistently professed moral and religious principles may furnish the surest guarantee for uprightness and conscientiousness in the discharge of duty.

“In actually carrying out such an ordinance, let it be decreed that in registering the names of successful candidates, their *proper names alone*, and not, as most frequently hitherto, *their caste be officially recorded*; or if, in addition to the bare name, there be columns for place of nativity, seminary of education, or any other item of identification, let it still be *peremptorily forbidden to have any separate column for caste*.

“In these several ways, let caste, without any violent or forcible interference, be simply and absolutely ignored by our Christian Government in connexion with the hundreds of thousands of offices at its disposal throughout every branch of the public service, and the effect will, in time, be found vastly to exceed the apparent smallness and simplicity of the means. The mere fact of such universal and continuous non-recognition of caste by the paramount and sovereign power will silently operate on the Asiatic mind as by a slow but a steady process of attrition; and, along with other and more potent influences, will eventually succeed in reducing its once lofty and proud pretensions into something like a fluent, or constantly diminishing and finally evanescent, quantity.

“Besides its simplicity and practicability, the grand advantage of adopting such a course is, that it obviously involves no violence to religious scruples,—no restraint on liberty of conscience.”*

Mr. Sherring, in his elaborate work on Caste, makes similar recommendations:—

“In regard to not a few situations of importance under the Government, the question is at once asked of candidates, ‘To what caste do you belong?’ Official notices commonly state the castes of Government servants; and thus those of low caste, although holding, it may be, as good positions as those of higher castes, are held up to obloquy and contempt. I believe this is altogether unintentional on the part of the Government. Nevertheless, it is beyond dispute that caste is invigorated, and honoured, by the public attention which is thus paid to it. Moreover, Hindus of good caste, naturally feel that they stand in favour with the Government, by virtue of their caste, and in proportion to its rank, to the disadvantage of Hindus of lower castes, who, on the other hand, are painfully conscious of the comparative dishonour with which they are regarded, and treated, on account of caste inferiority. So inveterate is the habit, in some Government departments, of stating in official

* *The Indian Rebellion*, pp. 350-352.

documents, the castes of Hindu employees, that even when a Hindu becomes a Christian he is still compelled to state his caste, which, in his case, is the Christian caste. This recognition of caste by the British Government in India is a custom which it most likely inherited when it took possession of the country and which it has unwittingly observed to the present time, for it would be unjust, as well as absurd, to imagine that the Government, which has so determinately severed itself from all connexion with the Hindu Idolatry, would knowingly lend its influence to the propping up of Hindu caste. Still it has done so. Henceforward, however, its connexion with it should cease. It should not recognize the institution in any way whatever. Its official documents, its monthly forms, pay bills, and other papers containing description of its servants, should make no allusion to it. Specially, should the question never be asked of a candidate for a post under Government what is your caste? The candidate's suitability for a post should be decided by his qualifications, altogether apart from the subject of caste. In short, the Government should carefully abstain by fitting regulations from sanctioning such an obnoxious and terrible social evil.*

Mr. Sherring urges the same course upon merchants and private employers of labour that he does upon Government.

To the foregoing may be added the opinion of Sir John Lawrence, in a Punjab order during the Mutiny :—

"The system of caste can no longer be permitted to *rule* our services. Soldiers and Government servants of every class must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, caste or class."

The great argument for the retention of caste names is for identification. It may be asked how is this secured in all other countries of the world where caste does not exist? The three following entries are sufficient.

1. *The name*.—If a person choose to retain in his name the caste section to which he belongs, as Banerjee, Mudaliyar, &c., to this there is no objection. When a claim hinges upon belonging to a particular caste, the question may be put. It is a *separate general heading for caste* that is condemned.

2. *Employment*.

3. *Place of Residence*.

These are enough for postal purposes and they should suffice in other cases.

It is granted that for statistical objects Caste Returns in the Census Reports are interesting and useful. One great objection might also be obviated by ranking them *alphabetically*. The last Madras Census Report says :—

"Of late years castes have been so infinitely multiplied that, even if there were any recognised principle of precedence, the *nuances* of rank

* Quoted in *Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. VII. pp. 191, 192.

would be so slight, that the places of the several castes could not be distinguished. ... The test of social pre-eminence, as a guide to grading the castes, is not only an impracticable one, but it will become more so, every year." Report, p. 105.

Still, the disadvantages greatly preponderate even against an alphabetical arrangement. Besides, the great divisions are now sufficiently known. How long the British Government will continue to countenance an unjust system, and help to perpetuate discord among those under its rule, it is hard to say. Great bodies are slow to move. Years of agitation were needed before British troops in India were released from firing salutes in honour of idols. The Bishop of Madras was even censured by the Madras Government for proposing its discontinuance. The British Government long employed Brahmans to pray for rain, while the Ceylon Government paid for "devil dances" for "Her Majesty's Service."

Some members of Government, like Sir Lepel Griffin, think caste useful in preventing rebellion. Even politically, however, it has its disadvantages. It is sometimes used for combinations to conceal injustice and crime. The terrorism and "boycotting" of the National League, which the British Government is trying to suppress in Ireland, is simply a reproduction of the Indian caste ban. The case of the Ahmedabad merchant has been noticed at page 26.

Not a few European officers become Brahmanised through the influence of their caste subordinates. This has caused the most public-spirited Native of Ceylon, who has made the largest contributions for the benefit of the Island, to be passed over in the distribution of Jubilee honours, to please a selfish class, who have sought only their own advancement, and the degradation of large bodies of their countrymen.

The words of Kingsley have already been quoted. The throne is not to be established by iniquity. Justice between man and man is the only secure basis of Government, and every other foundation is rotten.

Dr. Burnell justly characterises the "Introduction on Caste," in the Madras Census Report of Dr. Cornish, as "invaluable." Few Europeans had better opportunities for examining the working of caste. His opinion is not that of a Missionary or an "irresponsible pamphleteer," but of a public officer without bias, after careful investigation. The Introduction concludes with the words that caste "is now the greatest bar to the advance of the Indian people in civilization and aptitude for self-government." Report, p. 130.

The writer strongly disowns any desire to deal unfairly with Brahmans. So long as they are the best qualified candidates for office, let them be appointed. From their superior advantages for unnumbered generations, they are long likely to retain their

superiority. On the other hand, they should not have any preference simply on the ground of their caste. "A fair field and no favour," should be the guiding principle. There is a Latin proverb, *detur digniori*, "Let it be given to the more worthy." As Lord Kenyon, a Chief Justice of England, remarked, "There is no rule better established respecting the disposal of every office, in which the public are concerned than this."

It may be urged that the object of Government is rather to discourage caste by a column for it in the Returns—it is intended to guard against a preponderance of Brahmans. If so, it is not the first case in which we have intensified an evil by our ill-considered remedies.

All that Government is asked to do with regard to caste as suggested by Dr. Duff is, "*simply to ignore its existence altogether.*" He adds:—

"Let there be no direct or violent attack, by the arm of secular power, on it or any of its usages. So long as our native fellow-subjects are in darkness, and know and feel, and believe no better, let them retain and freely practise what usages and customs they please, so far as these do not interfere with the peace and order of society, or openly trench on the grand fundamental laws of general morality. But, while we would studiously abstain from all forcible or sinister means of inducing or compelling them to tear asunder and cast away the encumbering fetters of caste, let us be scrupulously careful, both in word and deed, to refrain from aught that would confound bare tolerance with favouring approbation—simple liberty of conscience with formal sanction of law."*

II. THE DUTY OF HINDUS.

1. It should be made as widely known as possible that caste is not recognised in the Vedas.

Professor Max Müller first printed the whole of the Rig Veda with the commentary of Sayana; and he has devoted nearly his entire life to its study under the most favourable circumstances. What does he say?

"There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. There is no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal." *Chips*. Vol. II.

Mr. J. Siromani, M.A., B.L., and of the College of Pundits, Nadiya,

in his *Commentary on Hindu Law*, quotes the following from Goldstücker, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar :—

“The institution of caste, however, seems at the time (the Sanhita period) to have been unknown, for there is no evidence to prove that the names which at a later period were current for the distinction of caste, were employed in the same sense by the poets of these hymns.” p. 13.

Mr. Siromani says, “In former times a girl of the lower caste could be taken in marriage. But intermarriage between the several castes is forbidden in the present age. There is no express prohibition in the Shastras as to intermarriage between several classes of the same caste.” p. 68.

Mr. K. K. Bhattacharjya, late Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta, and Tagore Professor of Law, says, “There is overwhelming evidence in ancient texts that in these days intermarriage among the different castes was of very frequent occurrence.”*

The present stringent rules are simply based on custom.

2. The effects of caste should be carefully considered, and it should especially be inquired whether it is consistent with truth and justice.

Not very long ago there were millions of Negro slaves in the West Indies and the United States, owned by Englishmen and Americans. It was most difficult to convince these slaveholders that it was wrong to retain their fellowmen in bondage, to buy and sell them like cattle. It will be as hard a task for those who have all their lives been accustomed to caste to form a dispassionate judgment with regard to its merits. As in the case of the slaveholders also, there is the sacrifice involved if it is wrong. We are easily convinced of what we wish to believe. Still, the duty is plain. God has given us reason, and we are not to act simply like sheep. Our responsibility is the same although we seek to evade it.

3. If caste is founded on a blasphemous falsehood and is unjust, it should be felt to be sinful to countenance it in any way.—

The late Rev. Dr. Krishna Mohun Banerjea says :

“Such of our readers as have not absolutely surrendered their mental freedom to the pretended authority of the Vedas and Puranas, should consider the guilt of conforming to a system which is falsely attributed to a divine original. Of all forgeries the most flagitious and profane is that, which connects the name of the Almighty with an untruth. If the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra did not really proceed from different parts of the Creator's person, the story is nothing short of blasphemy. He who professes assent to such a story by his conformity to the institution of caste is *particeps criminis* (a sharer in the crime). Even if it were abstractedly right to classify a people, it would

still be a participation in the spiritual forgeries of the Shastras to support the specific institution which they have originated."

It must be acknowledged that an enlightened conscience is needed for this feeling. Hindus are familiar with stories of their highest gods, charging them with the most heinous crimes. Brahma, the fabled Creator, is said to have been cursed for his evil deeds, and deprived of worship. Accustomed from infancy to the observance of caste, it becomes a kind of second nature. But though conscience has been deadened and perverted, it has not been altogether destroyed. It is difficult to see how any educated man can honestly say that the caste system, as laid down by Manu, is just and righteous. If, on the other hand, it is unjust and unrighteous, its support, in any way, is to be condemned. Sin sits lightly upon the conscience of the Hindu, and to argue that because a thing is wrong in itself he ought to give it up, he regards as a *non sequitur*—not a necessary deduction. It ought to be shown that it is contrary to custom. In time, however, more correct views will prevail.

4. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man should be recognised and acted upon.—An English poet says,

"Children we are all
Of one Great Father, in whatever clime
His providence hath cast the seed of life;
All tongues, all colours."

The Mahabharata has the following :—

"Small souls inquire 'Belongs this man
To our own race, or class, or clan ?'
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race."

That there is no real distinction between men is admitted by all who have any claim to intelligence.

In one of the Pitakas, the sacred books of the Buddhists, it is said, that "Caste is a sound, and nothing but a sound." Ashwagosha argues that different animals can be distinguished by different structure. We can say "this is a bull's foot; that a deer's foot," and so on. But there are no similar differences between the castes into which men are divided.

Yadhisthira says in the Vana-parva :—

"The speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all mankind are alike....I have already declared that he is a Brahman in whom purity of conduct is recognised."

The Santi-parva is even more explicit. Bharadvaja says :—

"Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all; by what then is caste discriminated? Sweat, urine,

excrement, phlegm, bile and blood (are common to all) ; the bodies of all decay ; by what then is caste discriminated ? Brigu replies : There is no difference of castes ; this world, having been at first created by Brahma entirely Brahmanic, became (afterwards) separated into castes in consequence of works."

"There is a monotheism," says Max Müller, "which precedes the polytheism of the Veda." As already mentioned, the ancestors of the Hindus, Greeks, Romans, and English, once lived together worshipping the same God, under the same name—a name which meant Heaven-Father. The long separated Aryan nations should use again, "the primeval prayer, in that form which will endure for ever, 'Our Father which art in heaven.'"

The Bible says that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." "Have we not all one father ? hath not one God created us ?" Let us acknowledge each other as brethren, and treat each other as brethren.

The golden rule should be followed : "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This strikes at the root of caste.

5. **No opprobrious caste names should be used, and all should be addressed without indignity.**—It has been shown that there is no such thing as caste distinctions, and that to maintain them is to maintain a falsehood. It has also been pointed out that the so-called low castes are very necessary members of the community, and that they are entitled to gratitude rather than disdain on account of the disagreeable duties they have to perform. A Chandal who supports himself and his family by honest labour deserves far more respect than a Brahman who spends his time in idleness and gains his living by false claims. One of the Shastras contains the following : "Caste is not regarded by the gods, but rather those virtues that promote universal happiness : and even an outcaste, if he possesses them, is owned by *them* as a Brahman."

The rudeness of some Europeans is a frequent and, in some cases, a just complaint in Native papers. None regret it more than some of their own countrymen. But there is a religious silence regarding the degradation to which many millions are daily subjected. The *Indian Mirror* justly remarks :

"If ten Englishmen behave haughtily towards the Natives, they deserve to be condemned, and they will be condemned throughout the civilized world by every right-thinking man. What we contend for is that while we are apt to animadvert on the overbearing conduct of a certain class of Englishmen, we seem indifferent or perhaps blind to the same defect in ourselves."

The *Times of India* says, "No Englishman treats the Natives of this country with the contempt and insolence which high caste Hindoos habitually display towards their low-caste brethren."

The Sinhalese are said to have 16 forms of the second personal pronoun, ranging from the highest respect to the utmost contempt. The last is constantly used by many of the so-called high castes in speaking to numbers of their fellow-countrymen, rendering to them useful service.

Smiles says, "There are many tests by which a gentleman may be known; but there is one that never fails—how does he *exercise power* over those subordinate to him?" There are men that cringe to their superiors, who, in speaking to their inferiors, could not assume harsher and more contemptuous language were they speaking to a dog.

The last words uttered by the Duke of Wellington were, "Yes, if you please," addressed to a servant who asked him if he would take a cup of tea. The "Great Duke" had been accustomed to command large armies, and to be waited on by some of the noblest in the land; but thus he spoke to one of his common servants:

The Bible command is "Honour all men." Let every person be addressed in terms which do not imply any disrespect.

6. Subdivisions of the same caste should freely eat together and intermarry.—It is not desirable, as a rule, for persons widely dissimilar in social position and tastes to marry. A Pariah girl, well educated in a Mission Boarding School, may herself be a suitable match for an educated Brahman, but in India when a man marries a wife he is considered also to marry all her relations, who think they have a right to come and quarter themselves upon him. The first and easiest step is that proposed by Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar:—

"Can nothing be done to bring into intermarrying relations all the members of a class like Mudaliyars or Nayadus? that the son of one Nayadu should marry the daughter of another Naidu does not seem to involve any violation of the Vedic or Smrithic precepts. No religious scruples need be set at rest, and I presume there will be no great opposition from the priest. Custom is the only foe to contend with. I would fain think that if a small beginning were made in the way of uniting three or four of the many sections of Mudaliyars, the advantageous character of the union would be readily and fully appreciated, and the way be prepared for a further blending together of the sections that now stand apart. In a matter like this, the chief city should set the example, and the towns in the mofussil will follow suit, sooner or later."

It has been shown that the Vadas do not contain any restriction whatever about marriages, and that even in the time of Manu there were intermarriages between the different castes. The present system of forbidding marriages between numerous sections of the same caste is modern, and rests wholly on custom.

7. Educated men of the same social standing should eat together and their families should intermarry.—This would be the second step in advance.

The great caste rod of terror is the prohibition of marriage, Hindus feel bound to marry their children, and if outcasted this is impossible according to their ideas. There are now so many educated and intelligent Hindus in the great cities of India, that they outnumber several of the subdivisions that confine intermarriage to themselves. A greater choice of marriage would thus be permitted, while there would also be a greater similarity of tastes and greater happiness. Early marriage would not be necessary, and girls might be properly educated.

It has been proposed that a union of this kind should be formed among educated men, who would bind themselves to intermarry their children. If this were done, it would give a great impulse to the movement throughout India.

8. **Educated men, on returning from Europe, should refuse to make expiation.**—One of the most degrading features of Hinduism is its *animal worship*. No doubt this has existed in all ages among savage or semi-civilized nations; but perhaps its lowest depth is reached in India. Not only is the cow worshipped, but her very excrements are considered sacred. Her urine is the best of all holy waters—a sin-destroying liquid which purifies every thing it touches. Among the Parsis, it is brought to the house every morning. Cow-dung is supposed to be of equal efficacy. The ashes produced by burning this substance are of such a holy nature that they have only to be sprinkled over a sinner to convert him into a saint.* To swallow a pill composed of the five† products of the cow will even purify a man from the deep pollution of a visit to England.

That the ignorant should cling to caste, is only what might be expected; but it is humiliating that some men who ought to be the leaders of enlightened public opinion bend their necks to its yoke. A recent instance may be noticed.

Babu Amrita Lal Roy visited different parts of England, and afterwards resided three years in the United States, which he regards as the “hub of creation,” and where he “was rewarded with friendship and esteem by some of the most intelligent Americans.” Tell it not in the streets of New York, publish it not in the pages of the *North American Review*, that this gentleman, after enjoying such advantages, on his return to Calcutta, was purified from contact with unclean Mleechas by swallowing a pill made of the five products of the cow, and was received again into caste. “It sounds odd,” says *The Liberal*, “that a person who has eaten no end of cows should finish by showing his veneration for the same animal by swallowing dung-cakes.”

The worst feature of the case is that an influential Bengali newspaper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, regards Mr. Roy as having

* Sir Monier Williams, *Religious Thought in India*, p. 318.

† Milk, curds, ghee, urine, and dung.

"shown an amount of heroism which ought to form an example to those impious wretches who rebel against the laws and customs of their own country. After a keen observation of several years he comes home, and he prefers his superstition and idolatry to all that he had seen in the so-called enlightened countries of the world. This is a fact, which ought to give some food for reflection."

The Bombay Gazette says: "We agree that this does afford 'food for reflection,' in illustrating how possible it is even for men, claiming respectability, to debase themselves before the whole world, and for them and their friends to glory in their shame."

It would be unfair not to give other Native comments on such proceedings. The following quotation had reference to another case, but the principle is the same.

The Hindu Patriot, the leading Native paper, while under the editorship of the late Hon. Kristo Das Pal, remarked:—

"As Indians, we should feel humiliated to see any one of our fellow-Indians, with silly caste-notions in his head, travelling to Europe—especially, when the traveller pretends to represent the rising and educated classes of this great continent. We do not wish people in England, in Europe, to believe that what we call 'education' has not yet freed our intellects from the trammels of superstition; that we are afraid even to drink a glass of pure water from the hands of an Englishman, lest the recording angel should make a damning entry against us in his books! India can never be regenerated till she has outlived the oppressive institution of caste; and she can never outlive the oppressive system of caste, if we are to look to men like who begins like a daring rebel, but ends into an imbecile swallower of penitential pills!"

It can scarcely be supposed that Mr. Roy informed "the most intelligent Americans" of the "heroism" he was to display on his return to Calcutta, by becoming "an imbecile swallower of penitential pills."

This "Mr. Facing-both-ways" has started a newspaper which he calls *Hope*! It should rather be called *Despair*, if the object is to combine political freedom with "superstition and idolatry." Mr. N. G. Chandavarker, the Bombay delegate to England, said with truth recently: "Above all, we are a caste-ridden people, and where caste exists, there the political spirit can and will never prosper." Professor Bhandarkar says: "The caste system is at the root of the political slavery of India."

But such disgraceful concessions to caste and animal worship have a far more important bearing than even upon political advancement. Referring to an instance in 1886, *The Indian Messenger* justly remarks:—

"We find in this only cause to mourn, for we look upon it as one more act, tending to make the present Hindu society hollow and hypocritical. Under the influence of Western education a young man many discard

many things, but let him not discard sincerity, the only thing that can entitle a man to the respect of his fellowmen, and without which no man or no nation was ever ennobled."

All Indians, however, in their return from England, have not acted the part of the poltroon like Mr. Roy. One good result has been that it is beginning to be admitted that expiation is not necessary.

III. THE DUTY OF CHRISTIANS.

Professing Christians are especially bound not to exhibit the caste spirit in any degree.—The Hindu thinks that caste has religious authority, and that it is his duty to observe it. The Christian, on the other hand, who keeps caste, is acting in direct opposition to his professed Master. The second great commandment is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Christ also says, "Ye are brethren." Another precept of the New Testament is, "In honour preferring one another." All these are incompatible with the caste spirit.

Just as the fiercest caste disputes are among Pariahs and shoemakers, so some of the Native Christians who are most tenacious about caste were originally of what are called the lower castes. Brahman converts to Christianity, in general, are more free from the spirit.

The excuse is made that caste is observed among Christians simply as a distinction of rank; but its features and results are the same as in the Hindu system. It depends upon birth alone, and is unchangeable. It is founded on pride and falsehood. Its father is Satan, whose condemnation was pride, and who was a liar from the beginning. Those who manifest it show by their spirit to whom they belong.

It is not proposed that all classes of Christians should eat together or intermarry. Their tastes and circumstances differ greatly, and, as it has already been remarked with reference to Hindus, dissimilarity in these respects is a bar to happiness in the married life. But in church there should not be any distinction, nor should it once be named among Christians in ordinary life.

Although the Ceylon Buddhists observe caste, it is also contrary to their religion.

PROSPECTS OF CASTE.

The motto on the title page, from Sir Madhava Rao, applies especially to caste:—

"The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted,

or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!!”

There is a Persian proverb, “The proper devil of mankind is man.” People are their own worst enemies. God said, through Jeremiah, of the Jews in ancient times, “The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so.” The iron of slavery has entered into the soul of the Hindus. They have become “hereditary bondsmen,”—nay, they even hug their fetters. Like ignorant Hindu women, they are quite content, or rather, like the ancient Jews, they “love to have it so.” To be unconscious of their degradation is their deepest degradation.

The discouragements and encouragements in the way of reform will now be noticed.

Opposition to Reform from False Patriotism.—It has been remarked that the “spirit of caste never dies.” At present among a section of educated Hindus it takes the shape of an exaggerated idea of their ancient civilization, and in a proof of this they maintain the superiority of their social customs to the changes which certain reformers seek to introduce.

Fifty years ago the words of Burns were hailed with enthusiasm by a large meeting in Calcutta:—

“For a’ that, and a’ that,
It’s comin’ yet for a’ that,
That man to man, the world o’er.
Shall brothers be, for a’ that.”

The following quotation from the *Indu Prakash* shows a very different spirit:

“The *Indian Messenger* is responsible for the following statement:—‘It was but the other day that we heard of a student of a low caste, who has passed the F. A. examination this year, being looked upon with extreme dislike by his fellow-students, who wished that he should not be allowed to sit on the same bench with them.’ But for the fact that the statement is made by a paper, which is scrupulously accurate in its facts, we should have doubted it. But the fact is—and no one that reads the signs of the times can fail to notice it and be painfully impressed by it—well, we say the fact is that there seems to be a strong, blind, unreasonable, and suicidal reaction in favour of customs which have contributed to the downfall of the ancient Hindu race. Caste is good; infant marriage is good: enforced widowhood is good.”

The *Saboth Patrika* contains the following account of a meeting lately held in Calcutta:—

“The anti-reform spirit which we find displayed in Bombay and Poona among our young graduates and still younger undergraduates and other students has its exact counterpart in Calcutta. At a recent meeting of a

students' association in Calcutta, we learn from a Calcutta paper, the subject of early marriages was brought up for discussion. One of the speakers had the hardihood to denounce the custom in very strong language. For this he was hissed and laughed at by the audience; nay, such was the feeling displayed at the meeting and such the noise and din which ensued, that the President of the meeting, no less a person than Babu S. N. Banerji had, we learn, to adjourn the debate to another day. On this occasion, the audience patiently listened to a stout defence of the time-honoured custom, but compelled another speaker who raised his voice against it to resume his seat without completing his speech. Thereupon Mr. Banerji called upon Pandit Shivrath Shastri to address the meeting, but he very wisely declined the honour. In this way, did the rising hope of Calcutta establish its patriotism on the occasion.*

Principal Wordsworth, acknowledged to be one of the warmest friends of India, and from his position having the best means of ascertaining the truth, makes the following severe remarks regarding the action of some educated Hindus:—

"I need hardly say, that I consider the existence of the Hindu child-widow one of the darkest blots that ever defaced the civilisation of any people, and it is the direct and necessary consequence of the system of infant marriage. Some years ago I should have expected that these sentiments would have found an echo in the bosom of every Hindu who had received an English education, and particularly among those persons who were attempting to appropriate the political methods and ideas of Englishmen. I have no such delusion now. I find some of them employing all the resources of theological sophistry and cant, not simply to palliate, but to vindicate what is plainly one of the most cruel, blighting, and selfish forms of human superstition and tyranny. I find others manœuvring to arrest every sincere effort at reform, sophisticating between right and wrong, defaming the character and motives of reformers, and labouring to establish by arguments as ridiculous as they are insulting, that English domestic society offers a warning rather than an example to Hindus. I find them vindicating early marriage as the only safeguard against universal sexual license, a confession of moral incompetence which I should have thought that any people with a grain of self-respect would have shrunk from advancing."†

The Hindu complains of somewhat of the same spirit being manifested in Madras:—

"We have observed of late a tendency on the part of some of our educated countrymen to apply their mental powers for irrationally reactionary purposes. Social customs and institutions which are evil in their results, and are the product of past simpler and less civilized conditions, have received elaborate defence; and even certain merits have been attached to them. The general community of educated natives have rejected them, if not all of them in practice, but at least in their

* Quoted in *Bombay Guardian*, 6th August, 1887.

† Letter to Mr. M. Malabari.

beliefs, as injurious to social progress, and as being inconsistent with modern civilization. Yet we have seen tolerably educated men setting up elaborate defences of them and even going the length of denouncing the majority, not agreeing with them as unpatriotic, denationalized and so forth . . . A sentiment of pride in our own annals is necessary for any people to feel self-respect. It is reasonable and wholesome if we indulge it as a stimulus to our attachment to the country and to patriotic reform. But to take a past state of things which is separated from the present by centuries of barbarous history, as the pattern of reform, is to aim not at progression but at retrogression."

The *Indian Messenger* points out the injurious effects upon the moral character, of those who take part in such movements, and attributes them to a false patriotism :—

"We sincerely regret the recent agitation in favour of infant-marriage, not because we are in any way afraid lest it should obstruct the cause of social progress in this country, but because this retrograde movement will tell seriously upon the intellectual honesty of the rising generation, and give a premium to hypocrisy and false self-satisfaction. Infant-marriage is doomed; its utter banishment from society is simply a question of time. We harbour no fear on that score. But the only thing that we regret in connection with the recent agitation is its hollow, insincere character. When people who would never think of giving their own daughters in marriage before they were fully grown up—who have, in their own family, given practical proofs of their partiality for adult-marriages,—when they now come forward as apologists for early marriages, the value of their agitation may well be ascertained. Most men feel infant-marriage to be a grave social evil—but a false patriotism and a false idea of nationality come in, and kick up a spurious, hollow, and insincere agitation in support of it. That is the real evil. This tendency to hide our own shortcomings, and parade the virtues of social institutions which in our heart of hearts we detest,—this hypocrisy and insincerity—is what we regret most."

Great indignation was expressed at Sir Lepel Griffin on account of the following remarks :—

"The real friends of India are not those who persuade the natives that they are already the equals of their teachers, and that after a few years of imperfect training they are ripe for institutions which, in England, are the outcome of the constitutional struggles of centuries, and have been bought by blood and tears, by much suffering and by long endurance. Let the young Hindu students, who so loudly talk of their grievances, remember that more personal and political freedom is enjoyed by natives of India than is the lot of any modern people in Europe, and that the English nation has no wish to arbitrarily withhold from them any of the rights and privileges of a common citizenship. Let them prove their civilization by emancipating their women from the curse of infant-marriage and virgin widowhood, and admit them to an honoured place, side by side with men: let them demonstrate their intellectual power by

original research, and their fitness for political enfranchisement by moderation, dignity, and self-restraint; while they refrain from childish abuse of those who tell them that they must learn to walk before they can run. When they have accomplished this, Englishmen will listen with patience to their demand for representative institutions, if by that time they have not become too wise to hanker after so doubtful a blessing."

Some Indian reformers now seem almost inclined to agree with Sir Lepel Griffin. *The Indian Spectator* (10th July, 1887) has the following:—

"In the course of an excellent article, headed, *The Cry for Representative Government*, last week's *Indu Prakash* makes the following remarks. We have given expression to similar views more than once and hold to these views with greater tenacity the more we see of the work of our 'national representatives' in India. We are led to ask at such moment—who are our representatives and whom do they represent? These are the reflections of the *Indu Prakash*:—

"We have begun to doubt whether the cause of social reform—where it requires legitimate legislative help—will be promoted if the elective principle be introduced into our Councils just at present. We need more assurance on the point and we are afraid that assurance events that have transpired so far and the spirit that seems to prevail have failed to give us. What will be the gain to the country if men who are sent as its representatives would abolish the Widow Marriage Act or insist on imprisoning women to enforce harsh customs, or if those who would exhibit such a reactionary spirit are returned to the Council? The present attitude towards social reform questions must change, or else it may prove a leap in the dark. Let us not be misunderstood. We fully believe that the life of the country depends on its social arrangements and, therefore, social reform, to our mind, must proceed along, if not precede, political progress. Yet we do not mean that changes should be forced on an unwilling people by penal or coercive enactments. What, however, is clearly essential to the success of the cry now so generally raised is that there should be guarantee that the elective legislature will not be actuated by a spirit of blind and caste-ridden conservatism, and that the social problem will meet with a fair treatment, free from the spirit of tyranny which Prof. Wordsworth has justly characterised as blighting and selfish."

Some years ago Mr. Manomohun Ghose said:

"He felt a legitimate pride in the ancient civilization of India, but he was bound to say that an undue and exaggerated veneration for the past was doing a great deal of mischief. It was quite sickening to hear the remark made at almost every public meeting that the ancient civilization of India was superior far to that which Europe ever had."

National conceit, instead of being a proof of enlightenment, is exactly the reverse. In vanity the negroes of the Hayti Republic

exceed even "Young Bengal." The following illustration is from *Chambers's Journal* :—

"The Haytians are an intensely vain people, and the thing they most pride themselves on is their army. Nothing will convince them that as a military power they are not vastly superior to any nation either in the Old or New World. Even those who have lived in European capitals are addicted to this extremely ridiculous 'balderdash;' but when the real facts are presented, the state of affairs disclosed is simply sublime in its absurdity. The Haytian army must present to European beholders a spectacle of grotesqueness, the equal of which it would be difficult to find anywhere either in fact or fiction. Imagine a battalion on parade consisting of thirteen privates, ten officers, and six drummers!—the rest of the men—as the author quaintly puts it—thinking it unnecessary to present themselves except on pay-day. The staff-officers are clad in most gorgeous uniforms procurable; while the men are habited in a motley array of tatters. Some have coats wanting one arm, the collar, or the tail, the headgear may consist of a dilapidated shako, a straw-hat, wide-awake, or in many cases merely a handkerchief tied round the head. The officers hold their swords in either hand as suits them; and the men march past in admirable confusion, each one carrying his musket in the position he finds most convenient. The populace look on with admiring looks, and gravely ask if finer troops anywhere be found." May, 1887.

The meeting in Calcutta in favour of early marriages that would not allow the opposite side even to be heard, was composed largely of school-boys; but it must be admitted that even many graduates have only a thin whitewash of Western enlightenment—the pure Hindu is immediately below the surface; or, as Mr. Cotton expresses it in *New India*, "Collegiate impressions are at present like a tinselled outdoor decoration, discarded by their possessor as a superfluity in private," (p. 147).

While the English occupy a high place, in several respects, among the nations of the earth, it is readily admitted that wide-spread evils exist among them, calling loudly for reform. Some of them, like the Poet Laureate, are inclined almost to take a pessimistic view of the state of things.

Tennyson, when a young man, wrote in *Locksley Hall* :—

"Yet I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

Recent cases of Irish savagery and other things made *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After* adopt a different tone :—

"Gone the cry of 'Forward, Forward,' lost within a growing gloom :
Lost, or only heard in silence from the silence of a tomb.

Half the marvels of my morning, triumphs over time and space,
Staled by frequency, shrunk by usage into commonest commonplace.

'Forward' rang the voices then, and of the many mine was one,
Let us hush this cry of 'Forward' till ten thousand years have gone."

When Englishmen seek to strengthen the hands of Hindu reformers, it is no answer for the orthodox or their allies among "Young India," to point to evils in Britain. Neither are Hindus urged to copy any example because it is English. Some of their customs are neither right nor wrong in themselves; in some they excel the English; only those which are injurious and unjust ought to be abandoned.

Encouragements.—The earlier utterances of Tennyson more nearly express the truth than his later. The cry of "Forward" is not yet "gone," though the progress may be slow. When Rammohun Roy, seventy years ago, began his crusade against widowburning, it found as enthusiastic defenders in Calcutta as early marriages at present. The *Dharma Sabha* was founded to preserve this Hindu "institution." The Bengali *Chandrika* was its warm supporter. It was not till 1831, when Rammohun Roy was in England, that the "last appeal of the members of the Dharma Sabha against the abolition of the burning of widows was heard in the Privy Council and rejected."*

As a reformer, Rammohun Roy had to endure much personal obloquy. He writes: "I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom and the nation to which they belong, I always feel grateful."†

It must be confessed that the roasting alive of widows would probably still find some defenders in Bengal. Sir Lepel Griffin says, "I was yesterday reading a Bengali newspaper which observed that if the native press had been as strong formerly as at present, the Government would have been unable to abolish suttee."‡

Still, the honour lately done to the memory of Rammohun Roy in Calcutta is a proof of progress.

Another encouraging sign is that the reformers represent the real intellect and knowledge of the country. Mr. Manomohun Ghose expressed the following opinion of "the much-vaunted civilization of India":—

"It must be admitted by all who had carefully studied the ancient literature of India, that the much-vaunted civilization of India was of a peculiar type, and that it never could bear any comparison to what we call modern European civilization. Whatever might have been the case in ancient times, he thought that this frequent appeal to our ancient civilization could serve no good purpose at the present day, while it was simply calculated to make the Bengalis more conceited than they were."

Dr. Bhandarkar, of the Deccan College, a distinguished orientalist, lately expressed the same sentiments in Bombay.

* Max Müller's *Biographical Essays*, pp. 25, 26.

† Ibid, p. 48.

‡ *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. I, p. 475.

Really intelligent men among the Hindus, admit the need of reform. The Hon. K. T. Telang lately said in Bombay :—

“He thought it well that they should be reminded of their individual or national defects, either by outsiders or by men of their own community, and he was sorry to see the impatience manifested in some quarters at such defects being pointed out. The consciousness of defects^a was a healthy sign of the first condition of progress, and was not at all incompatible with a proper amount of self-respect.”

It is a maxim of national self-conceit and false history that “Reform must come from within.” On the contrary, as a rule, “Reform must begin from without.” So much is this the case that Sir H. S. Maine, in a Calcutta convocation address, traced the root of all progress to the Greeks :—

“With one single exception, no race or nationality, left entirely to itself, has developed any intellectual result which is valuable or durable, except perhaps poetry. Not one of all those intellectual achievements which we regard as characteristic of the great progressive races of the world, not the law of the Romans, not the philosophy and sagacity of the Germans, not the luminous order of the French, not the political aptitude of the English—would ever have come into existence, if those races had been left to themselves. To one small people, covering, in its original seat, no more than a hand’s breadth of territory, it was given to create the principle of progress, of movement onwards and not backwards or downwards, of destruction tending to construction. That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin. A ferment spreading from that source has vitalized all the great progressive races of mankind, penetrating from one to another, and producing, in each, results accordant with its hidden and latent genius, and results of course often far greater than any exhibited in Greece itself. It is this principle of progress which we English are communicating to India. We did not create it. We deserve no special credit for it. It came to us filtered through many different *media*. But we have received it, and, as we have received it, so we pass it on.”

While Greek influence is exaggerated, the general principle is true. Any reform movement, to be thorough, must be taken up in the country, but the original impulse generally comes from without.

Notwithstanding temporary discouragements, the conclusion of the Hon. Mr. Telang may be adopted :—

“He asked them to take a cheerful view of things. Clouds would, of course, sometimes darken the horizon, but they might be sure that those clouds would pass away, and the sun of glory come out again in all its brightness.”

Need of Leaders.—The ultimate downfall of the caste system is certain in the end. “Truth conquers.” Still, it may be much hastened by the efforts of a few zealous, consistent reformers among

the higher castes. Mr. Sherring says, "If the superior castes are wise as well as politic, they will lose no time in holding out the right hand of fellowship to the lower. Such a step would, by its magnanimity, secure to them much of the respect and honour which they at present enjoy."

But *deeds* are wanted—not mere *words*.

The Rev. Dr. Miller, of Madras gave an excellent address on "Nothing for Nothing." Good of any kind is not to be obtained unless men are willing to pay the price for it. Among other things he said that "educated Hindus should not forget that fine discussions and elegant speeches, and long orating would not help them a bit towards removing the great evils of enforced widowhood and infant marriage. There must be action and self-denial." The same remark applies to caste.

It has been suggested that the first step in practical reform would be for different sections of the same caste to eat together and intermarry. Mr. Sherring thinks that such is the case, even at present, to a large extent, among the Rajputs. The second advance would be similar intercourse between families of different castes, but of about the same social standing.

A lecture by the Rev. E. P. Rice, B. A. on the "Duties of Citizens," points out an easier way of helping to free one's country from the tyranny of social custom. He says:—

"I am not satisfied with it, but I offer it simply on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. If all have not the active aggressive courage required for such a course as I have already named, all may at least muster the passive courage of what is called 'masterly inactivity.' If one is not willing to be made a martyr of, much may be done by standing aloof from the martyrdom of others. Refuse to join in the social ostracism by which a heterodox brother is being forced against his conscience, and decline to make any difference in your relations towards him. Probably even this will entail some trouble, but it will be of a minor degree, which ought not to be grudged or to be difficult to bear. It is not necessary that you should agree with the obnoxious member in his opinions or sympathize with his personal character. Of greater importance, it is to side with him in his affirmation of the right of individual liberty. God has made us our brother's helpers, but not our brother's judges. Our own need of forbearance from others should make us very forbearing to them. If others choose to persecute, that is their business, but at least we may refuse to have any thing to do with it, and we shall find many of our fellow-countrymen strengthened by our example."*

Duty of the so-called "Lower Castes."—The prospects of caste also depend a good deal upon the course taken by this large section of the community. Education is levelling up, and it will have this

* *The Hindu*, 5th August, 1887.

effect more and more. Already in Bengal the Vaidyas and the Kayasths occupy a position little inferior to the Brahmans. There are thousands of youths considered to belong to degraded classes now in Colleges and Schools. "The heavy gloom of conscious inferiority," says Sherring, "is passing from their faces, which are becoming bright and cheerful like those of youths of the higher castes."

The lower castes should avail themselves of every opportunity of acquiring knowledge and improving their position. With regard to cleanliness and good manners, they should seek to be on an equality with the highest—to be perfect *gentlemen* in the truest sense of the world. They should also remember that the less airs they give themselves, the more honour they will receive. There is a South Indian proverb that "When the low caste is exalted, the umbrella must be borne even at midnight." Let the truth of this be disproved.

Some of the attempts of the lower castes to raise themselves only damage their cause. Dr. Cornish remarks it as a curious phase, "That the lower the caste, the more it now claims pre-eminence for itself." He adds :—

"As the lower castes, in those days, frequently send out into the world men who accumulate wealth, so it happens that the surplus funds of such men are often employed in the feeding of pundits to prove the ancient glories of their particular caste. A whole literature of ponderous tomes is springing up in Southern India with no other object than the exaltation of caste."

"The uneasiness of the lower castes in regard to the social position assigned them by Brahmanical authority is simply an indication that, under British rule, they have increased in wealth and intelligence, and naturally desire to prove that the yoke imposed upon them by the caste system was tyrannical and unjust. They seek to accomplish the latter, not by boldly denying the authorities on which the institution of caste was built up, but by claiming a position under the Hindu system which they have no pretensions to."

Referring to the publications on caste, Dr. Cornish says :—

"The majority of the works of this kind are simply mischievous, inasmuch as they encourage, by fanciful theories, the pretensions of humble communities to seek high places in the Hindu social economy, instead of boldly endeavouring to prove historically that the caste system was of foreign growth, imposed upon them by their northern neighbours, as a mark of bondage, and consequently no longer applicable to the existing conditions of a free people under an impartial and just Government."*

Fictitious claims only degrade those who make them. The

* Madras Census Report, for 1871, pp. 118, 119.

pretensions of certain castes to be Rajputs are just as false as those of certain Rajputs to be descended from the sun and moon.

A stand should be made on the great principles of truth and justice. Honest useful labour, of whatever kind, as a means of living, is far more honourable than one gained by fraud. The son of a Barber who raised himself to be Lord Chancellor of England was only the more deserving of respect on that account.

Religious Reformation the great Agency.—While the measures already mentioned will have some influence, it must be confessed that a religious change is the only effectual remedy. Much was, at one time, expected from education. Mr. Sherring goes so far as to say that, with some noble exceptions, those who have had its advantages are “of all classes the most disappointing.” “With all their weight of learning the possession of which enables them to carry off University degrees and honors, they are perfectly content to mingle among the most superstitious and ignorant Hindus, to do as they do, to obey their foolish *dictum* as law, and to have no other aim in life than to conform to the most rigid usages of their ancestors.” The testimony of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, an unexceptionable witness, is much in the same terms :—

“Caste still exercises a predominant influence among all classes of the community. Educated Hindus are puzzled to make out what they owe to their society, and why they render to caste their tribute of submission when there is nothing to compel their obedience. Nevertheless, the institution is as powerful among those who disregard many of its rules as it was with their fathers who rigidly observed them all. They find it as hard to bear excommunication themselves, and are as disposed to inflict that punishment upon wrong-doers of their community, as was the case with their ancestors in the past. They find it as desirable to cling to their caste-fellows, despite many disagreeable features in their life and character, as their predecessors may have done.”

Some of them, it is true, make fine speeches. A Native newspaper thus compares their public and private life : “A Demosthenes at Debating Societies, whose words tell as peals of thunder, a Luther in his public protestations against prevailing corruptions, a thorough-going Cockney in ideas and tastes, he is but a timid crouching Hindu in his home, yielding unquestioning submission to the requisitions of a superstitious family.”

Mr. Sherring says of some of the educated classes : “To be satisfied with calmly looking on and watching the current of events, implies a condition of meanness on the one hand, and incapacity, on the other, and therefore of total unfitness to be ranked a whit higher in the scale of civilization than their uneducated, superstitious, and caste-loving neighbours.” Even stronger language

may be used, for the ignorant have not had their advantages, and are not guilty of insincerity. Still worse is the conduct of those described by Principal Wordsworth, whose learning is employed to "vindicate superstition and tyranny."

It is gladly admitted that some of the noblest men in India are also to be found among the educated classes, but they are such a very small minority, that Principal Wordsworth singles out "the learned and venerable Dewan of Indore" as "fighting almost single-handed."

The late Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta, in his *Tagore Law Lectures*, describes caste as "the chief characteristic of Hinduism." (p. 44). Caste and Hinduism must fall together. Whatever may be the evils of caste, the masses believe that it has religious sanction, and must be observed at all cost. The Hon. M. G. Ranade said in a letter to Mr. M. Malabari, "Only a religious revival can furnish sufficient moral strength to work out the complex social problems which demand our attention." The late Keshab Chunder Sen said at Bombay in 1868: "Were I engaged in the work of reforming this country, I would not be busy in lopping off the branches, but I would strike at the fatal root of the tree of corruption, namely—idolatry. Ninety-nine evils out of every hundred in Hindu society, are, in my opinion, attributable to idolatry and superstition." To these testimonies may be added that of Dr. Duff:—

"What, then, can exorcise this Demon Spirit of caste? Nothing—nothing—but the mighty power of the Spirit of God, quickening, renewing and sanctifying the whole Hindu soul! It is grace, and not argument—regeneration of nature, and not any improved policy of Government—in a word, the gospel, the everlasting gospel, and that alone, savingly brought home by the energy of Jehovah's Spirit, that can *effectually root out and destroy* the gigantic evil. And it is the same energy, in working through the same gospel of grace and salvation, that can and will root out and destroy the other monster evil under which India still groans—IDOLATRY, with its grim satellite Superstition.

"As *caste* and *idolatry* sprang up together from the same rank soil of old nature—growing with each other's growth, and strengthening with each other's strength—luxuriating in mutual embrace and mysterious wedlock for untold ages—flinging abroad their arms, 'branching so broad and long' as to smite the whole land with the blight of their portentous shadow—both are destined to fall together. The same cause will inevitably prove the ruin of both. The same light of sound knowledge, human and divine, accompanied by the grace of God's Spirit, will expose the utter folly and irrationality of idolatry and superstition, and, at one and the

same time, lay bare the cruelty and injustice of that strange, half-natural, half-artificial caste system which has done so much to uphold them. Then will the stupendous fabric of idolatry be seen falling down like Dagon before the Ark of the living God ; while the antisocial tyrannous dominion of caste will be resented, abhorred, and trampled under foot with an indignation not lessened by the reflection that, over ages and generations without number, it hath already swayed undisturbed the sceptre of a ruthless despotism, which ground men down to the condition of irrationals, and strove to keep them there with the rigour of a merciless necessity.”*

A religion whose “ chief characteristic” is based on a blasphemous falsehood, will not always retain its hold. It will be seen to be the invention of priestcraft, and its books will no longer be considered as divine. The true Kalki Avatar will yet come, bringing in a reign of righteousness. He will loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.

The writer would conclude his remarks with Milton’s noble prayer :—

“ Come forth, from Thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth ; put on the visible robes of Thy imperial majesty ; take up that unlimited sceptre which Thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed Thee ; for now the voice of Thy bride calls Thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed !”

* *The Indian Rebellion*, pp. 357, 358.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART I.

POPULAR HINDUISM.

Yatha deva, tatha bhaktah, .
"As is the god, so is the worshipper."

Thou thoughtest that I (God) was altogether such an one as thyself."
The Bible.



MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY.

1st. Ed.]

1887.

[3,000.

PREFATORY NOTE.

At present the hopes of most Indian Reformers rest chiefly on "National Congresses" and political changes. By their means a supposed Golden Age is to be brought back. This is a very old delusion. "In all times," says Smiles, "men have been prone to believe that their happiness and well-being were to be secured by means of institutions, rather than by their own conduct." A comparison between the United States and the South American Republics shows that the value of representative Government depends upon the character of the people.

It is fully admitted that political institutions should vary with the intelligence of the governed. The mistake is to expect more from them than they can give.

No truth, perhaps, requires to be more impressed upon the minds of Indian reformers than the words of Sir Madhava Rao :

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community !"

At the root of these evils lies Hinduism. The proverb expresses the truth, *Yatha devah, tatha bhakta*. As is the god, so is the worshipper. We are assimilated to the objects we worship. The Bhagavad Gita says: "By contemplating material objects we become materialised." The vast majority of the Hindus worship senseless blocks and deities stained with crime. The great reform that India needs is to turn from dumb idols to the one living and holy God. All other changes required would follow in its train.

Among intelligent Hindus there is a general acknowledgment that religious reform is needed ; but, except, among members of the Brahma Samaj, scarcely any come forward to indicate the changes that are necessary. The following pages are an attempt to review Popular Hinduism, to show what is defective, and to point out the reforms which ought to be made. Philosophic and Vedic Hinduism will be considered in future Papers.

A false patriotism, very wide-spread at present, leads some to use sophistical arguments to defend what they know to be wrong ; but the minds of others are more open to the truth, and their chief object is the real good of their country. It is the latter who are now addressed.

The compiler would specially acknowledge his obligations to *Religious Thought and Life in India*, by Sir Monier Williams. Longer extracts have generally quotation marks, but many passages have simply been summarised. The work now mentioned is somewhat expensive (14s.), but his *Hinduism*, published by the S. P. C. K., is cheap (2s. 6d.), and contains an excellent condensed sketch of the subject. *Hinduism, Past and Present*, by the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, (R. T. S. 4s.) is also strongly recommended.

MADRAS, October, 1887.

J. MURDOCH.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---------------------|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |

POPULAR HINDUISM.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| DEMON WORSHIP | 4 |
| TUTELARY AND VILLAGE DEITIES | 8 |
| DEIFIED MEN | 10 |
| ANCESTRAL WORSHIP | 12 |
| PLANT WORSHIP | 14 |
| ANIMAL WORSHIP | 16 |
| TOOL WORSHIP | 19 |
| RIVER AND WATER WORSHIP | 20 |
| LIVING MEN CONSIDERED DIVINE | 23 |

PRINCIPAL HINDU GODS.

| | |
|---|----|
| BRAHM | 26 |
| BRAHMA | 26 |
| VISHNU | 27 |
| Parasurama, 28 ; Rama, 28 ; Krishna, 29 ; Buddha Avatar, 31 ; Chaitanya, 31. | |
| SIVA | 32 |
| GANESA | 33 |
| GODDESSES | 35 |

HINDU RITES AND OBSERVANCES.

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| IDOLS AS OBJECTS OF WORSHIP | 38 |
| PRIVATE AND TEMPLE WORSHIP | 44 |
| HINDU FESTIVALS | 48 |
| PILGRIMAGES | 52 |
| CASTE | 56 |

MISCELLANEOUS HINDU BELIEFS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| THE PURANAS | 58 |
| TRANSMIGRATION | 61 |
| MANTRAS, AUSTERITIES, CURSES, ASTROLOGY, OMENS AND THE EVIL EYE | 64 |
| EXAMINATION OF SOME HINDU SAYINGS | 67 |
| <p>1. "We must walk according to Custom," 68; 2. "Every one should follow his own Religion," 68; 3. "Different Religions are Roads leading to the same City," 69; 4. "Whatever is written on our heads will come to pass," 70; 5. "Where there is Faith there is God," 71; 6. "God is Pervasive," 72; 7. "All the Gods are the same though worshipped under different Names," 72; 8. "The Gods can do as they please," 72.</p> | |
| EFFECTS OF HINDUISM | 74 |
| DUTY WITH REGARD TO POPULAR HINDUISM | 76 |
| SUGGESTED REFORMS | 77 |
| THE FUTURE OF HINDUISM | 86 |

POPULAR HINDUISM.

INTRODUCTION.

Religiousness of the Hindus.—The Hindus are, in their way, one of the most religious people in the world. It has been said of them, that “they eat religiously, drink religiously, bathe religiously, dress religiously, and *sin* religiously.” It is so far right that religion engages much attention. Our stay in this world is comparatively short, even in the case of the longest lived. To the man of fourscore, when he looks back, it seems as if it were only a few days since he was a child. Consider, on the other hand, the eternity to which we are speeding, and which we may enter at any moment. The man would justly be considered a fool who spent all his fortune in a single day, and had to starve the remainder of his life. That man is an incomparably greater fool who attends only to his body, which must so soon die, and neglects his soul which will live for ever either in happiness or misery.

Duty of Religious Inquiry.—There are two kinds of money, good and bad. Suppose a man is paid for his labour in bad rupees, however many he may have collected, he is, in reality, worth nothing. Just as there are coiners who make bad money and pass it off as good, so cunning wicked men, for their own gain, have devised false religions to impose upon the ignorant.

There are very many religions in the world. A North India proverb says, *Jitne muni, itne mat*, There are as many religions as there are Munis. In general, religions are opposed to one another. One religion says that there is only one God, another says that there are 33 crores of divinities. Some say that the soul of man is part of God; others say that it is quite distinct; one religion forbids the worship of idols; others enjoin it; one religion says that sin may be washed away by bathing at certain places; another says that all this is vain. Religions so contradictory cannot all be true. Most of them must be false, and those who follow them are like men paid for their labour in bad money.

Many people, without inquiry, blindly follow the religion of their forefathers. They act more wisely in worldly matters. When a clerk receives his salary, he counts the rupees, and sees that they

are all good. Even a woman when she goes to the bazaar to buy an earthen pot, taps it to find if it is sound before she gives the money. In religion, people generally act like a flock of sheep, which if the first leap over a bridge, the rest follow and are drowned.

Bad money may be known from good by means of the touchstone. God has given us a touchstone to distinguish between true and false religions—our reason. If we do not use it, we will suffer like those men who take bad rupees without examination. This little book is intended to assist those who wish to investigate how far the religion of their forefathers is true and to be accepted.

Religions of the Hindus.—India is peopled by more than a hundred different nations. Hinduism is a mixture of all the creeds of such as are willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmans and adopt caste rules. Mr. Chentsal Rao, of Madras, thus points out the erroneousness of the idea that the Hindus have only one religion:—

“There are quite as great differences between the forms of belief grouped under the term ‘Hindu Religion’ as there are between any of the principal religions of the world. Some of the doctrines of the Hindu religion are theistic, some atheistic, and some pantheistic. In short, Hinduism is an encyclopædia of religions.”*

It admits every form of religious faith and practice—from a pure speculative atheism to the debased forms of demon and fetich worship which prevail among the lower classes.

Sir A. C. Lyall compares Hinduism to “a mere troubled sea without shore or visible horizon, driven to and fro by the winds of boundless credulity and grotesque invention.”

The following main divisions will be considered in successive Papers:

I. POPULAR HINDUISM.—This may, in general terms, be defined as the religion of the Ramayana, Mahabharata, the Puranas, and the Tantras. Of nearly 200 millions of Hindus, about ninety-nine out of every hundred accept Hinduism in this form. It is almost universal among the women, and that which they teach their children. Under it, aboriginal superstitions will be noticed.

II. PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.—This may be described, as the Hinduism of the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gita, &c. In its pure form it is held by comparatively few; but some of its doctrines are included in Popular Hinduism, and many persons combine the two.

III. VEDIC HINDUISM.—The adherents of the Arya Samaj in North India and the Punjab profess to base their creed on the Vedas, with what correctness will be seen in the course of investigation.

* *Christian College Magazine*, June, 1886.

IV. NEW HINDUISM.—This includes various attempts to purify Hinduism. Either under this head or separately, will be noticed systems like the Brahma Samaj.

Religious Reform needed in India.—It must be confessed that the great mass of the Hindus do not admit this. They are perfectly satisfied with their religion, and think it the best in the world. The Vedas are eternal and given from the mouth of Brahma; any change would be for the worse. There are even educated men who regard Hinduism as a “monument of ancient wisdom,” a “marvellously consistent and perfect system,” “inferior in respect to the purity and practical character of its sacred truths to no other religions in the world.”

On the other hand, the most intelligent Hindus admit that the “man-made” portions of their religion ought to be separated from its “God-made” portions. Last year Sir Madhava Rao recommended a “judicious revival or repair of Hinduism” to “*suit the present times.*”

The Hindu, the leading Native paper in South India, has the following remarks in an article on “Social and Religious Reform” :—

“As in Christian countries, so in our country also our moral and religious ideas are derived from our theology. But this theology as well as these ideas must be explained away, modified, and reformed in certain aspects at least, to suit the changes that in course of time take place in the intelligence of the people. It is no longer possible to justify to the young educated Hindu apparently immoral and crude practices because they are sanctioned in certain Puranas. The Hindu mythology has to be purged of the absurdities that have overgrown it during centuries of ignorance and of superstitious and timid isolation. In the same manner, the moral ideas of our common people have to be improved. An orthodox Hindu would tolerate falsehood, cowardice and self-abasement, but would damn to perdition his neighbour who swerves the least from accepted conventions even in the details of personal habits. Such moral perversity does not indicate a healthy social condition. Similarly our ideas of charity, of social distinction, education, and social well-being in general have to be drawn out of the influence of an obsolete and backward civilization, and brought in harmony with the fresh spirit of the time.” *June 24th, 1887.*

The foregoing proposals must commend themselves to every intelligent Hindu.

The Reforms Needed.—While it is admitted, in general terms, that reform is required, it is to be expected that there will be great difference of opinion as to the changes necessary. The only way of arriving at a correct conclusion is to examine each feature of Hinduism in detail, and consider carefully any evils connected with it.

The writer cheerfully admits that Hinduism contains some great truths, more or less clearly expressed. Moral precepts of a high order may also be culled from some of its sacred books. Sir Monier Williams has published an interesting collection, entitled, "*Indian Wisdom*." The late Dr. John Muir's *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, is another work of the same kind. Some of the passages are perfect gems. But the confession has also to be made that the Hindu sacred books likewise contain much that is erroneous and calculated to have a most prejudicial effect in every way, intellectually, socially, morally, and religiously. The aim should be to retain what is true, reject what is false, and accept what is good from any source.

If an architect is employed to examine a large, old building, he goes over it carefully, pointing out what is necessary to be done in each part. He mentions *defects*: his survey would be useless if he omitted them. In like manner, if Hinduism is to be reformed, it is necessary to specify the corruptions from which it has to be purified.

Popular Hinduism, in its main features will be passed under review, and apparent evils will be noticed. The whole will conclude with a summary of the changes recommended.

The Maharaja of Benares has a noble family motto: "There is no Religion higher than Truth." The patriotism which seeks to defend every thing national, whether right or wrong, is as injurious as it is false. Simply to arrive at the truth should be the aim in the investigation.

The inquiry also should be thorough. An old insecure building may be whitewashed so as to look apparently strong; but it will bury in its ruins those who seek shelter in it during a storm.

POPULAR HINDUISM.

This is a very wide subject, which may be treated in different ways. The order of time and development will partly be followed.

DEMON WORSHIP.

Demonolatry is the religion of savages in all parts of the world. Without doubt, it was the original superstition over a great part of Asia. To the present day it survives, more or less, from Siberia to South Ceylon. Buddhism has been powerless to overcome it. The Sinhalese are far more under its influence than the creed of Gautama. The Burmese, from the highest to the lowest, both publicly and privately, engage in demon worship. The following remarks refer especially to India.

India was first peopled by wild tribes, somewhat like those still found in some of the jungles. They were dark in colour compared with the Aryan invaders; they spoke strange languages, and had

other customs. These things, together with their sudden night attacks, with loud yells, upon those who sought to take their lands, made the Aryans convert them into devils.

In course of time the Aryans and aborigines blended together as friends; but the dread of demon-foes remained. "The great majority of the inhabitants of India," says Sir Monier Williams, "are, from the cradle to the burning ground, victims of a form of mental disease which is best expressed by the term demonophobia. They are haunted and oppressed by a perpetual dread of demons. They are firmly convinced that evil spirits of all kinds, from malignant fiends to merely mischievous imps and elves, are ever on the watch to harm, harass, and torment them, to cause plague, sickness, famine and disaster, to impede, injure, and mar every good work.

So deep-seated and ineradicable is the fear of evil spirits in the minds of the lower orders, that in many villages of India the doors of the houses are never allowed to face the South, lest the entrance of some dreaded demon should be facilitated.*

The majority of the demons are supposed to have originally been human beings, especially those who met with a sudden or violent death, and had been dreaded in their lifetime. A British officer, mortally wounded in Travancore, was afterwards worshipped as a demon. Even a missionary's wife, who died of cholera during a journey and was buried in a lonely waste, began to be worshipped; so that her remains had to be taken to Madura.

When a woman dies unpurified within fifteen days after childbirth, she becomes a demon, and is always on the watch to attack other young mothers. Sir Monier Williams found in one place people worshipping the ghost of a milkman who was killed by a tiger and became a devil. In another place the ghost of a potter became a devil, and a terror to the neighbourhood. The priests of these demons were milkmen and potters respectively. A robber who was hung at Trichinopoly became so popular as a demon that children were constantly named after him.

All are powerful, malicious, and interfering; and all are desirous of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances. One demon prefers the sacrifice of a goat, another a hog, a third a cock. Pariah demons require arrack in addition. Brandy and cheroots, which the British officer loved during life, were his favourite offerings; but they were afterwards consumed by those who presented them.

Most of the demons are supposed to dwell in trees. The idea seems to be that they require protection from the weather like human beings, and betake themselves to trees as convenient and agreeable places of shelter. Some wander to and fro, and go up and down in uninhabited wastes; some skulk in shady retreats.

* *Religious Thought and Life in India*, pp. 210, 245.

Sometimes they take up their abodes in houses ; one of them may take a fancy to inhabit the body of a votary.

Sometimes the demons are content with frightening the timid, without doing any real harm. People hear a strange noise at night ; and immediately they see a devil making his escape in the shape of a dog as large as a hyena or a cat with eyes like two lamps. Even in the day time, about the close of the hot season, they may often be seen in the shape of a whirlwind, catching up and whisking about in their fierce play every dry stick and leaf that happens to lie in their path.



A representation used by devil dancers in Ceylon, to frighten ignorant people into the performance of ceremonies.

Nightmare is always supposed to be caused by a demon. He seats himself on the chest of the sleeping person, and tries to suffocate him.

In South India there are two essential features of demon worship, namely dancing and the offering of bloody sacrifices.

The devil dancer wears dresses adapted to frighten the ignorant spectators. The instruments of noise are the tom tom, the horn, but especially the bow. The last consists of bells of different sizes fastened to a gigantic bow, played on by several persons. As each musician strives to outstrip his neighbour both in rapidity and loudness, there is such a tumult of frightful sounds as may be supposed to delight even a demon's ear.

The music is at first slow, and the dancer either stands still or moves about in silence. As it becomes quicker, his excitement begins to rise. Sometimes he lashes himself with a huge whip or drinks the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapitated goat to his mouth. At last he snorts and whirls about with frantic leaps. The demon has entered him, and those present consult him about the disease, and the offerings to be made.

The object of the sacrifice is the removal of the demon's anger, or of the calamities which his anger brings down. The demon thirsts for the life of his votary, or for that of his child; and by a little ceremony and show of respect, a little music, he may be content with the life of a goat instead.*

Evils of Demon Worship.—There are no such beings as those that are supposed to cause the evils before described. They are just as imaginary as those that ignorant parents employ to frighten children. The Hindus are troubled by false alarms.

Demon dances and ceremonies are generally performed when pestilence is feared, and last the whole night, the time when the body is weakest and the causes of disease strongest. Exposure to the night air and fatigue tend to spread the epidemic.

Demon ceremonies take away the attention of the people from what would really be beneficial. No amount of dancing or offerings will stop a single case of small-pox, while vaccination is an effectual protection. The latter should be attended to instead of the former. Cleanliness, pure water, and wholesome food, are the true safeguards against cholera.

It is most degrading for human beings to worship demons. One effect is to make them like demons in disposition, quarrelsome and revengeful. God alone ought to be worshipped, and to give the honour due to him to demons is like people in a country, instead of honouring their rightful king, paying respect to low caste thieves.

* Chiefly abridged from Bishop Caldwell.

Devil dancing is declining in South India. Numbers who once stood in constant dread of imaginary evil spirits are now freed from their superstitious fears, and worship the one true God alone. It should be universally abandoned.

TUTELARY AND VILLAGE DEITIES.

A tutelary god among the Hindus is one that delivers from the calamities believed to be due to demons. The village deities (*grama-devata*) probably represent the local fetiches* once held in veneration by uncivilized aboriginal tribes, and afterwards grafted into the Hindu system of the Brahmans, whose policy has ever been to appropriate all existing cults, customs, and superstitions.

Scarcely a village and indeed scarcely a household in India is without its tutelary divinity, usually represented by some rudely carved image or symbol, located in homely shrines, or over doorways, or, it may be, denoted by simple patches of red paint on rocks or under sacred trees or in crossways, and always taking the place of the superior gods in the religion of the lower orders.

The village deity is often represented simply by a stone. The worship of stones is very ancient and was widely prevalent. The prophet Isaiah, 2600 years ago, refers to the offerings to stones among the Jews. The Arabs worshipped rocks and stones before the time of Muhammad, and the black stone of the Kaaba is still venerated by them.

An American Indian will pick up a round stone of any kind, paint it, clear away the grass at some distance from his hut, and there place his stone or god. He makes an offering to it of some tobacco, and prays to it to deliver him from danger. In some parts of America three kinds of stones are specially worshipped—one profitable for crops, another for women to be delivered without pain, and a third for rain.

All over India there are stones which are worshipped, and smeared with red lead as an offering. A cooly vows to the village deity, "If thou help me in this work, I will offer to thee on the coming Saturday a pice* worth of red lead."

Shashiti, protectress of children, receives worship, vows, and offerings, especially from women. Her only representative is a rough stone, as big as a man's head, set at the foot of a sacred tree.

In South India, *Ayenar*, said to be the son of Siva and Vishnu, is supposed to guard the fields, crops, and herds of the peasantry, and drive away the demons causing disease, blight and other calamities. Outside many villages, generally among a group of trees, may be seen shrines of *Ayenar*, surrounded with rude clay figures of horses

* A fetich or fetish is any object, living or inanimate, looked upon as the representative or dwelling place of a god.

—often of life size—on which he is supposed to ride when keeping guard. He has two wives who generally sit on each side of him, and take an active part in driving away demons. No villager in Southern India will pass near the shrines of Ayenar and his wives after dark. If any person happens to cross their path when they are carcering about the fields, he is liable to be taken for an evil spirit and slain.

One would suppose that a grain of common sense would prevent people from thinking that an ugly horse of clay, unable itself to move a foot, would be of any use to a god for riding.

After recovery from sickness or to commemorate any piece of good fortune, the villagers place fresh clay horses round the shrine of Ayenar, as thankofferings or in fulfilment of vows. He is also at such times propitiated by offerings of the blood of swine, goats, sheep, cocks and other animals, or by cooked food and libations of strong liquor.

Hannuman (from a word meaning ‘possessing large jaws’) is a very common village god in the Dekkan, Central and Upper India. He will be noticed again under animal worship.

The most popular tutelary deities of India are the “Mothers,” called *Matas* in the north, and *Ammanas* in the south. Generally there is also a male deity who protects, like the female, from all adverse and demoniacal influences. But the Mother is the favourite object of adoration. She may be supposed to possess more activity and force (*sakti*), while as feminine she is more easily propitiated by prayer, flattery, and offerings, more ready to defend from evil, more irritable, uncertain and wayward in her temper and words, more dangerously spiteful, and prone to inflict diseases, if offended by neglect.

In Gujarat alone there are about 140 distinct Mothers, besides numerous varieties of some of the more popular forms. The name of one of the Mothers is Khodiyar, ‘Mischief.’ An outbreak of sickness is supposed to be caused by neglect in supplying her with daily food. One Mother prevents cholera, another causes cholera, one causes and prevents whooping cough, another controls mad dogs.

The small-pox goddess is a form of divine Mother worshipped under different names in every part of India. In the north she is called Sitala Devi or simply Devi. Sitala means “She who cools.” Her name in the south is Mari-amman, Mother of Death. Small-pox is called by the common people “the sport of the *Amman*.” When a person is stricken by small-pox the expression the people use is “the *Amman* is taking her pastime over him.”

The Chinese have also a small-pox goddess. When the late Emperor was attacked by the disease, the image of the goddess was

carried in procession, with great ceremony, through the streets of Peking, and was even brought into the sickroom. After the Emperor's death, the goddess was abused, and her image broken up.

Many of the local Mothers have been represented by the Brahmans to be forms of Kali. In the south, Kali-amman, as well as Mari-amman, is supposed to preside over cholera. In the north, a new goddess, called Ola Bibi, has the same office, and is worshipped in the month Phalgun.

These female tutelary deities, if not propitiated by constant offerings, and especially with blood, inflict the very plagues from which they are thought usually to protect people. Some of the "Mothers," dreaded for their fierce nature, as Kali-amman and Mari-amman, are themselves simply demons.

Bishop Caldwell says, "The only difference that I can perceive between the *Amman*s and the devils, consists in this, that the *Amman*s are never supposed to take up their abode in the bodies and minds of their worshippers. What is called demoniacal possession is confined to devils properly so called."

Deaths from Small-pox and Cholera.—About 240,000 human beings are, as it were, sacrificed every year in India on the altar of the imaginary goddess of small-pox, who is supposed for her amusement to scatter the seeds of the disease. Ignorant people are afraid to get their children vaccinated, lest they should incur the anger of the goddess. There is no such goddess; the belief about her is a false superstition, leading to great loss of life. If persons are properly vaccinated in infancy and again at puberty, almost perfect protection is secured.

The matter for vaccination was first taken from the cow, and this is still one of the best ways of being vaccinated.

About as many die every year from cholera as from small-pox. It is not caused by any goddess or demon. It is a kind of poison seed which springs up best among filth. There is no complete preservative against it like vaccination; but cleanliness, good food, pure water, warm clothing, are great safeguards.

The ignorant trust only to offerings and ceremonies for protection against pestilence. Educated men should try to spread sound knowledge on the subject; they should encourage vaccination, a pure water supply, and cleanliness among all with whom they come in contact.

FILTH is the true Mari-amman, Mother of Death.

DEIFIED MEN.

Five classes have especially been deified—kings, warriors, Brahmans, saints, and sages.

"In India," says Sir A. C. Lyall, "whatever be the original reason for venerating a deceased man, his upward course towards deification is the

same. At first we have the grave of one whose name, birthplace and parentage are well known in the district; if he died at home, his family often set up a shrine, instal themselves in possession, and realise a handsome income out of the offerings; they become hereditary keepers of the sanctuary, if the shrine prospers and its virtues stand test. Or if the man wandered abroad, settled near some village or sacred spot, became renowned for his austerity or his afflictions, and there died, the neighbours think it great luck to have the tomb of a holy man within their borders, and the landholders administer the shrine by manorial right. In the course of a very few years, as the recollection of the man's personality becomes misty, his origin grows mysterious, his career takes a legendary hue, his birth and death were both supernatural; in the next generation the names of the elder gods get introduced into the story, and so the marvellous tradition works itself into a myth, until nothing but a personal incarnation can account for such a series of prodigies. The man was an *Avatar* of Vishnu or Siva; his supreme apotheosis is now complete, and the Brahman's feel warranted in providing for him a niche in the orthodox Pantheon.

"The earliest start of even a first-rate god may have been exceedingly obscure; but if he or his shrine make a few good cures at the outset (especially among women and valuable cattle), his reputation goes rolling up like a snowball. This is the kind of success which has made the fortune of some of the most popular, the richest, and the most, widely known gods in Berar, who do all the leading business."*

Jealousies and rivalries occasionally spring up between the adherents and admirers of various departed saints or heroes, especially if much expense has been incurred in erecting shrines, and monuments in the hope of attracting pilgrims to particular localities.

At Pandharpur, in the Deccan, the favourite god is Vithoba, originally a Brahman, but now regarded as a form of Krishna. The Marathi poet Tukarama has become himself an object of adoration. At Jejuri, 30 miles from Poona, Khandoba, a raja, is looked upon as an incarnation of Siva. A man, called Balaji, considered an incarnation of Vishnu, has a temple at Tirupati, north-west of Madras, whose income is said to amount to 1½ lakhs a year. Rama and Krishna, notwithstanding their human parentage, have been exalted by their worshippers to the first rank among Vishnu's incarnations.

The hero worship of India is subject to constant changes. Worshipers are capricious; great warriors, great saints, and great sages have their day, and find themselves pushed into the background, while their places are taken by rival warriors, saints, and sages who claim to be still greater. "The Indian Pantheon," says Sir A. C. Lyall, "like the palace in the Persian parable, is but a caravanserai."

ANCESTRAL WORSHIP.

The Hindus suppose that some of the dead are degraded to the state of evil demons, while others are elevated to the position of divinities. The general idea is that the dead require to be nourished for three generations by their descendants, and to have works of merit performed for their benefit.

Ancestral worship forms a part of nearly every religion. It is the chief superstition of China. Every house in the country has an altar before which morning and evening adoration is paid to departed ancestors. When a marriage is proposed, the papers are laid on the ancestral altar. The Chinese believe that the happiness of the spirits depends in a great measure on the worship and offerings of posterity, and that those who are careful to render it to them secure the favour of the gods. Once a year they worship at the tombs of their ancestors. A feast is provided, and large quantities of paper-money are burned.

It is much the same in India. To the mind of the Hindu, says Professor Bhattacharjya "Ancestor-worship, in some form or other, is the beginning, the middle, and the end of what is known as the Hindu religion."*

The first object of the Hindu Shraddha is to provide the departed spirit with an intermediate body. Were it not for this, believed to be created by the offerings, the spirit would be an impure and unquiet ghost (*preta*), wandering about on the earth or in the air among demons, and condemned itself to become an evil spirit. The intermediate body converts it from a *Preta* into a *Pitri* or ancestor. The ball (*Pinda*) of rice offered on the first day nourishes the spirit in such a way as to furnish it with a head; on the second day, the *Pinda* gives it a neck and shoulders, and so on. By the tenth day the intermediate body is sufficiently formed to feel the sensation of hunger. On the eleventh and twelfth days it feeds voraciously on the offerings, and so gains strength on the thirteenth day for its terrible journey to Yama.

The wicked man, according to the *Garuda Purana*, has to travel 86,000 *yojanas*. Midway is the awful river *Vaitarani*, 100 *yojanas* in breadth, of unfathomable depth, filled with blood, infested by huge sharks, crocodiles and sea monsters; darkened by clouds of hideous vultures. Thousands of condemned spirits stand trembling on its banks. Consumed by a raging thirst, they drink the blood which flows at their feet, then tumbling headlong into the torrent they are overwhelmed by the rushing waves. Finally they are hurried down to the lowest depths of hell to undergo inconceivable tortures.

* *Tagore Law Lectures*, p. 130.

On the other hand the Hindu is taught that by performing certain religious rites and giving gifts to the Brahmans, all the terrific penalties of sin may be avoided, and Yama loses his victims. The Brahmans are held for the time to represent the Pitris, and whatever nourishes and benefits the Brahmans nourishes and benefits the Pitris. It is also thought that the offerers store up merit for themselves as well as help their ancestors. A childless man who has no son to make offerings for him is said to fall into the hell called *Put*. *Putra*, a son, is supposed to mean one who saves from hell.

A Shradda may be performed every day, and especially on various occasions of rejoicing, as on naming a child, on entering a new dwelling, &c.

Poverty caused by Shraddhas.—Native newspapers complain of the poverty of the people, and lay the blame at the door of the British Government, whereas it is largely caused by their own insane customs.

The funeral ceremonies of the older members of a family involve a great expenditure. In the Panjab the average cost is said to be Rs. 500. "A well-to-do person in Bengal," says Sir Monier Williams, "would incur the everlasting obloquy of his family and friends and be almost excommunicated from society if he spent less than six thousand or seven thousand rupees on the funeral of a father, and in the carrying out of all the other necessary ceremonies consequent on his death. It is well known that the expenditure incurred on such occasions by rich Bengal Rajas and Zamindars of high family has often impoverished them for the remainder of their lives. Instances are on record of a single funeral and Shraddha costing a sum equivalent to £120,000, the greater part of that amount being squandered on worthless Brahmans, indolent Pandits, hypocritical devotees, and vagabond religious mendicants."

Gaya, about 55 miles south of Patna, is the most frequented place for the performance of Shraddhas. Their efficacy is such that wherever the departed relatives may be they are at once taken to Vishnu's heaven, Vaikuntha. The expense is proportionately great. To secure the complete advantage a round of ceremonies must be performed at about a hundred distinct places, while the fees paid to the rapacious priesthood, called Gayawals, are enormous in the case of rich men.

Money for the performance of Shraddhas has often to be borrowed at high interest. When a Hindu saves any money, he often spends it on jewels. Those jewels he gives as security, while he has to pay the interest.

Sir Monier Williams justly remarks:—

"In truth, the expenditure of time, money, and energy needed to satisfy public opinion before a man is held to have discharged the debt

due to a deceased father, and before he is relieved from the long course of fasting and mourning he is expected to undergo, constitutes an evil which has gradually grown till it has become a veritable curse to the country, and one of the principal bars to any advance in its social condition. Nor is there any warrant for the system in the more ancient books held sacred in India as authoritative guides."*

Moral Evils of Shraddhas.—These are even worse than the poverty. Numbers of idle vagabonds, some of them notoriously vicious, are maintained who should work for their living. The impression is given that a man's welfare in another world depends mainly, not upon his own conduct, but on the offerings made after his death. He may lead any sort of life, however immoral and wicked, provided he leave enough to feed the Brahmans, and especially to have his Shraddha performed at Gaya. Thus encouragement is given to sin. On the other hand, a childless man is said to fall into *Put*. The great Judge of all the earth will do that which is right. A man will be rewarded or punished for his own deeds, not for those of others over which he has no control.

The whole system is clearly an invention of the Brahmans to deceive ignorant credulous Hindus and get their money. At a time when mourning the loss of relatives, they work upon their feelings and extort from them all they can.

It is our duty to cherish the memory of our forefathers, but their happiness in a future state depends upon their own conduct—not upon our offerings. The best way of showing respect for them is by living noble lives.

PLANT WORSHIP.

This is a very old superstition. According to Hinduism, gods, demons, men, and animals, may transmigrate into plants. Manu says (I. 49) that plants are "possessed of consciousness, and are endowed with pleasure and pain."

In Vedic times the Soma plant, yielding an intoxicating juice, was adored, and considered itself to be a god. At present the Tulasi plant is looked upon as the most sacred. There are different stories of its supposed origin. One account says that it was produced at the churning of the milk sea. Another version is that a woman, named Tulasi, sought by long religious austerities, to become the wife of Vishnu. Lakshmi, hearing of this, cursed her, and changed her into the plant which bears her name, and is worshipped as a deity. The following prayer is often addressed to it: "I adore that Tulasi in whose roots are all the sacred places of pilgrimage, in whose centre are all the deities, and in whose upper branches are all the Vedas."

* *Religious Life and Thought in India*, pp. 278, 279.

The Tulasi is especially the Hindu woman's divinity. It is generally planted in the courtyard of respectable families, with a space around for circumambulation. All the religion of many of the women consists in walking round the Tulasi plant, in saying



TULASI PLANT.

prayers to it, or in placing offerings before it. The great object is to have sons. They walk 108 times round it, with the right shoulder always turned towards it. If the left shoulder were used, all the efficacy would be lost!

The Tulasi plant is sometimes married to a representation of Vishnu, called the Salagrama. Thousands of rupees are sometimes spent on their marriages. At one of them there was a great procession of 8 elephants, 200 camels, and 400 horses.

The Pipal is held to be a most holy tree. Some say it is occupied by the essence of Brahma, and it is occasionally invested with the sacred thread as if it were a Brahman. Others say that it is pervaded by Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. It is believed that spirits delight to sit in the branches, and listen to the rustling of the leaves.

The third most sacred plant in India is the Bilva or wood-apple. Offerings of its leaves are placed on the linga and Siva's bull.

The Nim, or Margosa, is also sacred. A string of its leaves is often hung across doorways for protection against demons and other evil influences.

Of the grasses, the Kusa is the holiest. It is used at all religious ceremonies. It sanctifies the soil, forms the most sacred of all seats, cleanses every thing it touches, purifies the impure, and when wound round the fingers makes them fit to engage in the most solemn rites. In virtue, it is nearly equal to the excrements of the cow.

ANIMAL WORSHIP.

Few sights are more pitiable than that of a man worshipping a beast, yet zoolatry has always prevailed among uncivilised and half-civilised races in every part of the earth.

The Hindus believe that there are 84 lakhs of different species of animals through which any man may pass. Even a flea may enclose the soul of some person who was a sage or a saint. The stories about talking beasts and birds are by ignorant Hindus looked upon as real narratives. From this belief in transmigration, many Hindus will not kill an animal of any kind.



WORSHIPPING THE SERPENT.

Fear is one motive why animals are worshipped. Among some of the jungle tribes the *tiger* is regarded as a god. But *serpent* worship is far more general. It glides stealthily about, and some species,

by a mere prick, can cause almost immediate death. About 20,000 human beings perish annually in India from snake bites. The deadly cobra is especially revered. The thousand-headed snake, Shesha, is sometimes represented as forming the couch and canopy of Vishnu, while sleeping during the intervals of creation. According to popular belief, earthquakes are caused by his shaking one of his heads. In some parts women go to snake holes, and place there offerings of milk and eggs, with invocations and prayers. Serpent worship prevails largely among the negroes of Western Africa.

The *monkey* is considered sacred, perhaps on account of its resemblance, in some respects, to human beings, and from its strange ways. It was worshipped, like the tiger, by the aborigines, and afterwards adopted by the Brahmans. In some parts of the country Hanuman is a very common village god. He is said to have been the son of Pavana, 'the wind,' by a monkey mother. He could assume any form at will, hurl rocks, remove mountains, put the sun in one of his armpits, and dart through the air like lightning. Surasi, a Rakshasi, tried to swallow him. Hanuman stretched himself so much that her mouth was a hundred yojanas wide; then he suddenly shrank up to the size of a thumb, darted through her, and came out at her right ear!



HANUMAN.

Hanuman's "traditions and attributes," says Sir A. Lyall, "illustrate curiously the process by which a mere animal fetich, dreaded for his ugliness and half-human ways, soon rises to be an elfin king of the monkey tribe, next becomes a powerful genius, and latterly emerges into the full glory of divine *Avatâr*, surrounded by the most extravagant

fables to explain away the simian head and tail which have stuck to him through all his metamorphoses."*

Some animals are worshipped for their *usefulness*. This applies especially to the cow and bull.

Great religious changes have taken place among the Hindus. One of the most remarkable is the feeling with regard to the cow. In Vedic times the *Gomatha*, or cow sacrifice, was common. When a person died, a cow was killed to accompany him. The flesh of the cow was freely eaten.† A guest was called *Goghna*, he for whom a cow is killed. It is pretended by some that the animals were not really killed; but the Atharva Veda gives a list of the different persons who were to receive the various parts when cut up. Some say that animals were always restored to life again; but this must have been done after they were eaten.

At present the idea of eating beef is so horrible to Hindus,* that some never mention the word in the vernacular, and frequently there have been serious riots on account of the slaughter of cows. Among the Sikhs it was considered a greater crime to kill a cow than to kill a daughter.

The cow, valuable for its milk, is the animal which receives most worship in India. There is an annual ceremony in her honour. The prayer is sometimes offered: "O mother, be gracious to us. Bless us with a rich harvest. Let our lands bring forth an increase. We are thy humble servants."

The ancient Egyptians were especially notorious for animal worship. Bulls received the most profound veneration. They were kept in splendid temples, they were adored and prayed to by thousands during their lives, and at their death they were placed in huge tombs, while all Egypt went into mourning. But the Hindus have reached the lowest depth of degradation in animal worship. The very excrements of the cow are sacred. Her urine is the best of all holy waters—a sin-destroying liquid which purifies every thing it touches. Cow dung is supposed to be of equal efficacy. The ashes produced by burning this hallowed substance, are of such a holy nature, that they have only to be sprinkled over a sinner to convert him into a saint. To swallow a pill composed of the five products of the cow will even purify a man who has been polluted by a visit to England.

The bull, useful in cultivation, ranks next to the cow. Siva is said to perform all his journeys riding upon its back. Vemana, a Telugu poet, says, "Seeing a bull made of stone, men reverently bow down before it; seeing the living moving animal, they flog it."

* *Asiatic Studies*, p. 14.

† Full proofs are given by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in his *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I. pp. 354--388.

Shasti is said to ride on a cat. Hence no Hindu woman will injure that animal, lest she should offend the goddess.

The Brahmany kite, supposed to represent Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, is the most sacred of birds. Offerings are made to it by throwing up bits of flesh, which it nimbly catches with its claws. It is said to destroy serpents. On this account the ancient Egyptians worshipped the bird ibis.

TOOL WORSHIP.

In the Vedas hymns are addressed to the sacrificial implements. The posts to which victims were tied were asked to bestow "wealth and progeny." A hymn is especially dedicated to the arrow. It is



CARPENTER WORSHIPPING HIS TOOLS.

addressed: "Arrow, whetted by charms, fly when discharged; go, light among the adversaries; spare not one of the enemy." The ladle, a kind of large spoon, likewise receives great honour. "We revile not the ladle which is of exalted race; verily, we assert the dignity of the wooden implement. The ladle has established the sky."

Every object that benefits the Hindu and helps to provide him with a livelihood becomes for the time being his fetich or god. On particular days the farmer prays to his plough, the fisher to his net, the writer adores his pen, the banker his account books, the carpenter his tools, the woman her basket and other articles that assist her in her household labours. The Thugs, who murdered travellers in the name of the goddess Kali, worshipped the pickaxe which they carried for the speedy burial of their victims.

RIVER AND WATER WORSHIP.

The tendency to worship anything useful has been noticed. The fertility of Egypt depends upon the river Nile ; hence it was early regarded as a deity. In the times of the Vedas, the Aryans had not advanced far into India ; the Ganges is therefore only twice mentioned in the hymns. The Indus was the most celebrated river. The Saraswati, as a goddess, protected the Aryans from their eastern enemies.

In later times the Ganges was generally considered to be the most sacred of all rivers. It is said to flow from the toe of Vishnu, and to have been brought down from heaven by the prayers of the saint Bhagirathi to purify the ashes of the 60,000 sons of King Sagara. Ganga was angry at being brought down from heaven, and Siva, to save the earth from the shock of her fall, caught the river on his matted hair.



BATHING IN THE GANGES.

The following is a prayer addressed to the river : " Oh, Mother Ganga ! I now bow at thy feet, have mercy on thy servant. Who can describe thy virtues ? Were the greatest of sinners, the perpetrator of endless crimes to pronounce the word Ganga, he, being delivered from all his sins, shall be translated to the blissful abode of the celestials." Hence the countless temples with flights of

steps lining its banks; hence the array of priests, called 'sons of the Ganges,' sitting on the edge of its streams, ready to aid the ablutions of conscience-stricken bathers, and stamp them as white-washed when they emerge from the stream. Hence also the constant traffic carried on in transporting Ganges water to all parts of the country.

The Agni Purana declares that "those who die when half their body is immersed in Ganga water, shall be happy thousands of thousands of ages and resemble Brahma." This false superstition has led to a very barbarous practice in Bengal, where the Ganges is especially worshipped. When a person is supposed to be dying, he is carried to the Ganges and laid down upon its banks, sometimes surrounded by beings like himself, whose shrieks and groans disturb his repose. A few minutes before his death he is again brought to the brink of the river, when the body is half immersed in water; while Ganges water and mud are put into his mouth.



Sometimes people lie for days on the river bank, unwilling to return home as their friends would refuse to take them in. When a person is dying, every thing should be done to lessen his sufferings; but through this false notion every thing is rather done to increase the agony. Many lives are thus shortened, and in some cases people are even murdered by those who wish to get their property.

Hindu mothers sometimes offered children in sacrifice to the Ganges. The British Government had to place guards at Sagar Island, where the Ganges joins the sea, to stop the practice.

Only Brahmans living near the Ganges profited by the supposed sanctity of the river. Those in the south make the people believe that the water of the Ganges comes once in twelve years to Combaconum, in the Madras Presidency, and lakhs of people go to bathe in a muddy tank.

The Narbada (bliss-giver) has its admirers who exalt it even above the Ganges. It is said to have sprung from the perspiration of the god Rudra. "One day's ablution," they say, "in the Ganges frees from all sin, but the mere sight of the Narbada purifies from guilt." Furthermore, either bank of the Narbada may be used for burning the dead, whereas only the northern bank of the Ganges is effectual for that purpose. Sanctity is also claimed, more or less, for other rivers, as the Godavery, Cavery, &c. Chapters, called Mahatmyas, extolling the virtues of their waters, have been introduced into the Puranas.

On the other hand, a river, called Karmanasa, 'destroyer of good works,' which falls into the Ganges, is held to be so unholy that if a man touches its water he loses all the merit he has acquired.

It is considered highly meritorious to follow on foot a sacred river from its source to the sea and then back again.

Some wells are considered sacred as well as rivers. They were very common in Europe, and belief in them has among some not yet died out. People drank their water or bathed in it, leaving behind them a scrap of their clothing or a small piece of money as an offering.

In India, two wells at Benares are considered specially holy. One is called *Gyan Kup*, "well of knowledge," in which it is believed the god Siva resides. Pilgrims cast into the water flowers and other offerings to the deity below. As the mixture produces a constant state of putrefaction, the stench is most disgusting.

The *Manikarnika* well is still more sacred. The *Kashi Khanda* says that Vishnu dug this well with his discus, and in lieu of water filled it with the perspiration from his own body. Mahadeva, looking into the well, beheld in it the beauty of a hundred millions of suns. In his joy an ear-ring called Manikarnaka, fell from his ear into the well; hence its name. Among other epithets it is called Mukti-shetra; seat of liberation.

Stone steps on four sides lead down to the well, which is only two or three feet deep. From the lakhs of pilgrims bathing in it, some of them filthy and covered with sores, the water is so stinking, that the air is polluted for some distance around. The worshipper descending into the water laves his head and body with the vile liquid, repeating certain phrases. It is believed that this stinking water will infallibly wash away all the sins of the soul and make it pure and holy. Many come hoping thus to remove in one minute the crimes and sins of a life-time.

Remarks on River and Water Worship.—The Ganges has its source, like many other rivers, in the Himalayas, from the snow and rain which fall upon the mountains. Its water does not differ a whit from that of any other river.

If a man were dying of thirst in the desert and some one gave him water, would it be right for him to thank the water and not the giver? Instead of worshipping the Ganges, people should worship its great Creator.

Many Hindus believe that by bathing in the Ganges, or in some other rivers considered sacred, they will be able to wash away their sins. Suppose a washerman puts all the dirty clothes he has for washing into a box and shutting the lid, washes and rubs the outside of the box ever so much; will the clothes inside the box become clean thereby? It is sin that has to be washed away. This is not sticking on the surface of the body, but is inside the heart.

Suppose a man robs you, but goes quickly and bathes in the Ganges, you afterwards catch him and charge him with the theft. He replies that he went immediately and bathed in the Ganges, so that his guilt was blotted out? Would you accept this excuse? You would think that he was making a fool of you.

How many men go from the river every morning to their shops, and there lie and defraud their customers! Look at the number of abandoned characters living on the very banks of the Ganges, and daily performing their ablutions in its sacred stream! The Gangaputras, at Benares, are notorious for their lying and rapacity.

The lot of those hurried to the Ganges in their last moments, in the vain hope of thus entering heaven, is peculiarly sad. They go down to death with "a lie in their right hand."

LIVING MEN CONSIDERED DIVINE.

Brahmans claim to have sprung from the mouth of Brahma. According to Manu, the Brahman, being the first-born and the rightful possessor of the Veda, is the chief of the whole creation. Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect the wealth of the Brahman. It is through his benevolence that other mortals enjoy life. Power and glory reside in every part of his body; the Ganges is in his right ear; his mouth is that of God himself; the cow of plenty are the hairs of his body.

Manu further affirms that a "Brahman is a mighty god, a supreme divinity whether he be learned or unlearned, and even if employed in inferior occupations." "From his birth alone a Brahman is regarded as a divinity even by the gods." The Brahmans claim to have frighened, kicked and cursed even the gods.

Manu threatens the following punishments when Brahmans are injured: "A man who basely assaults a Brahman with an intention

to hurt him, shall be whirled about for a century in a hell called *Tamisri*; but having smitten him in anger and by design, even with a blade of grass, he shall be born in 21 transmigrations from the wombs of impure animals."



BRAHMAN WORSHIP.

Whatever crimes a Brahman may have committed, the king must on no account put him to death; he may, at the most, banish him, allowing him to take all his property with him.

On the other hand, gifts to Brahmans are most meritorious. "If a man sell his cow he will go to hell; if he give her to a Brahman he will go to heaven." If on Ganga's anniversary whole villages are given to Brahmans, the person presenting them will be a million times more glorious than the sun, he will have a million virgins, many carriages and palanquins with jewels, and he will live in heaven with his father as many years as there are particles in the land given to Brahmans."

The following rewards are promised in the Puranas for reverencing Brahmans: "Whatever good man bows to a Brahman, reverencing him as Vishnu, is blessed with long life, sons, renown and prosperity. But whatever foolish man does not bow down to a Brahman in earth, Kesava desires to strike off his head with his discus." "Whatever good man worships a Brahman by walking round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven continents."

The dust from a Brahman's foot placed on a man's head, frees him from all sin. Another mode of attaining the same object is to drink the water into which a Brahman has dipped the great toe of his right foot.

"All the holy streams of the world go to the Ocean ;

"All the holy streams in the Ocean are in the Brahman's right foot."

Most Hindus have their guru. They are taught that it is better to offend the gods than the guru. If a man offend the gods, his guru can intercede on his behalf and win their favour ; but if a man offend the guru, there is none to appease his wrath. The curse of a guru will condemn a man to untold miseries in hell. Hence it is no uncommon thing when a disciple meets his guru to prostrate himself before him, and take the very dust from his feet and place it on his head.

The guru, when he receives a disciple, whispers into his ear a mantra which must never be repeated to another person or the most dreadful results are threatened. Only the words are given without their meaning. It should be repeated at least morning and evening ; but as there is great virtue in repeating it, many say it 108 times a day.

The guru pays annual or more frequent visits to his disciples, when he is treated with great honour, and receives his fees.

Some Vaishnavas look upon their Acharyas as living embodiments of the deity (*serva-deva-mayah*). An ignorant bigoted old man calls himself *jagat guru*, the Teacher of the World. In some cases, at initiation, persons are brauded with the discus and conch shell of Vishnu.

The depth of debasement is reached in the case of the Vallabha sect, a division of the Vaishnavas. Their chief priests, called Maharajas, are regarded as incarnations of Krishna. Men and women prostrate themselves at their feet, offering them incense, fruits and flowers, and waving lights before them. It is believed that the best way of propitiating Krishna in heaven is by ministering to the sensual appetites of the Maharajas. Body, soul and property (*tan, man, dhan*), are to be wholly made over to them. Women are taught to believe that the highest bliss will be secured to themselves and their families by intercourse with the Maharajas. Rich Bombay merchants, as shown at a trial in 1862, gave their wives and daughters to be prostituted as an act of religious merit to men who had ruined their health by debauchery.

It is evident that the claims of sinful mortals to divine honours are founded on falsehood. Those who reverence them are like men paying respect to base-born pretenders to royalty. Instead of a reward, they render themselves liable to severe punishment.

PRINCIPAL HINDU GODS.

As already mentioned, the object of this Paper is to explain the Hinduism of the Itihasas, or Epic Poems, and Puranas ; but any earlier accounts of the leading deities will also be briefly noticed.

BRAHMA (Neuter) or BRAHM.

Sir Monier Williams says :—

“Of course it is alleged by all Saiva and Vaishnava sectarians that the gods Siva and Vishnu, as identified with the Supreme Being, are themselves the source and spring as well as the controllers of all the forces and potentialities of nature. Yet we must bear in mind that it is a rooted idea with all Hindu theologians, of whatever denomination, that the highest condition of the self-existent Being is a condition of complete quiescence and inactivity, as well as of complete oneness, solitariness, and impersonality.”*

The eternal Supreme Being, described as *nirguna*, destitute of qualities, is called Brahma (neuter). After a long period of repose, he becomes possessed of *ahankara*, self-consciousness. The three qualities, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, truth, passion and darkness are developed. Brahma places in the waters a golden egg which he broods over a whole year. From it is born Brahmá (masculine), usually represented as the maker of all things.

No temple is erected by the Hindus to the honour of that one Supreme Being whom they all profess to acknowledge, nor are there any rites prescribed for his worship.

BRAHMA (Masculine).

In the later hymns of the Rig Veda and in the Atharva Veda, the creator is called Visvakarman, Hiranyagarbha, and Prajapati. The name Brahma is not found in the Vedas and Brahmanas.

The common Hindu account of the origin of the castes is that they came from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Brahma. Other theories will be noticed under “Caste.”

In the earlier books Brahma is represented to have become a boar, and to have raised up the earth from under the ocean. He is also said to have taken the form of a tortoise. The Mahabharata asserts that Brahma sprung from a lotus which grew on the navel of Vishnu. The boar and tortoise incarnations are also transferred to the latter. The Vaishnava authorities make Brahma superior to Siva, who they say sprung from his forehead. The Saivas, on the other hand, make Mahadeva the creator of Brahma; they represent Brahma as worshipping the linga, and as acting as the chariteer of Rudra.

Most disgusting stories are told of Brahma the supposed creator. He was given to intoxication. The way in which he took five heads is too filthy to be described. It is said that Siva cut off his fifth head with the nail of his left hand. Thrice Brahma told a lie, and hired the cow Kamadhena and the tree Katakí as false witnesses. On this account the gods, by their curse, deprived him of all

* *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 180.

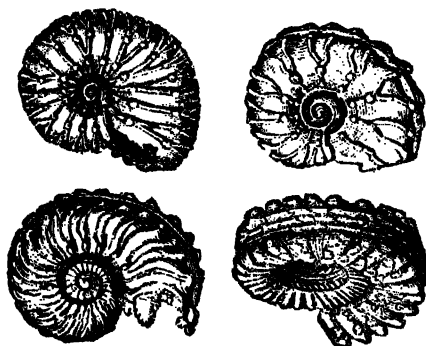
worship in this world. Pushkara, in Rajputana, is perhaps the only place where he has a temple.

VISHNU.

The Nirukta commentary of the Rig Veda makes the three principal gods to be Agni, Indra and Surya. Vishnu is not in the first rank of the gods. He is distinguished from every other deity as striding across the heavens in three paces. This has been explained as denoting the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun. Sometimes in the Vedas he is associated with Indra. In Manu his name is scarcely mentioned, and not as that of a great deity. Some books describe him as one of the sons of Aditi, who is represented both as the mother and daughter of Daksha.

In course of time the worshippers of Vishnu claimed for him the highest place in the Hindu Pantheon. Manu says that Brahma was called Narayana, because the waters (*nara*) were his first *ayana* or place of motion. As in the case of the boar and tortoise, the worshippers of Vishnu have appropriated this name to their deity: He is painted in human form as slumbering on the serpent Shesha, and floating on the waters. The Vishnu Purana makes the following claims for Vishnu: "The world was produced from Vishnu; it exists in him; he is the cause of its continuance and cessation; he is the world." A hymn commences as follows: "Glory to the unchangeable, holy, eternal supreme Vishnu, of one universal nature, the mighty over all; to him who is Hiranyagarbha (Brahma), Hari, and Shankara (Siva); the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the world."

Vishnu is celebrated for his Avatars, their object professedly being to correct some great evil or effect some great good in the world. They are usually said to be ten in number, but the Bhagavata Purana increases them to 22, and adds that in reality they are innumerable. The principal will be noticed.



AMMONITES.

The Siliagramma is worshipped by the Vaishnavas. It is said that

when Tulasi was changed into a plant, Vishnu comforted her with the assurance that he would assume the form of the Salagrama and continue near her. The Salagrama is a shell-fish, changed into stone, found in the river Gandak. It is called an ammonite, and is well known. The foregoing is a representation of some species.

The Salagrama does not require the *pran pratishtha* ceremony before it is worshipped. It is supposed to belong to the *sayambhu* class, pervaded of their own nature by the essence of the deity.

The following are some stories told of Vishnu. Before the churning of the Milk Sea, he promised to the Daitiyas that they should have their share of the *amrit*. He assumed the appearance of a beautiful woman to attract them, and when one of them began to drink, the *amrit*, he cut off his head with his chakra. To deceive Siva he took the form of Mohini. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva are said to have been changed into children for their misconduct with Atri's wife. To break the austerities of the wife of Bhṛigu, he cut off her head. Bhṛigu consequently cursed him to seven births among mortals.

Parasurama.

This incarnation, it is said, was undertaken by Vishnu to destroy the Kshatriya caste which had tried to assert its authority over the Brahmins. Another reason assigned is that some Kshatriyas killed his father, upon which he vowed to extirpate the whole race. Thrice seven times did he clear the earth of the Kshatriya caste, and filled with their blood five large lakes.

Some children were hidden from his rage among the other castes, and in time grew up to be warriors. He therefore destroyed them one after another as they reached manhood, till not a single male Kshatriya was left, when the Brahmins colabited with their wives.

This ruthless destruction of a whole race in the interests of the Brahmins is a poor evidence of divinity. Parasurama may be characterised as the incarnation of Revenge.

Rama.

The Ramayana, describing this incarnation, is the most popular work in India. Valmiki asks of Narada, "Who is the bravest and best man that ever lived on earth?" Narada then relates the history of Rama, son of Dasaratha, reigning at Ayodhya. The book makes the following claim: "He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving Ramayana is liberated from all his sins, and exalted with his posterity to the highest heaven."

Sita is the finest character in Hindu literature. Rama, though not equal to her, exhibits some noble traits. But the Ramayana,

while containing some beautiful passages, includes also much that is absurd and revolting. Sir Monier Williams, referring to the Itihasas, says :—

“The shape and operations of divine and semi-divine beings are generally suggestive of the monstros, the frightful, the hideous, and the incredible; the deeds of its heroes, who are themselves half-gods, transport the imagination, into the region of the wildest chimera; and a whole pantheon presents itself, teeming with grotesque and unwieldy symbols, with horrible creations, half-animals, half-gods, with man-eating ogres, many-headed giants and disgusting demons.” “The capacity of an uneducated Hindu for believing the grossest absurdities and accepting the most monstrous fictions as realities, is apparently unlimited.”*

When the Ramayana was written, India had neither roads nor railways. The poet could describe Lanka, or Ceylon, in any way he pleased. The Island is now under the Queen of England, and we know that the wonderful stories told about it are mere fables.

“Rama's character,” says Bishop Caldwell, “throughout is that a human hero, characterised by human limitations, and requiring help in the accomplishment of his purposes—not that of a god. The claim set up for his having been an incarnation of Vishnu rests exclusively on the evidence of his impossible achievements in the slaughter of impossible giants and monkeys.”

Rama, at best, is simply an incarnation of Courage.

Krishna.

The history of Krishna is interesting as showing the gradual change of a mortal hero into a representative of one of the principal gods.



The Vishnu Purana states that when the earth, assuming the form of a cow, complained of the tyranny of Kansa to Vishnu, “the supreme Lord plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, and

said to the gods: "These my two hairs shall descend upon the earth, and shall relieve her of the burden of her distress." The white hair became Balarama, and the black, Krishna.

The history of Krishna is related at great length in the Mahabharata, the Bhagavata Purana, and other works. The tenth book of the Bhagavata has been translated into Hindi under the name of *Prem Sagar*, and is very popular.

The stories connected with the history of Krishna are well known. It is said that he stole butter, and told lies to conceal his fault. He behaved most indecently with the Gopis; Radha was the wife of Ayanaghosha, a cowherd. He is said to have had 16,100 wives and 180,000 sons.

A full account of his death is given in the Harivansa. The Yadavas went to Pindaraka, described as a tirtha, on the sea coast near Dwaraka. They took their families and thousands of courtizans, and spent the day in bathing, feasting, drinking, singing and dancing. The chief dish was roast buffalo. They drank so freely of five kinds of strong drink, that some tottered, others fell, and others became reckless. Then the men, their wives, and the courtizans danced together. The Rishi Narada is said to have taken part in the dancing and joking.

Like people who indulge in liquor, the Yadavas began to fight among themselves. For arms they seized the rushes, which became like clubs of iron. Krishna at first tried in vain to separate them. Then becoming angry, he joined in the fight, killing many of the Yadavas and all his sons. He and Balarama were left alone of their race. Balarama died when a serpent came out of his mouth. Once when Krishna was entertaining the sage Durvas, it is said that a grain of rice fell on his foot which Krishna did not remove. Upon this Durvas cursed him, and said that he should die from a wound in his foot. While Krishna was meditating under a tree, a hunter, taking him for a deer, killed him with an arrow.

In the Mahabharata generally, Krishna is little more than a great hero. When Krishna went with Arjuna to Siva to beg heavenly weapons, it is said that "Krishna revered Siva with voice, mind, understanding and act." The following are other passages: "Thus Madhava performed austerities for a full thousand years, propitiating Siva the god who bestows boons." "Siva is the most excellent of beings in the three worlds." "As he is the greatest of gods, he is called Mahadeva." In other parts of the Mahabharata, Siva praises Krishna's merits as much as Krishna praises him. These passages were doubtless introduced when the worship of Krishna had, to a large extent, superseded that of Siva in North India.

In the Bhagavad Gita Krishna says, "Whenever there is a relaxation of duty, oh son of Bharata and an increase of impiety, I

then reproduce myself for the protection of the good and the destruction of evil-doers. I am produced in every age for the purpose of establishing duty."

"According to the teaching of this passage," says Bishop Caldwell, "Krishna's claim to be a divine incarnation falls self-refuted to the ground, for the signs of a true incarnation, as stated in this passage, are diametrically opposed, to the whole tone and tenor of his life. The Krishna of the Bhagavad Gita was bound to appear for the destruction of such characters as the Krishna of the Bhagavata Purana."

"The stories related of Krishna's life do more than any thing else to destroy the morals and corrupt the imagination of Hindu youth." Krishna may be characterised as the incarnation of Lust.

Buddha Avatar.

It has been mentioned that when any local god became celebrated, the Brahmins adopted him as an incarnation of Vishnu or Siva. About the sixth century B.C., Buddha established a great religion in India, which subsequently spread to Burma, Siam, and China. He taught that it was useless to offer sacrifices or worship the gods. The Brahmins afterwards took him up, and represented him as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu for the purpose of teaching false doctrine. The Bhagavata Purana says: "The undiscernible Being, having assumed a mortal form, preached heretical doctrines in the three cities founded by Maya, for the purpose of destroying, by deluding them, the enemies of the gods, steadfast in the religion prescribed by the Vedas." "By his words as Buddha, Vishnu deludes the heretics."

For a god to delude men by teaching atheism, is a strange way of "establishing duty."

Chaitanya.

Chaitanya is little known in many parts of India; but in Bengal he is said to have 8 millions of worshippers as an incarnation of Vishnu, or rather of Krishna. He was a Brahmin, born at Nadiya in Bengal, in 1485 A. D.—just two years after Luther in Europe. When 44 years of age, he gave up his Brahmanical thread and became a mendicant, going about teaching his system.

Chaitanya's chief doctrines were that caste should be abandoned, and that all who joined his sect should eat together. He forbade the use of flesh and fish, and the worshipping of those deities to whom animal sacrifices were offered. Widows were allowed to marry. His most prominent tenet was that salvation was to be obtained through faith (*bhakti*) in Krishna. At last he supposed himself to be Krishna, sometimes dancing with the milkmaids, and

went into the river Jumna, where he was drowned. His temple at Nadiya contains a small image of Krishna, and a large one of himself. Prostitutes in Bengal generally profess to be his disciples, as, being expelled from their own caste, it is only by this means that they can obtain funeral rites.

The history of Chaitanya is interesting as showing how the Hindus manufacture their gods.

SIVA.

The Vaishnavas are the more numerous in North India; the Saivas in the south. The Madras Presidency, in 1881, had about $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the latter, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the former.

The name of Siva does not occur in the Vedas, but to gain him greater reverence he is declared to be the same as Rudra. In the Vedas, Rudra is the howling terrible god, the father of the Maruts. Sometimes he is considered a destructive deity who brings diseases upon men and cattle; on other occasions he is beneficent, supposed to have a healing influence.

In the Ramayana, Siva is a great god, but holds a less exalted position than Vishnu. The Mahabharata, on the whole, gives Vishnu the highest honour, but it has some passages in which Siva occupies the supreme place. Attempts are also made to reconcile their conflicting claims by representing Siva and Vishnu to be the same.

In the Saiva Puranas, Siva has the pre-eminence, and there are numberless stories intended for his glorification. In the Linga Purana it is mentioned that from the egg of the universe Siva, having assumed a form, produced from his left side Vishnu and Lakshmi, and from his right side Brahma and Sarasvati.

Siva wears a necklace of bones and skulls, and carries a skull in his hand. The Saiva Puranas give the following explanation of them. At the end of a Kalpa, Siva destroys Brahma and Vishnu with the rest of the creation, but he wears their bones and skulls as a garland. The skull which he holds in his hand is from the central head of Brahma which he cut off. He is therefore called *Kapali*. The ashes with which Siva smears himself were produced as follows: At the end of one of the early Kalpas, Siva reduced Brahma and Vishnu to ashes by a spark out of his central eye; after which he rubbed their ashes upon his body as an ornament. Hence the saying of the Saivas, "Without beauty is the forehead destitute of sacred ashes."

There have been many disputes between the Vaishnavas and Saivas with regard to the superiority of their respective gods.

Siva's wife, Parvati, is said often to have rebuked him for his evil habits and associating with prostitutes. She was almost ruined by

his habits of intoxication, in which he indulged to such a degree as to redden his eyes. He danced naked before Atri, and from the curse of that Rishi was punished in a way which is too shameful to be mentioned. He was ready to part with all the merit he had acquired by his austerities in order to gratify his evil desires but once with Mohini. Daksha gave in marriage the youngest of his daughters to Siva; but he became enraged when he saw the habits of his son-in-law—a beggar, smearing his body with ashes, living where the dead are burned, and wearing a necklace of skulls. When Daksha made a great sacrifice, his daughter came; but he abused her greatly on account of her dirty and beggarly appearance, on which account she threw herself into the fire and was reduced to ashes. Upon this Siva, it is said, produced an enormous giant with three eyes, called Virabhadra, who destroyed the sacrifice of Daksha and cut off his head. Brahma and Vishnu then came bending at the feet of Siva, and at their request he put a goat's head on Daksha's body. The story is told in various ways. The Harivansa, to glorify Vishnu, makes it end differently. The sacrifice was destroyed and the gods fled in dismay, till Vishnu seized Siva by the throat, and compelled him to desist and acknowledge his master.

A feeling of modesty, found in all men except the lowest savages, requires certain parts of the body to be covered. Among the Saivas, on the other hand, they are the favourite forms of worship. What must be the moral influence of the contemplation of such objects?

The Saiva ascetics, who profess to copy the example of their lord, are some of the worst men in India. The Hindus are cleanly in their habits; but, strange to say, they appear in certain cases, to regard filth as a proof of sanctity. The Saiva beggars are dirty and disgusting. Some of them wander about quite naked. Though strong and able to work, they live in idleness, preying upon the industrious. If any refuse them alms, they threaten them with most awful curses. They stupify themselves with bhang, and are guilty of the vilest immoralities. That such men should be regarded as holy, is a sad proof of the debasing influence of Hinduism.

GANESA.

Ganesa is said to be the son of Siva and Parvati. Soon after his birth, the gods came to see him. Sani, or Saturn, held down his head, and would not look at the child, on account of his evil influence. Parvati did not think of this, and scolded Sani. When Sani looked up, Ganesa's head was immediately reduced to ashes. Parvati, seeing her child headless, was overwhelmed with grief, and would have killed Sani. Brahma prevented her, and told Sani to go out and bring the head of the first animal he should meet lying



GANESA.

with its head northward. Sani found an elephant in this position, cut off its head, and fixed it on Ganesa. Parvati was little soothed when she saw her son with an elephant's head; but, to please her, Brahma said that Ganesa should be the first worshipped of all the gods.

Another story is that Parvati made Ganesa from the scurf of her own body, and that his head was cut off by Siva, who did not know who he was. A third legend is so filthy that it cannot be mentioned.

The large belly of Ganesa denotes his gluttony. He is said to be very fond of sweetmeats. The story is related that Siva was, on a time, in deep distress, because one of the gods offered great sacrifices for his destruction. Siva told Ganesa how he might release him. The enemy of Siva delayed Ganesa by throwing down sweetmeats which he waited to pick up and eat.

School boys in South India pray to Ganesa to help them in their studies, and praise him by telling him how much he can eat.

An annual festival is held in his honour, called Ganesha Chaturthi. Many persons never commence a letter without praying to Ganesa.

Can we believe that God, like a spoiled child, is fond of sweetmeats? that He is a glutton? Suppose that Ganesa gave one of his worshippers a son exactly like himself, would he be pleased? If

Ganesa cared more about filling his belly with sweetmeats than assisting even his own father, is it likely that he will help others ?

Sir Monier Williams shows why every Indian book begins with the formula *Sri Ganesaya namah* :—

“The writing of a book is among the Hindus a very serious and solemn undertaking, peculiarly liable to obstruction from spiteful and jealous spirits of evil, and the favour of Ganesa is invoked to counteract their malignity. It never occurs to any Hindu writer to suppose for a moment that the failure of his literary efforts is ever likely to be due to his own incapacity. In this, as in all other enterprises, want of success is attributed, not to want of skill, energy, or persistency, but to negligence in taking proper precautions against demoniacal jealousy and obstruction.”

GODDESSES.

The Hindus imagine their gods to be very much like themselves, having the same wants, and animated by the same passions. As a Hindu thinks it his most bounden duty to marry his sons ; in like manner he has provided his gods with wives,—some of them with a great variety.

Sarasvati, the wife of Brahma, is represented as the goddess of learning ; Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu, is the goddess of fortune. Space permits only the wife of Siva to be noticed in detail.

Kali.—The wife of Siva has several names. Uma is one of the earliest. She is called Parvati and Haimavati, because supposed to be a daughter of Himavat, the Himalayas. She is called Durgā as having overcome the giant Durga ; Kali as black, and Bhairavi as terrible. Often she is called simply Devi, the goddess, or Mahadevi.

Calcutta derives its name from Kalighat, where there is a noted temple of Kali. She is represented as a black woman with four arms. In one hand she has a weapon, in another the head of the giant she has slain, with the two others she is encouraging her worshippers. For earrings she has two dead bodies, she wears a necklace of skulls ; her only clothing is a girdle made of dead men's hands, and her tongue protrudes from her mouth. Her eyes are red as those of a drunkard, and her breasts are besmeared with blood. She stands with one foot on the thigh and the other on the breast of her husband. After her victory over the giant she danced for joy so furiously that the earth trembled beneath her weight. At the request of the gods, Siva asked her to stop, but as, owing to her excitement, she did not notice him, he lay down among the slain. She continued dancing until she caught sight of her husband under her feet ; upon which she thrust out her tongue.

Saktis.—It has been estimated that of the Hindus in Bengal, about three-fourths are devoted to the worship of Sakti, the power or energy of God as represented in some of the many female forms.

Parvati, Durga, and Kali are of all deities the most commonly worshipped by the masses of Bengal. The devotees of the goddesses say that they are the causes of all created things. As without the female the male is unproductive, the female is regarded as the real force in nature.

There are two main divisions of the Saktas—the Dakshinās, or righthand worshippers, and the Vamacharis, or left hand worshippers. The former worship openly in accordance with the Puranas. The latter observe their impure rites in secret, following the Tantras, which profess to be a direct revelation from Siva to his wife Parvati. They will be noticed under another head.

The Yoni, either alone or in combination with the Linga, is an object of worship.

Remarks on the Hindu Gods.

The foregoing review shows the truth of the following extract from Sir Monier Williams :—

“There is not an object in heaven or earth which a Hindu is not prepared to worship—sun, moon, and stars; rocks, stocks, and stones; trees, shrubs, and grass; sea, pools, and rivers; his own implements of trade; the animals he finds most useful, the noxious reptiles he fears, men remarkable for any extraordinary qualities—for great valour, sanctity, virtue or even vice; good and evil demons, ghosts, and goblins, the spirits of departed ancestors; an infinite number of semi-human and semi-divine existences, inhabitants of the seven upper and the seven lower worlds—each and all come in for a share of divine honours or a tribute of more or less adoration.”*

“These be thy gods O India!” There is, however, one Being whom the Hindu does not worship—the one true God, the great Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe.

God indignantly said to the Jews in old times: “Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself.” It is evident that the Hindu gods were conceived by wicked men, taking themselves as models.

Brahm.—A hot climate makes labour irksome, and gives an inclination to sleep. Brahm, the supreme divinity, is represented as sunk in unconscious slumber, like a king who spends his life within his palace in sloth, regardless of what goes on throughout his dominions. Christianity teaches that the more we resemble God the less selfish we shall be, and the more good we will do to our fellow creatures; but the more a Hindu is like Brahm, the more selfish he must become, and the less profitable to all around him.

Such a representation of the Supreme God is as untrue as it is derogatory. He never slumbers or sleeps; He never becomes un-

* *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 350.

conscious and without attributes; the government of the universe is not a burden to Him; He "fainteth not, neither is weary;" He is continually showering down blessings upon men, notwithstanding their disobedience to His commands and base ingratitude.

Vishnu, Siva, &c.—The actions attributed to these supposed deities are still more dishonouring to God. They act like Hindu kings, contending with each other for power, each favouring his own party, and indulging in every vice or committing every crime their evil hearts may desire.

It is plain that the 33 crores of Hindu gods, goddesses, and demons have no existence.

Sin of Polytheism.—Polytheism means belief in many gods. Hindus blame Christianity for its intolerance in forbidding the worship of any other than the one true God. They consider themselves more liberal in allowing every one to worship any god or as many gods as he pleases. This is a point of very great importance; a mistake with regard to it is fraught with the most dangerous consequences.

But it may be remarked that the Hindus are tolerant only when the honour of *God* is concerned. People are at perfect liberty to neglect or despise Him all their lives, to charge Him with the foulest crimes. But let any one break their absurd caste rules, then they are most intolerant.

It has been stated that the Hindu gods resemble the Hindu kings. Under Native rule there never was among the Hindus one supreme universally acknowledged authority; so in religion they "never attained the imperial conception of a paramount, omnipotent, actively governing Power like the commanding personality of Christianity." Polytheists are quite willing to add a new god, but it is utterly inconsistent with monotheism.

The Queen of England rules over about one-fifth of the earth's surface, and over more than 30 crores of its inhabitants. Throughout all her dominions, it is considered an act of high treason to set up any other sovereign than herself. Such a rebellion would at once be suppressed, and all who took part in it would be punished. People are not at liberty to set up any king they please. It is the same in every well-regulated state. Any other course would be fatal to the welfare of its people.

The British Empire is a very faint emblem of the vast dominions of the great Lord of all. The universe belongs to Him by creation. He spread the heaven above us. He formed the earth beneath us. He is the maker of all things visible and invisible. He first called us into existence. Asleep or awake, we are dependent upon Him for every breath that we draw. It is He who makes the rain to fall and the sun to shine. All that we have is His gift.

The nature of God's laws is an additional reason for obedience.

His commands are "holy, just, and good." He enjoins only what is best for ourselves; He prohibits only that which it is our highest wisdom to shun. Our duty and our happiness coincide.

Just as the Queen of England forbids any one from setting himself up as king within her empire, so does God forbid the worship of any other than Himself. This is His first command. He cannot permit the creatures whom He made to rise in rebellion against Himself.

God is both our Father and our King.

The worship of any other is a defiance of God's authority, a declaration that we will not have Him to rule over us. All the guilt that lies in foul rebellion against the mildest and most merciful of earthly monarchs—in disobeying the kindest and grieving the best of fathers, in ingratitude to a generous benefactor; all this evil, multiplied a thousand times, there is in polytheism.

God is self-existent, unchangeable infinite in power, wisdom, goodness and mercy, spotless in holiness. Who are worshipped in His stead! Senseless blocks, blind, deaf, and dumb, beasts, birds, and creeping things, the obscene linga, and supposed deities stained with every vice.

Truly Hinduism is a mixture of sin and folly.

HINDU RITES AND OBSERVANCES.

Some of these have already been noticed, but others require consideration.

IDOLS AS OBJECTS OF WORSHIP.

An *idol*, from the Greek *eidos*, form, usually denotes an image which is worshipped. The change from a stone to an idol may be very slight. A few chips or daubs of paint suffice to convert the rude block into an idol.

Idolatry occupies a kind of middle place in religion. Savages employ natural objects. Idolatry begins with lower races above barbarism, and attains its greatest development among semi-civilised nations; among the enlightened it ceases.

In Athens, a city in ancient Greece, idols were so numerous that it was easier to find in it a god than a man. Of India also it may be said, "The land is full of idols." Popular Hinduism, as a rule, has some visible object of worship.

Excuses for Idolatry.—Some educated Hindus deny that the Hindus are idolaters. Mr. S. B. Thakur, at a meeting in England, said that idols are only like photographs, serving to remind us of those we loved. To this Mr. Desmukh well replied: "It is true we like to retain photographs of people we love to remind us of their form and features; but your blocks of stone, or your

deformed hideous brazen images, bought at a shop in the bazaar, of what sort of Divinity do they remind us?"

If Mr. Thakur had brought out to this country the image of a donkey with an ape's head on it to show to his friends as a representative of the Queen of England, this would have been an outrage against propriety infinitely less revolting than that for which he pleaded.

Rammohun Roy explains how the above excuse for idolatry originated :—

"Some Europeans, imbued with high principles of liberality, but unacquainted with the ritual part of Hindu idolatry, are disposed to palliate it by an interpretation which, though plausible, is by no means well-founded. They are willing to imagine that the idols which the Hindus worship, are not viewed by them in the light of gods or as real personifications of the divine attributes, but merely as instruments for raising their minds to the contemplation of those attributes, which are respectively represented by different figures. I have frequently had occasion to remark that many Hindus also who are conversant with the English language, finding this interpretation a more plausible apology for idolatry than any with which they are furnished by their own guides, do not fail to avail themselves of it, though in repugnance both to their faith and to their practice. The declarations of this description of Hindus naturally tend to confirm the original idea of such Europeans who, from the extreme absurdity of pure unqualified idolatry, deduce an argument against its existence."

Rammohun Roy further shows the falsity of the excuse :—

"Neither do they regard the images of these gods merely in the light of instruments for elevating the mind to the conception of those supposed beings; they are simply in themselves made objects of worship. For whatever Hindu purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *Praṇ Pratishtha*, or the endowment of animation, by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life but supernatural powers. Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one: with no less pomp and magnificence than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete; and the god and goddess are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration."

The life which by one ceremony has been brought into the idol, can by another ceremony be taken out.

The excuse is made that the poor and ignorant need images to remind them of God. They cannot understand His form for He has none. They can remember their parents when far distant; they

can love a benefactor whom they have never seen ; they can obey the authority of a Queen-Empress though she never set foot on their soil. They can worship God who is a spirit in spirit and in truth. Idols are a hindrance—not a help to true worship. They give most degrading ideas of God. Would a father be pleased if a son kept a toad to remind him of his father in his absence ?

Folly of Idolatry.—Idolatry has been well compared to child's play. Little children talk to their dolls as if they had life. They dress them, pretend to give them food, put them to sleep, and so forth. Grown up people do just the same. They treat their idols as living beings. They offer them food, though they cannot eat ; they have different kinds of music before images that cannot hear ; they wave lights before what cannot see. In the cold season they furnish them with warm clothes ; in the hot season they fan them ; and last musquitoes should bite them, they place them within curtains at night.

Instead of the idols taking care of their worshippers, it is the latter who have to protect the former. They are constantly afraid lest the hands and feet of their gods should be broken. Robbers sometimes break into temples, and carry off the jewels. The gods cannot give even one good screech for help. Cockroaches sometimes destroy the colour of images ; rats make holes in them ; bats defile them ; flies, after sitting upon various unclean things, alight on them. Where is their divinity, seeing they suffer themselves to be thus insulted ?

Nearly 3,000 years ago the folly of idolatry was thus shown in the Bible :—

Their idols are silver and gold,
The work of men's hands.
They have mouths, but they speak not,
Eyes have they, but they see not,
They have ears, but they hear not,
Noses have they, but they smell not ;
Feet have they, but they walk not,
Neither speak they through their throat.
They that make them are like unto them.
So is every one that trusteth in them. *Psalms*, cxv. 4—8.

They lavish gold out of the bag,
And weigh silver in the balance ;
And hire a goldsmith, and he maketh it a god,
They fall down, yea, they worship,
They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him,
And set him in his place, and he standeth,
From his place shall he not remove ;
Yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer,
Nor save him out of his trouble. *Isaiah*, xlvi. 6, 7.

He heweth him down cedars ;
 And taketh the cypress and the oak,
 Which he strengtheneth for himself among the trees of the forest ;
 He planteth a fir
 And the rain doth nourish it.
 Then shall it be for a man to burn,
 For he will take thereof and warm himself,
 Yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread ;
 Yea, he maketh a god and worshippeth it,
 He maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto.
 He burneth part thereof in the fire,
 With part thereof he eateth flesh,
 He roasteth roast, and is satisfied ;
 Yea, he warmeth himself, and saith,
 Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire ;
 And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image.
 He falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it ;
 And he prayeth unto it, and saith,
 Deliver me, for thou art my god.
 And none considereth in his heart,
 Neither is there knowledge nor understanding to say,
 I have burned part of it in the fire,
 Yea also I have baked bread upon the coals thereof,
 I have roasted flesh and eaten it ;
 And shall I make the residue thereof an abomination ?
 Shall I fall down to the stock of a tree ?
 He feedeth on ashes,
 A deceived heart hath turned him aside ;
 That he cannot deliver his soul, nor say,
 Is there not a lie in my right hand ?

Isaiah xliv.

We are not to attempt to make images of God Himself. Can any goldsmith form an image of a man's soul ? God is a spirit, and it is equally impossible to make an image of Him. "To whom will ye liken me or shall I be equal ? saith the Holy One."

Degrading Effects of Idolatry.—Krishna says in the Bhagavad Gita: "The mind by continually meditating on a material object becomes materialized." People who worship senseless images end by becoming like them. They are deceived and cheated by their religious teachers in every possible way, but they do not see through the fraud.

The debasing influence of idolatry is thus described by Rammohun Roy :—

"Idolatry, as now practised by our countrymen, must be looked upon with great horror by common sense, as leading directly to immorality and destructive of social comforts. For every Hindu who devotes himself to this absurd worship, constructs for that purpose a couple of male

and female idols, sometimes indecent in form, as representatives of his favorite deities; he is taught and enjoined from his infancy to contemplate and repeat the history of these, as well as their fellow deities, though the actions ascribed to them be only a continued series of debauchery, sensuality, falsehood, ingratitude, breach of trust, and treachery to friends. There can be but one opinion respecting the moral character to be expected of a person, who has been brought up with sentiments of reverence to such beings, who refreshes his memory relative to them almost every day, and who has been persuaded to believe, that a repetition of the holy name of one of these deities, or a trifling present to his image or to his devotees, is sufficient not only to purify and free him from all crimes whatsoever, but to procure to him future beatitude."

MODES OF WORSHIP.

Prayer.

Prayer is usually considered a most important part of religion. It means asking earnestly, especially from a being higher than ourselves.

Brahmans have long forms of prayer. The Gayatri, addressed to the sun, is considered the most sacred. Sayana renders it into ordinary Sanskrit with this meaning: "We meditate on that desirable light of the radiant sun which animates all our acts." It is simply an invocation to the sun to render religious performances successful.

When prayers for particular objects are offered by Hindus, they are generally for temporal blessings,—a son, the health of the family, prosperity in business, &c. As a rule, they satisfy themselves with repeating the names of their gods. The more frequently this is done, the merit is supposed to be the greater. To enable them to keep count, rosaries, sometimes of 108 beads, are used. A longer and still more meritorious task is to repeat the thousand names of Vishnu. Peculiar importance is attached to Vishnu's name Hari. When a dying person is placed in the Ganges, "Say Hari," is the charge given to him.

The mere repetition of the words, whatever may be the object, is considered efficacious. Hence children are generally named after some god, that merit may accrue whenever they are called for any purpose. A parrot is sometimes taught to repeat them, the merit going to the owner. The people of Tibet, to the north of India, suppose that if a prayer is written out on paper and turned round, that this is equal to its repetition. They have therefore prayer wheels driven by the wind or stream of water. Thus a Tibetan, asleep or awake, supposes that he is laying up a stock of merit. The Durga Mahatmya, quoted by Rammohan Roy, says: "He who pronounces Durga, though he constantly practise adultery, plunder

others of their property, or commit the most heinous crimes, is freed from all sins."



TIBETAN PRAYER WHEEL.

The following story is told to show the virtue of merely repeating the name of a god :

Ajamila had committed the most enormous crimes, having killed cows and Brahmans, drunk spirits, and lived in the practice of evil all his days. He had four sons ; the name of one was Narayana. In the hour of death, Ajamila was very thirsty, and thus called to his son : " Narayana, Narayana, Narayana, give me some water." After his death, the messengers of Yama seized him, and were about to drag him to a place of punishment ; when Vishnu's messengers came to rescue him. A furious battle took place ; but Vishnu's messengers were victorious, and carried off Ajamila to Vishnu's heaven. Yama demanded of Vishnu an explanation of this affair. Vishnu reminded him that however wicked this man might have been, he had repeated the name Narayana in his last moments ; and that if any man, either when laughing or by accident, or in anger, or even in derision, repeated the name of Vishnu, he would certainly go to heaven, though like Ajamila, covered with crimes, and without a single meritorious deed to be laid in the balance against them.

Hence a Hindu when dying, is not asked to repent of his sins, but merely to repeat the name of his god as a passport to heaven.

Prayers for the destruction of enemies are sometimes offered. The Kalika Purana gives the following directions about praying to Kali for this object :—

" Let the sacrificer repeat the word Kali twice, and say ' Hail, Devi ! goddess of thunder ; hail, iron-sceptred goddess ! ' Let him then take the axe in his hand, and again invoke the same by the Kalaratri text as

follows : ' Let the sacrificer say Hrang, Hrang ! Kali, Kali ! O horrid-toothed goddess ! Eat, eat, destroy all the malignant ; cut with this axe ; bind, bind ; seize, seize ; drink blood ! Spheng, spheng ! secure, secure. Salutation to Kali.' The axe being invoked by this text, called the Kalaratri Mantra, Kalaratri herself presides over the axe, uplifted for the destruction of the sacrificer's enemies."

Remarks.—Merely to repeat the name of a god is foolish. Suppose a child should go on saying, " Father, father, father, father !" he might almost be supposed to have lost his senses. The father would say, " Son, what do you want ?" Suppose a man sent in a petition only with the words, " Maharaja ! Maharaja ! Maharaja ! Maharaja !" what would be thought of him ?

True prayer is asking for some blessing. It expresses the desire of the heart : mere words are of no avail. The three blessings which we especially need are the forgiveness of sin, heart purity, and happiness in heaven.

The belief that merely repeating the name of a god at death will secure salvation is a great encouragement to sin. Suppose an earthly king made a law that every criminal would be pardoned if he simply repeated his name, what would be the consequence ? The country would be deluged with crime, and become like a hell. Can we suppose that the great Lord of the Universe is guilty of such folly ? Persons who think this are only believing a lie, and they will find out their mistakes when it is too late.

Private and Temple Worship.

Worship varies very much in Hindu families. Some rich men, beside a priest, have an image to which offerings of flowers, fruits, &c., are presented. The people generally have no regular daily household worship. Shopkeepers have an image of Ganesa to which they pay respect before commencing business.

The richer worshippers of Vishnu have a Salagrama in their house which is carefully kept and regarded as a living being. In the hot season it is bathed and cooled. The tulasi plant is also most diligently tended. Saivite women, when they go to the rivers to bathe, make a linga of mud. As they are not taught the mantras, their worship consists in bowing the head or body to this little image, after which it is thrown into the river.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra describes the ceremonies performed at the great Saiva temple of Bhuvanesvara in Orissa. Siva is there worshipped under the form of a large uncarved block of granite, about 8 feet long, partly buried in the ground, partly apparent above the soil to the height of about 8 inches. The block is believed to be a linga of the Svayambhu class, pervaded of their own nature by the essence of the deity.

The daily worship consists of no less than 22 ceremonial acts :

(1) At the first appearance of dawn bells are rung to rouse the deity from his slumbers ; (2) a lamp with many wicks is waved in front of the stone ; (3) the god's teeth are cleaned by pouring water and rubbing a stick about a foot long on the stone ; (4) the deity is washed and bathed by emptying several pitchers of water on the stone ; (5) the god is dressed by putting clothes on the stone ; (6) the first breakfast is offered, consisting of grain, sweetmeats, curd, and cocoanuts ; (7) the god has his principal breakfast, when cakes and more substantial viands are served ; (8) a kind of little lunch is offered ; (9) the god has his regular lunch ; (10) the mid-day dinner is served, consisting of curry, rice, pastry, cakes, cream, &c., while a priest waves a many-flamed lamp and burns incense before the stone ; (11) strains of noisy discordant music rouse the deity from his afternoon sleep at 4 P. M., the sanctuary having been closed for the preceding four hours ; (12) sweetmeats are offered ; (13) the afternoon bath is administered ; (14) the god is dressed as in the morning ; (15) another meal is served ; (16) another bath is administered ; (17) the full dress ceremony takes place, when fine costly vestments, yellow flowers and perfumery are placed on the stone ; (18) another offering of food follows ; (19) after an hour's interval the regular supper is served ; (20) five masks and a *Damarn*, used in dancing, are brought in and oblations made to them ; (21) waving of lights before bedtime ; (22) a bedstead is brought into the sanctuary and the god composed to sleep.*

Lastly, the god is sometimes told, "Parvati awaits you."

The worship of Vishnu is much of the same character, but no animal food is offered. The following is part of the address to the god when waking him with singing and music in the morning :—

"The darkness has departed ; the flowers have opened and diffused around their fragrance ; behold the dawn of day and the morning breeze ! Arise, therefore, thou that sleepest in thy bedchamber."

The cooked food offered to the idol is afterwards eaten by the priests and attendants. At some places (for example at a particular temple in Benares) considerable portions are sold at high prices to outside applicants. The water in which the idol is washed is called *tirtha*, and is drunk as holy water.

In Vedic times sacrifice was considered so important that it was called "the navel of the world." Largely through the influence of Buddhism, animal sacrifices were discontinued. At present they are chiefly offered in connection with the worship of Kali. Human sacrifices were formerly offered, and it is believed that they have not yet entirely ceased. In the *Kalika Purana*, Siva, addressing his sons, says :—

"The flesh of the antelope and the rhinoceros give my beloved (Kali) delight for 500 years. By a human sacrifice, attended by the forms laid

* Quoted in *Religious Thought and Life in India*, pp. 93, 94.

down, Devi is pleased for a thousand years; and by the sacrifice of three men a lakh of years: an oblation of blood which has been rendered pure by holy texts, is equal to ambrosia. Blood drawn from the offerer's own body is looked upon as a proper oblation to the goddess Chandika."

The temple of Kali near Calcutta at great festivals almost swims with blood, and the smell is most sickening. The people bring their victims, pay the fee, and the priest puts a little red lead on its head. When their turn comes, the executioner takes the animal, fixes its head in a frame, and then beheads it. A little of the blood is placed in front of the idol, and the pilgrim takes away the headless body.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra says, "There is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not at one time or other shed her own blood under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation."

The Khonds, or hill men, of Orissa, believed that their field would not yield crops unless the Earth Goddess was propitiated by human sacrifice. A boy was bought in the low country and brought up to the hills, where he was well treated till the time of sacrifice. At the appointed day the victim was tied to a post. The priest said, "We have bought you with a price, and no sin rests on us."



KHOND HUMAN SACRIFICE.

To prevent his offering any resistance, his arms and legs were broken with a hatchet. The priest first cut a portion of the flesh from the body and offered it to the earth goddess. All the people then cut the flesh from the bones, and buried it in their fields to make them fertile. In 1837, when the British Government heard

of the custom, officers were appointed to suppress it, and after a time they were successful.

In the Bombay Presidency numbers of young girls are married to Khandoba, supposed to be an incarnation of Siva, and are called Murlis. After undergoing a ceremonial "purification," they are branded with a heated stamp. Although nominally wives of the god, they are simply prostitutes.

The following extract from Dubois refers to the temples of Southern India :—

"Next to the sacrificers, the most important persons about the temples are the dancing girls, who call themselves *dera-dasi*, *servants or slaves of the gods*. Their profession requires of them to be open to the embraces of persons of all castes.

"They are bred to this profligate life from their infancy. They are taken from any caste, and are frequently of respectable birth. It is nothing uncommon to hear of pregnant women, in the belief that it will tend to their happy delivery, making a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child then in the womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the service of the Pagoda. And, in doing so, they imagine they are performing a meritorious duty. The infamous life to which the daughter is destined brings no disgrace on the family."*

According to the Madras Census of 1881, the number of female "dancers" in the Presidency was 11,573.† Such a number is most lamentable.

The indignant words of Bishop Lightfoot, applied to ancient Greece, refer equally to India :—

"Imagine, if you can, this licensed shamelessness, this consecrated profligacy, carried on under the sanction of religion and in the full blaze of publicity, while statesmen and patriots, philosophers and men of letters, looked on unconcerned, not uttering one word and not raising one finger to put it down."‡

The rites of the Vamacharis are most infamous, yet they are celebrated in the name of religion. The "extinction of desire" is considered to be the grand Hindu aim, securing absorption. Ascetics profess to seek it by fasting and other penances; thus, as it were, *mortifying* or killing desire. The Vamacharis seek to arrive at it by *gratifying* desire. They drink spirits, eat flesh and fish, indulge their lust, and are quite content: they want nothing further. A woman perfectly naked is the chief object of worship. "The only salvation," says a Tantra, "is that which results from spirituous liquors, meat, and cohabitation with women." The Shyama Rahasya says, "Wine, flesh, fish, women, and maithuna," are the fivefold *Makara*, which takes away all sin." The horrible doctrine is held that

* Manners and Customs of People of India, pp 294, 295

† Imperial Census, vol. II. p. 418. ‡ White Cross Tracts, No. 1.

this is "the door to the highest form of salvation—complete union with the Supreme Being (sayujya-mukti)."

Devices to raise Money.—The idol is sometimes put in chains. After the custom of the Hindus, the god got into debt. The people are told that the creditors refuse to set him at liberty until the whole sum has been paid. Alarmed at the sight of their deity in irons, they come forward with the sum required, and the idol is restored to liberty. In some noted temples, as that at Tirupati, silver chains are used instead of iron.

Another trick is to make the people suppose that the idol has got very ill, brought on by grief at seeing the devotion of the people becoming less and less. The priests take down the idol, rub it with various drugs, and set before it all sorts of medicines, while messengers are sent out to spread the news. The people believing this imposture, hasten with gifts and offerings. The deity beholding such proofs of reviving piety, feels himself better, and resumes his place.

The Hindus, in the cities, are now becoming too intelligent for such frauds to be practised, but some years ago that were very common.

Is it not blasphemy, or speaking evil of God, to think that the great Lord of the universe goes to sleep and requires to be awakened in the morning by human beings, to take a nap through the day, and to be put to sleep at night? An account will afterwards be given of Christian worship, which may be compared with the foregoing.

HINDU FESTIVALS.

The Hindus have no special day of the week for worship, as Sunday among Christians and Friday among Muhammadans. There are, however, numerous festivals held throughout the year. At these times little work is done. Some attend them as a religious duty; others for amusement; many combine both objects.

Only a few of the leading festivals can be noticed.

The Durga Puja.—This is the chief festival in Bengal, while in South India it is scarcely known. It is intended to celebrate the victory over the Asura Sumbha, who attacked Durga under the form of a buffalo. Hence the goddess is called Mahisha-mardini. The story of the fight is so extravagant, that any one except a Hindu would laugh at it for its absurdity.

The first part of the festival is the *bodhana*, or the awaking of the goddess, who is supposed to have been sleeping for the past two months. She is invited to come to the house, and dwell in the image which has been prepared for her. After this the *pran pratishta* ceremony is performed. For three days the worship is continued. Offerings and sacrifices are made. Kids are usually the



DURGA IN BOAT.

victims, but, in some cases, buffaloes. The following prayer is offered: "Grant me, O lady, long life, fair name, good fortune, sons, riches, and all other desires."

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the goddess is supposed to take leave of the image, which is afterwards thrown into the river.

The following remarks on the Durga Puja are abridged from the *Indian Messenger* :—

"It has features which at once command our sympathy. The resources of the poorest are now taxed to make little love-offerings to those to whom they are bound by social ties. Brothers hasten home from their distant places of business, once more lighting up with their countenances the long-deserted homes. But alas! there are other features as well which produce quite another impression upon the mind. This wave of national sentiment also covers an amount of self-indulgence and excess, which is quite appalling. This is also the period for all the votaries of pleasure to run headlong into their vicious excesses. Drunkenness and debauchery will ride rampant in the land for many days." Sept. 25, 1887.

"In the gaiety of children released from their books, in the pleasures of well-earned rest, in the hospitalities of brotherhood, in the courtesies of friendship, in the joys of family gatherings, in the happy greetings of loving hearts long separated, we can all rejoice." It is sad, however, that this innocent pleasure should be connected with a festival to celebrate a lie, and with thanksgiving to an idol instead of, the great Creator and Giver of all good. Other objection-

able features are noticed above. No man with any claim to decency should have nautches in his house, with prostitutes as performers. Apologies for the Durga Puja will be mentioned under another head.

The Charak Puja.—Some of the Hindu divinities, like Kali, are supposed to be pleased when their worshippers torture themselves. The Charak Puja is said to be held in commemoration of an interview with Siva which an ancient king obtained through his great austerities. It is so called from the hook swinging which formerly constituted the principal part of the festival.

The devotees of Siva, belonging to the lower classes, assume the dress and profession of sanyasis. On the first day some of them throw themselves down from a bamboo platform upon knives that are so arranged that they fall down under the weight of the body. Processions of these men parade the streets to the great temple of Kali. Some of them are represented in the picture below. "One



man has passed an iron rod through the flesh of his left arm, which he moves about to enlarge the wound and cause the blood to flow. The second has passed the handle of a fire shovel, full of burning coals, through the flesh of his side, and dances with it. The third has made a hole in his tongue through which he has passed a live

serpent; and by pinching its tail he causes it to writhe about, increasing his own suffering.

Such worship is more suitable to a blood-thirsty demon than to god.

Dasara, or Dasahara.—This festival is in memory of the Ganges coming from heaven to earth to restore to life the 60,000 sons of King Sagara, born in a pumpkin and nourished in pans of milk, who had been reduced to ashes. No sooner did her waters touch the ashes, than they all sprang to life again. As this is said to have taken place at Sagar, where the Ganges joins the sea, about a lakh of people go there every year to bathe. The festival is called Dasahara, because bathing at this season is said to remove all the sins committed in ten births.

The Holi or Dol Jatra.—One would suppose that any Hindu with the slightest sense of decency, would wish to forget the conduct of Krishna with the Gopis; but, instead of that, it is commemorated by a great festival. The people go about in excited crowds, throwing red powder upon passers-by, and singing indecent songs. It is almost impossible for a woman to walk through the streets without being insulted. All this is in the name of religion, and, as it has been remarked, “obscenity becomes the measure of piety.”

Pongal.—This is the chief festival in South India, although apparently unknown in the north. It is a time of rejoicing, because the month Magha, every day of which is unfortunate, is about to expire, to be succeeded by a month every day of which is fortunate. On the first day near relations are invited to an entertainment. The second day is called the Surya Pongal. The principal ceremony is boiling milk. When it begins to simmer, all present at once cry out “Pongol”! which means boiling. This is the great day for visits. The salutation begins by the question, “Has the milk boiled?”, to which the answer is, “It has boiled.” The third day is called the Pongal of Cows. The men go round all the cows and oxen belonging to the house several times, sprinkling them with water, and the *sashtangam* is made before them four times. The cows and bullocks have their horns painted of different colours, and are allowed to wander about the whole day at their pleasure.

About fifty Hindu festivals might be enumerated. In fact there is scarcely a day of the year in which the Brahmans cannot make out a claim for offerings on some ground or other.

Remarks on Hindu Festivals.—At the principal temples every artifice is used to please a people who, like children, are fond of *lamashas*. The cars are finely decorated according to Hindu ideas; there are songs, dancing, fire-works and other amusements. But no advice is given to the worshippers with regard to moral conduct. So far from that, in the case of the Holi, wickedness is encouraged, and prostitutes drive a gainful trade.

The Hindu festivals are intended to celebrate fictitious events,

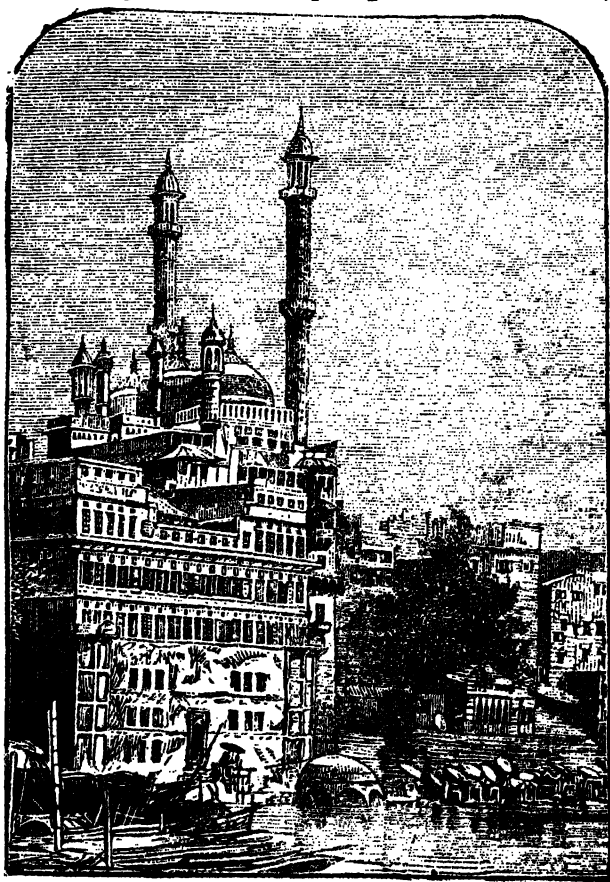
victories over Asuras and others which never took place. Truth requires that all of them should be abandoned. In their room, there should be regular meetings for worship and instruction, as will hereafter be explained.

PILGRIMAGES.

Pilgrimages form an important part of popular Hinduism. It is the earnest desire of most of the people, at least once in a lifetime, to visit one, if not more, of the supposed sacred places. Great numbers, who are regarded as the most holy of men, spend their whole lives in going about from shrine to shrine.

Only two of the principal places of pilgrimage can be noticed.

Benares.—Of all the holy places in India this is the most sacred. It is said to be placed on the prong of Siva's trident, and his



BENARES.

worshippers wish to die there, believing that they will gain a sure entrance into heaven. Its sanctity is shown by the following story : On one occasion Brahma and Siva quarrelled about their respective positions. As Brahma declared that he was supreme, Siva cut off Brahma's fifth head, and was thus guilty of the most heinous crime of injuring the progenitor of the Brahmans. The head of Brahma adhered to Siva's hand. To get rid of it, Siva practised the greatest austerities, and wandered from shrine to shrine ; but all was in vain till he reached Benares.

The sanctity of Benares extends from the Ganges, to the Panch-Kosi road. Whoever dies within this area, whether Hindu, Mussulman, or Christian, whether pure in heart and life or an outcast and murderer, is sure of the blessedness of heaven. Hence the usurer who has spent all his life in oppressing the poor or the man guilty of the foulest crimes, at the approach of death comes to Benares, comforted with the treacherous lie that his sins are forgiven him, and his soul is saved.

Puri.—Next to Benares, Puri is perhaps the most popular place of pilgrimage. The whole Province of Orissa is regarded as peculiarly holy, although the people are one of the most backward races in India.



Puri is a small town on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, noted for its temple of Jagannath. The following is one legend with regard to the origin of the image : When Krishna was shot, his bones were left lying under the tree till some pious person placed them in a box. Indradhumma, a king, was directed to form an image, and place in it these bones. The king prayed to Visvakarma to assist him in making the image. The architect of the gods promised to do so on condition that he was not disturbed. Though the king consented, after 15 days he tried to see Visvakarma at

work, but there was only an ugly image, without hands or feet. By the image there is generally one of Balarama, Krishna's brother, and his sister Subhadra. The temple is covered with most indecent sculpture.

There are large numbers of men, called Paudas, pilgrim-hunters, who go about the country in all directions to entice people to visit Puri. They represent that all sorts of advantages will result from this meritorious act. The ground around Puri is said to be all strewn with gold, although, on account of the wickedness of the Kali-yug, it appears to be common dust. Many of the pilgrims are women, who sometimes follow these pilgrim-hunters against the consent of their male relatives. Numbers die by the way. Skeletons lie scattered along the sides of the roads on the principal routes.

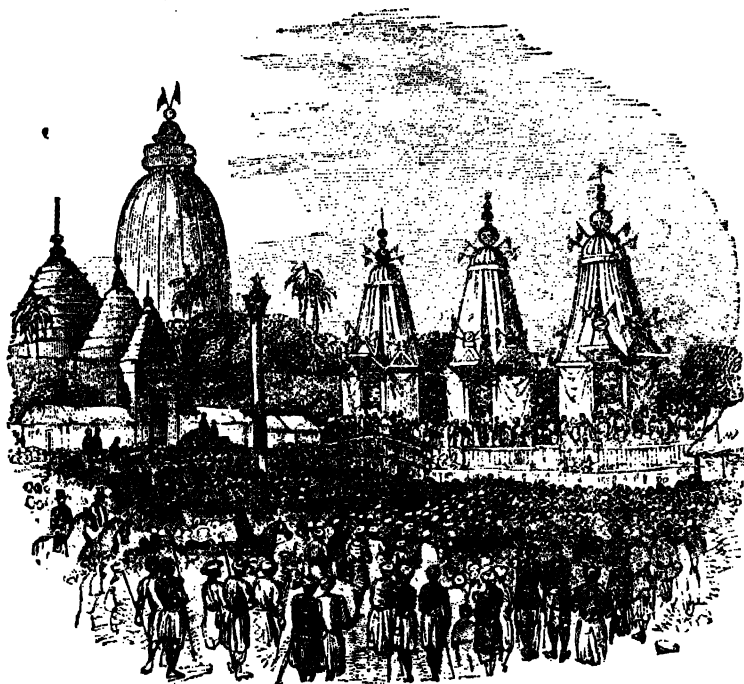
Sir W. W. Hunter says: "Disease and death make havoc of the pilgrims. During their stay in Puri they are badly lodged and miserably fed." Pilgrims are told that it is sinful for them to cook themselves. They must buy the food, *mahaprasad*, which has been presented to Jagannath. The price is dear, the cooking bad, and often it is so old as to be putrid. It is considered too sacred for the least fragment to be thrown away. Hence it is consumed by some one or other, whatever its state of putrefaction, to the very last morsel. It is dangerous even to a man of robust health, and deadly to way-worn pilgrims, many of whom reach Puri with some form or other of bowel complaint.*

The two principal festivals at Puri are the *Snan Jatra* and the *Rath Jatra*.

The *Snan Jatra* is held to commemorate the day when the first image was commenced. It does no credit to the architect of the gods. The eyes of Jagannath are large and round, which, with his peaked nose, causes the face to look like that of an immense owl. The images are brought out and bathed with water from a well, after which they are dressed in beautiful robes. When the ceremonies are concluded, the images are taken to a small room, called the sick chamber, where they remain for a fortnight, it being understood that fever resulted from their unusual exposure on the day of bathing. During this time the temple doors are closed, and there is no regular worship. The real reason of this is that the images are being repainted.

After the painting is complete, the idols are exposed to the public gaze at the *Rath Jatra*. The three cars are large, of immense weight, and can with great difficulty be moved. They are dragged to a suite of temples about two miles distant. The journey occupies four days. On their arrival, the image of Lakshmi is taken from

* Hunter's *Orissa*.



FESTIVAL AT PURI.

the Puri temple to see her lord. After remaining there four or five days, the cars are brought back.*

Remarks on Pilgrimages.—Pilgrimages proceed from false ideas of God. A man can only be in one place at a time, but the one true God is omnipresent. Tayumanavar, a South Indian poet, says: "Oh God, the Veda tells us that thou art equally present everywhere. Is it then right for us, without seeking Thee where we are, to wander hither and thither in search of Thee?"

What profit do people get from pilgrimages? Their bodies are weary; their feet pricked with thorns or chafed on rough stones; their money is wasted, sometimes they fall among thieves. Many are attacked by sickness, and then lie down by the road to die, far away from any to comfort them in their last moments, and perhaps to be devoured by jackals.

Is holiness gained? The places of pilgrimage are the haunts of harlots and thieves: the temples are dens of extortion and rapacity. Is the man who comes back, from Benares, any better than he was? Some of the worst characters in India are those who wander about

* Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, pp. 288, 289.

all their lives from shrine to shrine, too lazy to work, and extorting alms only by their threatened curses.

CASTE.*

The late Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta, in his *Tagore Law Lectures*, describes caste as the "chief characteristic of Hinduism." A man is regarded as a Hindu so long as he observes the rules of his caste.

Hindu accounts of the Origin of the Castes.—The common belief is that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Brahma. But different books give other accounts. The Satapatha Brahmana says that they sprung from the words *bhuh*, *bhuvah*, *svah*. The Taittiriya Brahmana says that they were produced from the Vedas. In another place the same book says the Brahman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sudra, from the Asuras. In one book men are said to be the offspring of Vivasvat, in another his son Manu is said to be their progenitor, whilst in a third they are said to be descended from a female of the same name. The Bhagavata Purana says that in the Satya Yuga there was but one caste. The Vayu Purana says that the separation into castes did not take place till the Treta Yuga.

Such contradictory statements cannot all be true. Discredit is thrown upon the whole of them.

True Origin of Caste.—Caste arose chiefly from three causes. The first was difference of race. The ordinary names for caste prove this. *Jati* means race; *varna*, colour. The Aryas, coming from a colder climate, were lighter in colour than the original inhabitants of India, whom they called "the black skin." Difference of employment was another cause. In every civilized country there are priests, soldiers, merchants, and men following other occupations. Manu represents the castes to have multiplied by marriages between the four original castes. These mixed castes did not wait for mixed marriages before they came into existence. Professions, trades, and handicrafts had grown up without any reference to caste. Some castes, as the musicians called Venas, from *vina*, the lyre, got their name from their occupation. Difference of place was a third cause. Servants who waited on ladies were called Vaidehas, because they came from Videha. Subdivisions of caste arose from jealousy between rival families, difference in religion, &c.

Bhrgu, in the Santi-parva of the Mahabharata, thus accounts for the origin of the castes :—

"There is no difference of castes: this world, having been at first

*and from a "Paper on Indian Reform." See List on last page of wrapper.

created by Brahma entirely Brahmanic, became (afterwards) separated into castes in consequence of works."

The Laws of Caste according to Manu.—The Brahman was at first simply an assistant at sacrifices. Afterwards he became a *purohita*, or family priest. There was a long struggle between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas for supremacy; but at last the Brahmans carried the day. By degrees, after investing the caste system "with a sacred character in the eyes of the people, they expanded it into an immenso spider's web, which separated class from class, family from family, man from man, and which, while it rendered all united action impossible, enabled the watchful priests to pounce upon all who dared to disturb the threads of their social tissue and to wither them to death."

Some of the privileges accorded to Brahmans by Manu are noticed at page 23 under "Living Men considered Divine." On the other hand, the following are some of his Ordinances with regard to Sudras :—

"413. But a Sudra, whether bought or not bought, (the Brahman) may compel to practise servitude; for that (Sudra) was created by the Self-existent merely for the service of the Brahman.

417. A Brahman may take possession of the goods of a Sudra with perfect peace of mind, for, since nothing at all belongs to this (Sudra) as his own, he is one whose property may be taken away by his master. Book VIII.

125. The leavings of food should be given (him) and the old clothes; so too the blighted part of the grain; so too the old furniture. Book X.

270. If a (man) of one birth assault one of the twice-born castes with virulent words, he ought to have his tongue cut out, for he is of the lowest origin.

281. If a low-born man endeavours to sit down by the side of a high-born man, he should be banished after being branded on the hip, or (the king) may cause his backside to be cut off. Book VIII.

80. One may not give advice to a Sudra, nor (give him) the remains (of food) or (of) butter that has been offered. And one may not teach him the law or enjoin upon him (religious) observances.

81. For he who tells him the law and he who enjoins upon him (religious) observances, he indeed, together with that (Sudra), sinks into the darkness of the hell called *Asamvrtta* (unbounded.) Book IV."

Let any one after reading the above say whether caste is founded on truth and justice. It is a system devised by cunning men to enslave their fellow-countrymen, and is based on a blasphemous falsehood. It "involves," says Principal Caird, "the worst of all wrongs to humanity—that of hallowing evil by the authority and sanction of religion."

No Authority in the Vedas.—Professor Max Müller first printed the whole of the Rig Veda with the commentary of Sayana; and he has devoted nearly his whole life to its study under the most favourable circumstances. What does he say?

“There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. There is no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal.” *Chips*. Vol. II.

Evils of Caste.—An appeal to “*Young India*,” believed to be by the late Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, contains the following :—

“Caste is an audacious and sacrilegious violation of God’s law of human brotherhood. It makes civil distinctions inviolable divine institutions, and in the name of the Holy God sows perpetual discord and enmity among his children! It exalts one section of the people above the rest, gives the former, under the seal of divine sanction, the monopoly of education, religion and all the advantages of social pre-eminence, and vests them with the arbitrary authority of exercising a tyrannical sway over unfortunate and helpless millions of human souls, trampling them under their feet and holding them in a state of miserable servitude. It sets up the Brahminical order as the very viceregents of the Deity, and stamps the mass of the population as a degraded and unclean race, unworthy of manhood and unfit for heaven.”

MISCELLANEOUS HINDU BELIEFS.

THE PURANAS.

Popular Hinduism is largely based on the Puranas, of which there are said to be eighteen. Most are said to be Saiva Puranas, others are Vaishnava Puranas, and two are Brahma Puranas. The Vishnu Purana is one of the most celebrated, and there is an English translation of it by Wilson, formerly the Oxford Professor of Sanskrit. The Purana, at the beginning, claims to be “equal in sanctity to the Vedas.” The First Book concludes as follows :

“Thus, Brahman, has the first portion of this Purana been duly revealed to you : listening to which expiates all offences. The man who hears this Purana obtains the fruit of bathing in the Pushkara lake for 12 years in the month of Kartic. The gods bestow upon him who hears this work the dignity of a divine sage, of a patriarch, or of a spirit of heaven.”

The Vishnu Purana professes to give an account of creation, of Narayana as a boar raising the earth, of the origin of the four castes from the mouth, breast, thighs, and feet of Brahma, and many other wonderful events which are said to have taken place millions of years ago. It also describes the geography of the earth and the nature of the heavenly bodies. Let the latter be examined to see how far they agree with the facts of the case.

Puranic Geography.—The Vishnu Purana (Book II, Chap. 2) says that the golden mountain Meru is in the centre of the earth. Its height is 84,000 yojanas; its depth below the surface of the earth is 16,000 yojanas. Its diameter at the summit is 32,000 yojanas; and at its base 16,000. Around Mount Meru are seven island continents, surrounded by the seven seas of salt water, of sugar-cane juice, of wine, clarified butter, of curds, of milk, and fresh water. There are four mountains as buttresses to Meru, each 10,000 yojanas in height. Each of them has a different kind of tree on its summit, 1,100 yojanas in height. From the Jambu tree the continent Jambudwipa derives its name. The apples of that tree are as large as elephants.

The depth of the earth below the surface is said to be 70,000 yojanas, each of the seven regions of Patalas extending downwards 10,000. Below the seven Patalas is the form of Vishnu, called Shesha, or Ananta. Shesha bears the entire world, like a diadem, upon his head, and he is the foundation on which the seven Patalas rest. When Ananta, his eyes rolling with intoxication, yawns, then the earth, with all its forests, mountains, seas, and rivers, trembles.

Every boy who has attended an English school knows that all the above statements are untrue. Thousands of ships have sailed round the earth, and its diameter is not more than about 8,000 miles. How could the Mount Meru, 16,000 yojanas in diameter at the base, stand on it and descend 16,000 yojanas below its surface? The earth does not rest on anything; it floats in the sky like the sun and moon.

Puranic Astronomy.—The sun is situated 100,000 yojanas from the earth, and the moon is an equal distance from the sun. The planet Budha (Mercury) is 2 lakhs of yojanas above the lunar mansions; Sukra (Venus) is at the same distance from Mercury. The chariot of the sun is 9,000 yojanas in length; it is drawn by seven horses. The chariot of the moon has three wheels, and is drawn by ten horses of the whiteness of jasmine. 36,333 deities drink the lunar ambrosia during the light half of the month, while the Pitris are nourished in the dark fortnight. Eight black horses draw the dusky chariot of Rahu, and eight horses of a red colour that of Ketu. The chariots of the nine planets are fastened to Dhruva, the Pole Star, by aerial cords.

Every one of the above statements is erroneous. Instead of the

moon being twice the distance of the sun from the earth, it is only about 240,000 miles away, while the sun is about 93 millions of miles distant. The moon waxes and wanes—not from the gods drinking the ambrosia—but simply because we can see only the bright part of it on which the sun shines. Instead of eclipses being caused by the Asuras Rahu and Ketu, the sun is concealed by the moon crossing it in its course, while eclipses of the moon are caused by the shadow of the earth falling upon it.

When a witness tells us many things which we know to be false, we do not put confidence in any thing which he says. The statements in the Vishnu Purana about the golden egg, the churning of the ocean, Krishna lifting up the mountain Govarddhana, &c., are just as fabulous as those about Mount Meru, Rahu, and Ketu.

Contradictions of the Puranas.—Each Purana claims the god whom it celebrates to be the greatest, and denounces all others.

The Bhagavata says :—

“Those who are devoted to Bhava (Siva) and those who follow their doctrines are justly esteemed heretics, and enemies of the true Shastra. Those who desire final emancipation forsake the hideous lord of the devils, and looking to Narayana worship him with a mind at peace and free from envy.”

On the other hand the Padma Purana says :—

“From even looking at Vishnu the wrath of Siva is kindled, and from his wrath we fall assuredly into a horrible hell ; let not therefore the name of Vishnu ever be pronounced.”

According to one Saiva account, Vishnu, on a certain occasion, took the form of a bull, and obtained as a favour from the lord of Kailasa, to be accepted as his vehicle in that form.

Even with regard to the origin of the gods the statements are most contradictory. As already mentioned, the Bhagavata Purana affirms that Brahma sprung from a lotus on the navel of Vishnu ; the Matsya Purana asserts that Siva was created by Brahma. The Linga Purana, on the other hand, declares that Brahma, Vishnu and their wives were produced by Siva.

The above are only a few specimens. The saying of the Mahabharata is true :—

“Contradictory are the Vedas ; contradictory are the Shastras ; contradictory are the doctrines of the holy sages.”

Remarks on the Puranas.—Before Europeans describe any countries, they visit them, measure them carefully, and then prepare accounts. Philosophers examine the stars night after night by telescopes, and spend years in the inquiry. The writers of the Puranas sat in their houses, and described the world and the heavens out of their own heads. The object in each case was to

excite the greatest wonder, that the Purana might be admired ; and the god whom it celebrates be esteemed as supreme. Nothing seems worthy of being stated unless it has incredible magnitude to recommend it. When time is calculated, there are millions and hundreds of millions of years. When armies and battles are described there must be introduced millions of soldiers and elephants. The more anything is beyond the truth, the more unquestioning the credulity with which it is received. Any person of ordinary intelligence will reject the Puranas for their extravagance. The stories are fit only to amuse children.

The First Book of the Vishnu Purana gives its origin as follows : " I will relate you that which was originally imparted by the great father of all (Brahma), in answer to the questions of Daksha and other venerable sages, and repeated by them to Purukutsa, a king who reigned on the banks of the Narmada. It was next related by him to Saraswata, and by Saraswata to me." The author forgot what he had written : in the last book, he says that it was communicated to him by Vasishtha.

Both this account of its origin, and the benefits alleged to be obtained by hearing it read, must be discredited.

The Puranas are of some interest as illustrating the beliefs of the Hindus, their manners and customs when they were written. A few grains of truth regarding history and geography may perhaps be extracted from them ; but as sacred books they are no more worthy of belief than the "Tales of the Arabian Nights."

The Tantras.—The Vamacharis give these as the authority for their orgies. They are so little known that no proper account can be given of them. But the remarks on the Puranas are sufficient. The Tantras occupy a still lower place.

TRANSMIGRATION.

It is the belief of the Hindus that the soul is eternal, and that it passes through innumerable births until at last it is absorbed into Brahma. A South Indian poet thus expresses his feelings at the prospect :—

" How many births are past, I cannot tell ;
How many yet to come, no man can say ;
But this alone I know, and know full well,
That pain and grief embitter all the way."

The alternate happiness and misery of life are thus described :—

" The being who is still subject to birth may at one time sport in the beautiful garden of a heavenly world, and at another be cut to a thousand pieces in hell ; at one time he may be one of the highest gods and at another a degraded outcast ; at one time he may feed on ambrosia and at another he may have molten lead poured down his throat. Alter-

nately he may repose on a couch with the gods and writhe on a bed of red hot iron; become wild with pleasure and then mad with pain; sit on the throne of the gods and then be impaled with hungry dogs around."

Hence the dread of continued transmigration is the one haunting thought with the Hindus. The great aim is, not to find truth or to be released from the burden of sin, but how to break this iron chain of repeated existences, how to return to complete absorption into pure unconscious spirit.

Transmigration is supposed to explain why some are born rich, others poor; some healthy, others diseased, &c. All in this life, its feelings and actions, its joys and sorrows, its good and evil deeds, like fruit from a seed, are supposed to be the necessary result of actions performed in a former state of being. If a babe agonize in pain, the Hindu says, "It is the fruit of a former birth."

When asked for a proof of this doctrine, the usual reply is that the Shastras teach it. It has been shown that the Shastras teach false geography, false astronomy, and give the most contradictory accounts of many things. Some better evidence is therefore required.

On the other hand, there are several arguments showing that transmigration cannot be true.

1. *Like always produces like.*—Every animal, every plant produces animals and plants exactly like itself. According to transmigration, a man in his next birth may be a lion, a pig, an insect or a pumpkin. The analogy of nature is a strong presumption against its truth.

2. *No one has the slightest recollection of any previous birth.*—It is the same soul that transmigrates. A traveller who journeys from city to city remembers his native place from which he started, the relations he left there; he recollects, too, the different cities through which he passed, and what happened to himself in each. The body, we are told, is the "city of Brahma," and the soul as it enters new 'cities' ought to carry with it a complete recollection of its past history. But no soul remembers anything that happened to it previous to its present life. The proof then is almost perfect that it never lived before.

3. *By transmigration persons virtually become new beings, so that they are in reality punished for the actions of others.*—It is said that at every new birth something takes place by which the remembrance of former things is destroyed. In this case the person on whom it is wrought is no longer the same person. The object of transmigration is to purify the soul by lessons of warning from its past history. This is lost when a person knows not what he did and why he is punished. Suppose a magistrate said to a peon,

"Bring in that man and give him 50 lashes;" would not the man ask, "Why am I flogged?" What would be thought of such a magistrate? According to transmigration, one man is really punished for the faults of another of which he is quite ignorant.

4. *Instead of men being purified by Transmigration, they become worse.*—"One of the objects of transmigration is the purification of souls." The means proposed are fitted to produce the opposite results. The soul, if made to occupy a brute, will become brutish; if made to occupy a devil, it will become devilish. Do we cleanse the filthy by dragging them through the miry clay of ten thousand tanks? They would thereby become only the more filthy.

This world is looked upon as a state of rewards and punishments. It is generally supposed that a king is happy and a poor man miserable. Often the reverse is the case. There is much less inequality in the condition of men than people think. A king gets accustomed to rich food, and feels no more pleasure in eating it than a poor man when taking his dinner. The sleep of the poor man is sweet; the nights of the great are often troubled. Shakespeare says,

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

Kings are liable to be assassinated. They are tempted to many sins. An Indian proverb says, "The fruit of a kingdom is hell." Where is the blessing of a kingdom if such is its result?

Much of the misery in the world is brought upon people by their own misconduct. The suffering caused in such ways is a warning to them to reform.

According to transmigration, the Hindu looks upon the blessings of this life as rewards for meritorious acts in some former state of existence. They are the payment of a just debt, for which no gratitude is due to God. If a man meets with misfortunes, he does not impute them to present misdeeds, for which he should repent, but to some sins in a former birth.

The world is not a place where we are rewarded or punished for sins in imaginary former births; but one where our conduct is tried. We are like the servants of a great king who has allotted to us different duties, and according as we discharge them we shall be dealt with. People are tested in different ways,—some by riches, some by poverty, some by health, some by sickness, some by prosperity, some by adversity. Happiness or misery depends far more upon ourselves than upon outward things. Those who truly love and serve God may always be happy, and can meet even death with joy as a messenger calling them to their Father's house, there to dwell for ever. They have no dread, like Hindus, of unknown future births.

BELIEF IN THE POWER OF MANTRAS, AUSTERITIES, CURSES, ASTROLOGY, OMENS, AND THE EVIL EYE.

The Emperor of Russia is one of the most powerful and richest monarchs in the world, but he is in constant fear of his life. Armed soldiers have to watch him day and night ; even when he travels by rail, sentries have to be stationed at short distances all along the line.

The Hindus, from childhood to their dying day, are kept in somewhat similar dread. There are no persons seeking to shoot them or blow up their houses with gunpowder ; but they suppose that there are numbers of demons constantly surrounding them, lurking in the rocks, trees, and jungles seeking to do them harm. They think that there are goddesses, like Sitala Devi and Mari-amman, requiring to be propitiated. They dare not do certain things because the planets are supposed to be unfavourable ; their fields and fruit trees may be blasted by the evil eye ; the howling of a dog or the sight of an empty pot may make them miserable for a whole day. No man is without enemies whom he suspects to be seeking to injure him by charms.

There is this great difference between the Emperor of Russia and the Hindus ;—that the dangers from which the former has to guard against are real, while the latter are terrified by imaginary evils. The Hindus have forsaken the worship of the one true God, and they are therefore tormented by numberless false fears.

Mantras.—One way in which Brahmans frighten the people and make them obedient is by assertions regarding the power of *Mantras*. Sir Monier Williams thus describes the claims of a *Mantra-sastri* :—

“He can prognosticate futurity, work the most startling prodigies, infuse breath into dead bodies, kill or humiliate enemies, afflict any one anywhere with disease or madness, inspire any one with love, charm weapons and give them unerring efficacy, enchant armour and make it impenetrable, turn milk into wine, plants into meat. He is even superior to the gods, and can make gods, goddesses, imps, and demons, carry out his most trifling behests. Hence it is not surprising that the following saying is everywhere current in India :—“The whole universe is subject to the gods ; the gods are subject to the *Mantras* ; the *Mantras* to the Brahmans ; therefore the Brahmans are our gods.”

Some charms are supposed to preserve life ; others to destroy life. The same belief prevails very much among the uncivilised negroes of Western Africa. In some cases their bodies are almost covered with charms. There are people in Ceylon so ignorant that they employ only charms to cure sickness—not medicine. Persons a little less ignorant employ both.

It has been shown again and again that mantras or charms are worthless. A reward of Rs. 50 is offered to any mantra-sastri who will kill a fly by means of his mantras without the use of poison.

While the wearing of a charm does no good; it does great harm. It shows that the person on whom it is tied has forsaken the true God, and sought protection from some evil being.

Austerities.—The Hindus have unbounded belief in the power of austerities. One proverb is, "The fruit of austerities a kingdom." A man is born a king in consequence of austerities which he practised in a previous birth. But Hindu books abound with stories showing results far more wonderful. Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, attained his vast power through austerities. The gods themselves owe their position to the same cause, and they are sometimes in terror, lest men, by still greater austerities, should supplant them.

The whole idea rests on a false foundation. Hindus believe in fate, but there is no such thing. The one true God is the supreme Ruler of all things. He gave us our bodies, wonderfully made, as well as our souls. It is our duty to take care of His gifts. So far from pleasing Him by sitting between blazing fires, by holding up our arm till it becomes useless, or by self-murder, we incur His displeasure.

Suppose a kind friend offered us gifts, and we refused to accept them, would he not be offended? God has supplied every thing in the world necessary for the comfort and happiness of man; the proud ascetic rejects these gifts with contempt, and, as it were, casts them in the face of the giver. As though he were his own Creator and Lord, he lays violent hands upon a life which he neither gave nor can restore.

God has implanted within us a desire to preserve our life. What He requires us to do is, not to make our bodies the instruments of sin. We should be like temples in which a holy God dwells, avoiding every evil desire or passion which would be displeasing to Him.

Curses.—Other nations suppose wise and good men to be calm under provocation, and willing to return good for evil. On the contrary, the Hindu sacred books make their Rishis notorious for irritable tempers, and for their habit of cursing any who did them the slightest injury. An example has been mentioned. When Krishna was entertaining Durvas he cursed him, because he did not remove a grain of rice which accidentally fell on his foot. The power of a curse is supposed to be terrific. Vishnu, one of the highest gods, in consequence of the curse of Bhrigu, had to undergo seven births among mortals.

The lazy men who wander about as pilgrims extort alms from the people by threatening to curse them.

Curses are just like mantras. The Bible says, "The curse causeless shall not come." Curses have been well compared to ashes thrown up into the air, which fall down upon the heads of those who flung them. They only injure those by whom they are uttered.

Any man of intelligence can see that the stories told of Purvas, Bhrigu, and others are mere inventions to frighten the ignorant.

Astrology.—In this country nothing of any importance is done without consulting an astrologer. When a woman is pregnant, the astrologer is sent for to say whether it will be a male or female child; what sort of child it will be; how long it will live, &c. When a man wishes to have his son or daughter married, the astrologer is the only true counsellor and guide. Does a merchant wish to speculate, is a man about to undertake a journey, to dig a well, to build a house; the astrologer must fix the lucky day and hour.

The belief in astrology arose in the following way. In the "childhood of the world," the planets were considered powerful gods, regulating human affairs. By means of the telescope we know that they are simply lifeless bodies like our earth. The world on which we live is a planet. Would any king appoint stones as his ministers? Can we suppose the all-wise God to be guilty of such folly.

Compare the different nations—those that are guided by astrologers and those that are guided by reason. Look at a Hindu Almanac. It is filled with directions about lucky and unlucky days and hours. Look, on the other hand, at an English Almanac. From beginning to end, there is not a single word about lucky or unlucky times.

Long ago, the English, like the Hindus, believed in astrology. They were then comparatively poor. Wise men found out by careful examination that horoscopes, written by the best astrologers, were only right now and then by chance; the true nature of the planets came by degrees to be understood. Are not the English who have no astrologers richer and more prosperous than the Hindus who are guided by them?

Space does not permit the subject to be fully treated. The reader is recommended to consult the able *Notes on Hindu Astrology* by Raja Sir T. Madava Row.* There is also a smaller work, *Astronomy and Astrology*.† The belief is as false as it is mischievous.

Omens.—Instead of using the reason which God has given them, Hindus are largely guided by omens.

The lizard bears a high reputation as a guide. An Indian treatise on divination says that if a lizard fall on the head, it prognosticates death; if on the right ear, good; on the left ear, evil; on

* Price 3 annas. † Price 1 anna. Both may be obtained from Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depot, Madras. Postage ½ anna extra.

the nose, disease; on the neck, joy, &c. Its chirp is also a certain sign. There is, however, a Tamil proverb, "The lizard which was the oracle of the whole village has fallen into the broth pot."

The ass likewise appropriately holds a place. If an ass bray in the east, success will be delayed; in the south-east, it forebodes death; in the south, it denotes gain of money; in the south-west, good news; in the west, disturbance, &c.

Through being guided by omens, favourable times for going on a journey or commencing an undertaking are often lost, and failure is the result.

Omens are childish superstitions. There is not the slightest connexion between meeting a horse or a Brahman and the good success or bad success of any business. A lizard is not a prophet to foretell future events. Can we suppose that God makes known to a dog, a creature without a soul and without reason, what He does not reveal to the wisest men? If the plaintiff and defendant in a suit went to court together, they would meet the same omens, yet one would lose and the other gain the case.

The Evil Eye.—The fear of the "Evil Eye" (*drishti dosha*) is another superstition widely prevalent. Even a look of admiration from friend or foe is believed to be fraught with great danger and possibly serious calamity to any individual who is the object of it. In gardens an old pot, spotted with *chunam*, is sometimes put up to catch the evil eye, and take off its influence from the vegetables. Stories are told about the supposed effects of such looks.

All this is nonsense. Evil eyes have no effect whatever. It is an ignorant, groundless belief. The fields in England produce some of the richest crops in the world, but not in one of them can a pot be seen. Even in this country intelligent people do not follow such a foolish custom, while their gardens bear equally well.

The way to be delivered from all those false fears is to trust in the one living and true God. Prayer to Him is the only mantra. Confiding in His protection, we are safe both for this world and the next. No evil can happen to us without His knowledge. Affliction may indeed, befall us, but He will make it work for our good in the end.

EXAMINATION OF SOME HINDU SAYINGS.

There are various proverbs constantly in the mouths of Hindus, by which they seek to justify their conduct. A South India poet says, "All lights are not lights." There are false proverbs as well as true ones. It is our duty to inquire whether the rules we observe for our guidance in life will stand the test of inquiry. A few of the most popular will now be considered.

1. "We must walk according to Custom."

Sheep, bullocks, and other animals, must walk according to custom; but God has given man reason, so that he can judge for himself whether a custom is right or wrong, good or bad. If a man simply acts like the beasts, in exchange for the reason he throws aside, he ought to be furnished with an extra pair of legs, a couple of horns and a long tail!

Hindus follow the above rule only when it suits their pleasure. In many things they do not walk according to custom. They engage in any thing, though contrary to the usages of their forefathers, by which they may gain some advantage. To get a light, instead of using a flint and steel, they employ lucifer matches. Their ancestors journeyed on foot or rode on horses, &c; Hindus now travel by rail instead of walking according to custom. None of their ancestors learned English; it is now studied by lakhs in the hope of obtaining good employment.

The insufficiency of this excuse for wrong-doing may easily be shown.

A thief was caught stealing and put in prison. A kind gentleman who saw him there, said: "You should give up stealing and learn some honest trade." The robber answered, "What you say is quite right; but 'we must walk according to custom.' I belong to the thief caste, and my ancestors got their living by robbery." Thugs first murdered their victims, and then robbed them. One of them, when on his trial, said: "I and my fathers have been Thugs for twenty generations."

If a man were robbed by one of the thief caste or had his son murdered by a Thug, would he think them innocent because they said, "we must walk according to custom." Would a magistrate accept such an excuse? So when men stand before God, the upright Judge, to account for their actions, He will not take as a sufficient reason for breaking His commands, that they "walked according to custom."

If a custom is good, we ought to follow it; if bad, it ought to be given up, whatever others may do.

2. "Every one should follow his own Religion."

The Chinese use the word "Joss" for religion. When a Chinaman wishes to be friendly with a European, he will say, "My Joss; your Joss. My Joss for me, your Joss for you; all very good Joss." The same idea is found in India. A Hindu may admit that Christianity is true and good for Europeans, while at the same time he thinks that his own religion is best for him.

The Bhagavad Gita says, "One's own religion, though worthless, is better than the religion of another however well instituted." Is this correct? There are a great many false religions in the world,

some of them enjoining most wicked practicos. The Vamacharis commit nameless abominations ; many nations offer human sacrifices—all in the name of religion. According to the above maxim, religions—however false and however wicked their rites—should not be given up by those who hold them.

In such things as clothing, food, manners, and customs, nations may often differ with advantage. The same dress is not suitable both for a cold and a hot climate. But there are other points on which they should all agree.

The Rev. E. P. Rice, B. A., says :—

“There are facts the truth of which cannot in the nature of things vary in different nations of the world. If true at all, they are true everywhere and for ever. Take the facts of geography or astronomy. There cannot be such a thing as national geography. The earth is either round or flat, whichever may be proved to be the case. The fact when proved must be accepted in all parts of the globe. There is no distinctly Hindu or English or Chinese geography. Geography is geography all the world over. And so of astronomy, and so of history. I go further and say that to this same realm of universal truths belongs Religion. It is obvious that true religion is not a manufactured article which men can make in different ways according to their liking. There are not different Creators for the different nations of the world any more than there are different suns in the sky. The same God and Father rules over all, loves and pities all, and judges all by one impartial code, and there can be no contradiction in the laws which He gives for the guidance of His children. Duties towards God do not vary according to our clime any more than duties towards man. . . It is no more part of a patriot's duty to maintain a religion because it is the religion of his fathers than to maintain a conception of geography because it was the conception of his fathers. There is no nationality in Science or Religion. Englishman and Frenchman, German, Russian and Hindu ought to be at one in their aims in this sphere, viz. to know what is true and to practise what is noble.”*

The reason we belong to any religion should be, because, after careful inquiry, we are convinced of its truth. The idea that one religion is good for one nation, and an opposite one for another nation is altogether wrong.

We are no more at liberty to adopt any religion we please than a subject to renounce his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, and set up another king. The sin and danger of worshipping any other than the one true God have already been shewn.

3. “Different Religions are Roads leading to the same City.”

This means that all religions lead their followers to heaven. The folly of this can be seen by applying it to common life.

At Allababad, several lines of railway meet. One line goes east-

* Patriotism. *The Harvest Field*, Sept. 1887.

ward to Calcutta; another northward towards Oudh, a third westward to Agra; a fourth southward to Jabalpur. Suppose a traveller were in doubt which line to take, and some one said to him, "Go into any train; all are roads leading to the same city," what would he think of his reasoning?

It is just as false to say that all religions lead to heaven. 'It has been shown how contradictory they are to each other. If one be right, the others must be wrong. Only the true religion leads to heaven; false religions lead to hell.

A sensible traveller, in a place like Allahabad, with several lines of railways, before going into a train, makes inquiries. We should act in the same manner with regard to religion.

4. "Whatever is written on our Heads will come to Pass."

The skull requires to be very strong to protect the brain. For this purpose, it is formed of different bones, which interlace each other. The joinings can be seen in a child's head or in a skull. The ignorant think that the joinings look like letters, and call them the writing of Brahma, showing the fate of the person.

According to this saying, people cannot act otherwise than they do. God causes everything to be done. The blame of bad actions rests with Him—not with the doer.

Persons who make the above excuse for their evil deeds do not actually believe it. Why do they shut their doors at night? If it is their fate that thieves will rob them, they cannot prevent it by being awake or having the door shut. If they are ill, why do they send for a doctor? if it is written on their head that they will recover, they will do so without any medicine. If a man in the street sees a carriage driving after him, does he stand still, saying, "If death is not written in my fate I shall not die though the carriage pass over my body?" If an enemy set fire to their house, do they say that it was his fate, and that he ought not to be punished?

In worldly matters the Hindus generally act like wise men, whereas in religion their conduct is often just the opposite.

People make the excuse that they must do according to what is written on their heads for two reasons:

1. *To avoid doing what they dislike.*—Most men are careless about religion, and unwilling to give up the sins which they love. When urged to seek the salvation of their souls and to lead holy lives, they plead that what is written must happen, as a reason for doing nothing.

2. *To lay the blame on God.* It is a very common thing for a thief to try to shield himself by accusing an innocent person of the offence. Suppose a robber and murderer charged the best and kindest man in the city with his crimes, he would only increase his guilt.

Of all beings in the universe, God is the purest. He hates sin with a perfect hatred, and forbids it under the severest penalties. For men to lay the blame of their evil deeds upon God, is a sin of the deepest dye.

It is objected that when men sin they use the faculties which God has given them, and that therefore He is responsible. Take a similar case. A master gives money to a servant to buy articles for the family. Instead of using it for that purpose, he spends it on drink, gambling, and prostitutes. Would it be an excuse for him to say, "Master, I am not to blame; you gave me the money." God gave us life, reason and other gifts to be spent in His service and in doing good to our fellowmen; but if we misuse them, the guilt rests with ourselves.

It may be said, why does God not keep men from sinning? A machine, like a watch, can act only as it is moved. It can neither do right nor wrong. If a thief were put into a room full of jewels, but chained so that he could not touch one of them, it would be no merit on his part that he did not steal. God has made us free agents, able to do right or wrong, and He will reward or punish us accordingly. But there is no such writing on our heads as many people say, and they greatly increase their guilt by falsely trying to lay the blame on God.

Many Hindus when asked, "Who speaks within us?" will answer "God." Ask them, "Who tells lies?" Some will unblushingly accuse, "God;" but people generally will say, "No! God is no liar! we are the liars." So we are the sinners—not God.

5. "Where there is Faith, there is God."

This means that a man receives simply according to his faith. This saying is considered sufficient, and saves the trouble of all inquiry as to the real value of the object of faith. Let it be examined.

A man's faith may arise from ignorance as well as from knowledge. If a man believes that jewels are gold while they are only brass, will his faith have any effect? If a man intrust his property to a thief believing him to be an honest man, will his faith save his money? If a man take a cooly to be the king, will he be really such? If a man, wishing to cross a deep and rapid river, goes into a leaky boat saying that faith is the chief thing, will this save him from being drowned?

In like manner, if a man worship an idol believing it to be God, will his faith make it God? If a man believes that bathing in the Ganges will wash away his sins, he believes what is untrue and his sin remains.

In worldly matters men are not such fools as to believe that faith is sufficient. A banker does not say this when asked for the loan of money, nor a father when the marriage of his daughter is

proposed. Faith placed on a false object is worthless, and simply ruins the man who trusts to it. Our first inquiry should therefore be, Is our faith placed on a proper object ?

6. "God is Pervasive."

It is thought that because God is everywhere, any object may be worshipped as God.

By day, light is everywhere, but light is not the sun. God is everywhere, but everything is not God. We ought not to worship as God that which is not God.

God and the universe are quite distinct. The great Creator is to be worshipped—not the objects He has made.

If because God is everywhere anything may be worshipped, then, like the negroes of Western Africa, we may make a god of an eggshell, a broken pot, an old shoe, &c. Hindus say that there are 33 crores of divinities ; but if every object in nature may be worshipped, the number of deities must be countless.

It is plain that the reasoning based on this saying is incorrect.

7. "All the gods are the same though worshipped under different names."

Take the three principal gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Their residences, wives, and children are all different. Brahma is said to live in Satya-loka, his wife is Savitri ; Vishnu lives in Vaikuntha, his wife is Lakshmi ; Siva lives in Kailasa, his wife is said to be Parvati. Different dispositions and actions are ascribed to these gods. Several times they are sought to have fought with each other.

If the 33 crores of the Hindu gods are all the same, it may as well be said that the 25 crores of people in India with different houses, wives, children, occupations, are all one. If the gods are one, why are they reckoned as amounting to 33 crores ?

This is only an excuse for the folly of polytheism put forward by those who are somewhat more intelligent than the masses. Rammohun Roy says : "The Hindus firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses who possess in their own departments full and independent powers, and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected and ceremonies performed."

Fishop Caldwell says : "The Hindus themselves call their religions by the name of the particular deity they worship, as *Siva Bhakti*, *Vishnu Bhakti*, &c. The vast majority would be indignant at the supposition that their own religions, and the detested heresy of their opponents, are after all the same."

8. "The gods can do as they please."

The conscience of the Hindu has been so deadened and perverted that in some cases, like the Thugs, they commit robbery and

murder in the name of religion. Still, the people generally know that quarrelling, lying, theft, drunkenness, adultery and murder are wrong. When asked why such actions are attributed to some of their chief gods, the excuse made is, *Samarthi ko dosh nahin*, The mighty can do what they please without committing sin.

The idea is taken from a Hindu despot, who could do anything he liked, as take the wives of his subjects or put them to death without trial, no one daring to find fault. This was the usual character of their sovereigns, and when the Hindus manufactured gods they took them as a model. Their gods are deified men.

Sir Alfred Lyall, in *The Fortnightly*, says of the Hindus :—

“ Among most of those millions the religious conception has not yet reached that particular stage at which one object of divine Government is understood to be the advancement of morals. On the other hand, there is a considerable minority whose ideas have passed beyond this stage, and who conceive their Divinity as supremely indifferent to all things, material as well as moral.”

“ The gods in no ways admit themselves to be bound by human views of morality, while the functions of popular religion very much resemble, in their highest range, the functions of a modern government; its business is confined to procuring material blessings, warding off evil, contending against such physical calamities as famine or pestilence, and codifying rules of social utility which have been verified by experience.... So long as the gods do not bring more tremendous misfortune upon the country they need not be particularly moral; their speciality not being the direction of morals, as in later faiths, but the distribution of temporal blessings and curses.”*

The principle that the gods are not to be condemned for wrongdoing is the opposite of the truth. If a child commit a fault, he is blamed; if an ordinary man do the same, his guilt is greater; if a king does it, the guilt and evil consequences would be still greater. Krishna himself says in the Bhagavad Gita: “ Whatever the most excellent practise, other men practise likewise; the world follows whatever example they set.” Krishna’s own example, as related in the Bhagavat Purana, has had a most pernicious effect upon his worshippers.

To say that the gods committed sin “in sport” or as a “divine amusement” only makes matters worse. Such an idea is blasphemous.

The foregoing examination shows that some of the proverbs current among the Hindus are false in principle, and can only mislead those who follow them. The Hindus apply them merely to religion, whereas, in ordinary life, they see their folly. No one is such an idiot as to say in business, “faith is sufficient.”

EFFECTS OF HINDUISM.

Only a few remarks can be made under this head.

1. **Poverty.**—Hindus are forbidden by caste to leave India, and thus they cannot acquire the wealth which may be obtained in other parts of the world. Manufactures are discouraged by making some of the most useful employments degrading.

2. **Intellectual Stagnation and Imbecility.**—The people of India are naturally intelligent, but they remained stationary in civilization for centuries. Their intellect has in some respects been dwarfed into childhood, which delights only in the marvellous and monstrous. The greatest self-contradictions, the wildest tales, do not awake their common sense.

It seems incredible to a European that a person of the slightest intelligence can believe the stories in the Puranas; but it is a fact that learned men and philosophers accepted them equally with the vulgar. Visvanatha Panchanana, one of the great doctors of the Nyaya philosophy, begins the *Bhāṣā Parichekhhada*, the text-book of Muktavali, with the following description of God: "Salutation to that Krishna, whose appearance is like a new cloud, the stealer of the clothes of the young Gopis, who is the seed of the tree of the universe."

Another evidence of intellectual weakness has already been noticed. The Hindus are largely guided by custom, not by reason: they follow each other like the lower animals.

Why are the people of India intensely conservative and the Anglo-Saxons so characteristically progressive? The difference does not lie in the constitution of the races, but in the religious principles which the one accepts as true and which the other rejects as false.

3. **Hostility to Social Reform.**—The leading social evils under which India is suffering are the neglect of female education, early marriages, the treatment of widows, and the enormous expenses of caste feasts. Hinduism lies at the root of them all, and is the great obstacle to progress.

Pandits, steeped in Hinduism, are, as a rule, the greatest opponents of social reform. *The Hindu* quotes the following:—

"Three to four hundred Native Pandits of Bengal met at Calcutta on the 17th instant and passed resolutions in favor of child marriages as they exist at present." *Sept.* 26th, 1887.

4. **Loss of Individual Liberty.**—The Hindu is bound, hand and foot, by caste, "the most intolerant and exacting taskmaster that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man." The most minute rules have been framed to regulate the lives of its slaves. It interferes

with all the events of life, and even with what is supposed to precede and follow life.

5. **Hindrance to the growth of Nationality.**—Hinduism, through caste, splits up the people into numerous sections, supposed to be as distinct as horses and asses. "National Congresses" would be impossible under Manu's caste rules. If Sudras presumed to sit in the presence of the "twice-born," banishment or mutilation would be the reward of their presumption.

6. **A few are puffed up with pride while nearly the whole human race is degraded, and some are ranked beneath the brutes.**—The world contains about 140 crores of inhabitants. The number of the "twice-born" is less than one crore; 139 crores are Sudras or impure Mlechchas. When Sir Monier Williams, the Oxford Professor of Sanskrit, visited India, he found that the pandits who came to see him bathed afterwards to remove the pollution they had thus contracted.

True religion makes all men equal in the sight of God, notwithstanding earthly distinctions; but Hinduism, "instead of breaking down artificial barriers, waging war with false separations, softening divisions and undermining class hatred and antipathies, becomes itself the very consecration of them."

7. **Religion is concentrated on outward ceremony.**—The temple worship of Hinduism has been well characterised as "child's play." The mere repetition of the names of its gods, listening to its sacred books, or the sight of its *tirthas*, are supposed to secure heaven.

"The rigid observance of caste," says Rammohun Roy "is considered in so high a light is to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation. Murder, theft, perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing a loss of caste, is visited with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace."

On the other hand, the Great Teacher says that a man is defiled, not by what he eats, but by evil thoughts, adulteries, and murders.

8. **Religion and Morality are divorced.**—Bishop Caldwell says :—

"The duties of life are never inculcated in any Hindu temple. The discharge of those duties is never represented as enjoined by the gods, nor are any prayers ever offered in any temple for help to enable the worshippers to discharge those duties aright. . . . Hence we often see religion going in one direction and morality in another. We meet with a moral Hindu who has broken altogether away from religion; and what is still more common, yet still more extraordinary, we meet with a devout Hindu who lives a flagrantly immoral life. In the latter case no

person sees any inconsistency between the immorality and the devoutness."

Some time ago there was a great Sadhu at Akulakote, so holy that he could eat beef and drink brandy without in the least impairing his sanctity. According to Hinduism, when a man can say *Aham Brahma*, "I am God," to him there is neither good nor evil: he may act as he pleases. Tulsidas, a famous poet in North India, says: "I salute every thing good, and I salute every-thing evil."

Buddhism has been described as "Morality without God," so Hinduism may be characterised as "God without Morality."

9. **The Means prescribed for deliverance from sin and the attainment of holiness are worthless.**—Bathing in the Ganges or other supposed sacred rivers or tanks, offerings to temples or Brahmans, rubbing ashes on the forehead, &c., are of no avail. •

10. **Hinduism is rebellion against the one true God, the Creator and rightful Lord of the Universe, and gives the honor due to Him to numberless imaginary gods, goddesses, demons, animals, and inanimate objects.**—The great sin of idolatry has already been noticed. So also has been the assimilating influence of worship, *yatha deva, tatha bhakta*, As is the god so is the worshipper.

DUTY WITH REGARD TO POPULAR HINDUISM.

An appeal to "Young India" thus points out the duty of educated men with regard to idolatry:—

"There can be no doubt that the root of all the evils which afflict Hindu society, that which constitutes the chief cause of its degradation is idolatry. Idolatry is the curse of Hindustan, the deadly canker that has eaten into the vitals of native society. It would be an insult to your superior education to say that you have faith in idolatry, that you still cherish in your hearts reverence for the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, or that you believe in the thousand and one absurdities of your ancestral creed. But however repugnant to your understanding and repulsive to your good sense the idolatry of your forefathers may be, there is not a thorough appreciation of its deadly character, on moral grounds. It will not do to retain in the mind a speculative and passive disbelief in its dogmas; you must practically break with it as a dangerous sin and an abomination: you must give it up altogether as an unclean thing. You must discountenance it, discourage it, oppose it and hunt it out of your country.

"For the sake of your souls and for the sake of the souls of the millions of your countrymen, come away from hateful idolatry, and acknowledge the one supreme and true God, our Maker, Preserver and Moral Governor, not in belief only, but in the every-day concerns and avocations of your life. By offering such uncompromising allegiance to Him and dedi-

eating yourselves wholly to His service you will rescue your own consciences from corruption and sin, and your country from superstition, priestcraft, absurd rites, injurious practices and horrid customs and usages. By declaring a vigorous crusade against Hinduism you will lay the axe at the root of the tree of corruption."

SUGGESTED REFORMS.

It has been shown that the most intelligent Hindus admit that religious reform is needed. Some of the steps which ought to be taken in this direction will now be mentioned. Each ought to be considered separately, and an impartial judgment formed with regard to it. Considering the vast importance of the question, besides earnest inquiry, Divine assistance should be sought. Prayer like the following may be offered: *O all-wise, all-merciful God and Father, pour the bright beams of Thy light into my soul, and guide me into Thy eternal truth.*"

1. **The Itihasas and Puranas should be rejected as sacred books.**—It has been shown that they contain false geography, false astronomy, contradictory statements, the grossest exaggerations, and most dishonouring representations of God. Beautiful passages, it is true, may be called from some of them, as from some other writings, but they are mixed with deadly error. As Bishop Caldwell remarks: "There is hardly a virtue which is not lauded in some Indian book, but on the other hand there is hardly a crime that is not encouraged by the example of some Indian divinity."

It is true that the above works are considered to occupy a lower level than the Vedas and Upanishads, being only of the *smṛiti* class, not *śruti*, tradition and not revelation. Still, they are regarded as sacred.

The Upanishads and Vedas will be considered in separate Papers.

2. **Pantheism and Polytheism should be given up for Monotheism.**—The whole of the 33 crores of gods, goddesses and demons of the Hindu pantheon should be abandoned as existing only in imagination, and there should be a return to what was probably the most ancient form of belief among the Aryan race. Max Müller says:—

"There is a monotheism which precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocation of their innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the midst of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."

Amid the present polytheism of India there is generally still a belief in the existence of one great God. The poorest mother will say of her child that "God gave it;" the son of a peasant,

of asked whether the idol he worships gave him life, will in most cases deny it, and ascribe it to a higher power.

Long before the names of Vishnu or Siva were ever heard, the old Aryans worshipped a great Being under the name of *Dyaus-Pitar*, Heaven-Father. It is He, who teaches us to call Himself our Father in heaven, whom we ought to worship. He is our Creator, our Preserver, the Author of all our blessings, our right-ful Lord.

It follows from the above that the temples of Vishnu, Siva, and other Hindu gods and goddesses should be forsaken, and offerings no longer be made at them. The worship of the one true God should be substituted.

3. Idolatry should not be countenanced in any way.—It is an insult to the great Creator of the universe to represent Him by any image. To give the least encouragement to idolatry should be felt to be a great sin on the part of the educated man guilty of it, and a grievous wrong to his ignorant countrymen. It is much to be regretted, however, that, this conduct is widely prevalent. *The Indian Nation* says: "We often hear of the mischievous effects of English education in India. If there have been any such effects, the grossest and most mischievous of them is the cowardly, hypocritical spirit."

It is hypocrisy for a man to make people suppose that he means one thing while he intends another totally different. Words should be used in their ordinary sense. Some say that they worship the one true God under the name of Vishnu or Siva. It is well known what ideas the Hindus attach to these words, and to understand them in another sense is moral dishonesty.

Soldiers are distinguished by their uniforms. If in war a soldier put on the uniform of an enemy, he would be treated as such whatever might be his professions. In like manner, the one true God will not recognise as His follower the man who bears on his forehead the ashes of Siva or the emblem of Vishnu. The two are as opposite as light and darkness.

Many educated Hindus take part in idolatrous rites, pretending that they are harmless customs, kept up by female influence, and that they conform to them simply to avoid giving offence.

A leading Calcutta Native Journal commended an Indian on his return from England for "good-naturedly" obeying the requirements of Hinduism.

That idolatry is the very opposite of a "harmless custom" has already been shown. As well might a man be "good-naturedly" guilty of high treason against his sovereign.

The desire to please parents and relatives within proper limits is a praiseworthy feeling; but to break God's first and great command at the wish of any human being is a plea which cannot be

sustained for a moment. Suppose a parallel case. Parents urge a son to take part in a robbery; they will be vexed if he does not consent. Would a judge accept such an excuse? Would it be true kindness to his parents to join them in such an act? Is he not rather bound, not only to abstain entirely from any participation in the crime, but to do his utmost to dissuade his parents from engaging in it? It would be great cruelty to behave otherwise.

Some educated men try to make a miserable compromise with conscience by giving idolatrous rites a different meaning from the real one, and the way in which they are understood by those who practise them.

Young India has a diagram entitled "Symbolical Durga Worship," taken from the "New Dispensation," and suggested by the late Keshab Chunder Sen. "The Supreme Mother Durga" is represented as vanquishing and slaying Sin; Lakshmi, Saraswati, Ganes, and Kartic, representing Prosperity, Wisdom, Peace and Strength, attend the Supreme Mother. An original article, entitled "Blessed Durga," begins as follows:—

"Mother Durga comes down from her abode in the Himalayas to greet her children in the plains who have been anxious to see her smiling face after one full year. She brings joy, wisdom, peace and prosperity in her train, and her children are preparing to give her a right warm reception. They will lay down the year's trials, tribulations and sorrows at the feet of the Divine Mother, who will bless and buckle them on to fight the battle of life with renewed vigour for another twelvemonth."

Such representations are paltering with truth. To ascribe the blessings we owe to God to "Mother Durga" is propagating a lie. The true God says, "I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images." Durga is the same as the blood-thirsty Kali.

Hope, a Calcutta journal, claiming to be "The Paper for the Million," gives a somewhat similar interpretation of the festival. It is thus epitomised in the *Madras Hindu*:—

"The goddess represents Humanity, and the dragon, modern Barbarism, illustrated by Hypocrisy, Egotism, Lust, and other morbid developments of the baser nature of man; by the adjuncts of ruinous warfare which modern nations wage against one another; and by the famine and general havoc it brings to the people. The benignant goddess kills the monster with a trident, and rescues the higher nature of man against the temptations of all evil propensities." Oct. 3, 1887.

According to this theory, the editor of *Hope* would be the earliest victim to the "trident" of the "benignant goddess." The first to be killed is "Hypocrisy," of which Mr. Amrit Lal Roy is a distinguished specimen. He visited different parts of England, and afterwards resided three years in the United States, where "he was

rewarded with friendship and esteem by some of the most intelligent Americans."

His friend and admirer, the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, describes Mr. Roy's conduct on his return to India, as having "shown an amount of heroism which ought to form an example to those impious wretches who rebel against the laws and customs of their own country. After a keen observation of several years he comes home, and he prefers his superstition and idolatry to all that he had seen in the so-called enlightened countries of the world. This is a fact, which ought to give some food for reflection."

The "heroism" displayed by Mr. Roy was, to use the phrase of the late Hon. Kristo Das Pal on a similar occasion, to become "an imbecile swallower of penitential pills." To purify himself from contact with unclean Mlechhas, including among them "the most intelligent Americans," Mr. Roy took a pill made of the five products of the cow,—milk, curds, ghee, urine and dung.

The *Bombay Gazette* well remarked with reference to the quotation from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*: "We agree that this does afford 'food for reflection,' in illustrating how possible it is even for men, claiming respectability, to debase themselves before the whole world, and for them and their friends to glory in their shame."

In *Hope* there is apparently a complete change of front. Instead of the 33 crores of gods and goddesses, there is the blank of Positivism: "Humanity" is installed in their place. By adopting such a method of interpretation anything might be developed out of anything.

The following remarks occur in the Calcutta Convocation Address of Sir H. S. Maine in 1866:—

"If I had any complaint to make of the most highly educated class of Natives, I should assuredly not complain of their mode of acquiring knowledge, or of the quality of that knowledge. . . . I should rather venture to express disappointment at the use to which they sometimes put it. It seems to me that not seldom they employ it for what I can best describe as irrationally reactionary purposes. It is not to be concealed, and I see plainly that educated Natives do not conceal from themselves, that they have, by the fact of their education, broken for ever with much in their history, much in their customs, much in their creed. Yet I constantly read, and sometimes hear, elaborate attempts on their part to persuade themselves and others, that there is a sense in which these rejected portions of Native history, and usage and belief, are perfectly in harmony with the modern knowledge which the educated class has acquired, and with the modern civilization to which it aspires. . . . Whatever the cause, there can be no greater mistake, and, under the circumstances of the country, no more destructive mistake."

The Indian Spectator, after quoting the above, remarks that these

words are as true now as when they were spoken more than twenty years ago.

Falsehood is never beneficial in the end ; truth is always best. For educated men to employ sophistical arguments in support of what they know to be wrong, is duplicity most hurtful to themselves. Nor does the evil end there. As Sir H. S. Maine justly says: "*There can be under the circumstances of the country NO MORE DESTRUCTIVE MISTAKE.*" It helps to perpetuate the reign of error and superstition.

When a person is convinced that any belief or practice is wrong, he should plainly avow it. Thus reform may be brought about, while it is postponed indefinitely by an opposite course.

No doubt it requires some moral courage to refuse to take part in any idolatrous ceremony. In the early days of Christianity hundreds of thousands laid down their lives rather burn incense before images. No such painful sacrifice is now necessary, so that the guilt of compliance is the greater.

4. **Daily Private Prayer.**—This should not consist in merely repeating God's name, but should express the desire of the heart. There should be confession of sin, petitions for pardon, holiness, guidance, strength for duty, with thanksgiving for mercies received. Without prayer, true religion is impossible.

5. **Where practicable, there should be Family Prayer.**—Women are the chief supporters of idolatry in India. Poor creatures, they



FAMILY PRAYER.

do not know better. Those who are mainly responsible for it and to be blamed are the educated men, who by their example encourage them in error. The women of India are naturally both intelligent and affectionate. If their husbands, instead of behaving as at present, would lovingly teach them to worship their great Father in heaven instead of idols, the reign of superstition would soon come to an end. The change is so reasonable as easily to be understood. It is so simple that it may be made intelligible even to a child.

Next to consistent conduct on their own part, educated men have no higher duty than to seek the enlightenment of the women of India. It has a most important bearing upon the future of the country.

The confession has sadly to be made that there are many godless families in countries nominally Christian. Still, there are not a few who meet together for worship morning and evening. The service is simple. A hymn is sung; a passage is read from the Bible, and then all kneel together in prayer.

Hindu women are taught the greatest devotion to a husband. *Manu* says: "A husband must always be worshipped like a god by a good wife." "If a woman obeys his husband, by that she is exalted in heaven." (V. 154, 155). Although this is false, it shows what a great advantage men have in exercising influence over women if inclined to use it.

6. Public worship should be observed.—This is unknown to Hinduism. By a wise regulation, one day in seven is allowed as a day of rest. People should then meet together unitedly to offer prayer and thanksgiving to God.

To give a better idea of what is suggested, a short account will be given of the religious service at which the Queen Empress of India is present every Sunday. First a verse of the Bible, like the following, is read :

"I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son."

The people are then invited to confess their sins in the following words:—

"Almighty and most merciful Father, we have erred and strayed from Thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against Thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us. But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare Thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore Thou them that are penitent; according to Thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for His sake; that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of Thy holy Name. Amen."

Passages are read from the Bible, teaching the people what they are to believe and do. The Ten Commandments, containing a summary of our duty to God and man, are repeated, the people after each saying, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law."

The following thanksgiving is used towards the close of the service :—

"Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we Thine unworthy servants do give Thee most humble and hearty thanks for all Thy goodness and loving-kindness to us and to all men. We bless Thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life ; but above all, for Thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And, we beseech Thee, give us that due sense of all Thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives ; by giving up ourselves to Thy service, and by walking before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days ; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*"

The singing of hymns is an important part of Christian worship. The following is a translation of one which has been used for nearly 3000 years :

Before Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations, bow with sacred joy ;
Know that the Lord is God alone ;
He can create, and He destroy.

His sovereign power, without our aid,
Made us of clay, and formed us men ;
And, when like wandering sheep we strayed,
He brought us to His fold again.

We are His people, we His care,—
Our souls and all our mortal frame :
What lasting honours shall we rear,
Almighty Maker, to Thy name ?

We'll crowd Thy gates with thankful songs,
High as the heavens our voices raise ;
And earth, with her ten thousand tongues,
Shall fill Thy courts with sounding praise.

Wide as the world is Thy command,
Vast as eternity Thy love ;
Firm as a rock Thy truth must stand
When rolling years shall cease to move.

Then follows a sermon, an address explaining some doctrine or enforcing some duty.

Let any intelligent, honest Hindu contrast Christian public worship with that of Hindu temples, and say which is preferable.

To be able to give suitable addresses, men require a special training. Hindu priests and pandits, as a rule, simply commit certain books to memory. A "Native Thinker" suggests that some scheme should be devised by which they would be "enabled to learn as much at least, as a boy of ten years, attending a regular school is familiar with."

7. Caste should be given up and the Brotherhood of Man acknowledged.—As already shown, caste is founded on a blasphemous falsehood, and its effects upon the country are most injurious. The meanest should be spoken to kindly and without contempt. With regard to food a man may please himself, and the same in the case of marriage; but the system should be renounced. According to some Hindu books, in the supposed Satya Yuga, all men were of one caste. Let us earnestly seek to bring back, in this respect, the golden age.

8. There should be earnest efforts to overcome sin and attain holiness.—Every man who honestly tries to do this will feel more and more his own weakness.

At evening the confession must be sorrowfully made:—

"The day is done, its hours have run,
And Thou hast taken count of all
The scanty triumphs grace hath won—
The broken vow, the frequent fall."

Much may thus be learned of the necessity of Divine help, and of the nature of the religion suited to man's needs.

9. Religious Truth should be sought diligently, with Prayer for Divine Guidance.—The reader, if a Hindu, may be supposed to have some knowledge of his own creed. Christianity is professed by all the enlightened nations of the world. To it belonged men like Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Johnson, Scott, and Faraday. It therefore well deserves most careful study.

It will be seen, on investigation, that Christianity possesses many of the truths included in Hinduism, without their accompanying errors. Some of them may be noticed:

1. The Unity of God.—This is taught to some extent in Hinduism, but it is obscured by pantheism on the one hand and polytheism on the other. Christianity declares unmistakeably that there is but one God.

2. The Need of a Revelation.—Hindus and Christians both confess that a written revelation from God has been given. The question is, whether it is represented by the Bible or by the Hindu sacred books?

3. *The Sinfulness of Man.*—There is a remarkable confession of sin which some Brahmans ought to repeat daily :

Pápo'ham pápakarmáham pápátmá pápasambhavaha :

The meaning is: I am sin; I commit sin; my soul is sinful; I am conceived in sin. This is very similar to the account of man's state given in the Bible. David says, "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me."

But there is a great difference as to the way in which sin may be forgiven. Hinduism asserts that the bare naming of a God, washing in the Ganges, gifts to Brahmans, &c., are sufficient; Christianity teaches that it required a Divine sacrifice.

4. *The Doctrine of Incarnation.*—Hinduism teaches that at a crisis in the world's history deity becomes incarnate. So also Christianity has its incarnation—Jesus Christ. Hinduism has its future incarnation—the Kalki Avatar; so Christianity teaches that Christ will come again in great glory to judge the world.

Christianity teaches that man was created holy and happy. The Krita Yuga, the age of truth, is a tradition to the same effect. The fall of man is also virtually recognized in the Kali Yuga. "The deep sense of this fact," writes Coleridge, "and the doctrines grounded on obscure traditions of the promised remedy, are seen struggling, and now gleaming, now flashing, through the mist of pantheism, and producing the incongruities and gross contradictions of the Brahman mythology."

"No thoughtful student of the past records of man," says Trench, "can refuse to acknowledge that through all its history there has run the hope of a redemption from the evil which oppresses it; and as little can deny that this hope has continually attached itself to some single man. The help that is coming to the world, it has seen incorporated in a person. The generations of men, weak and helpless in themselves, have evermore been looking after ONE in whom they may find all they look for vainly in themselves and in those around them."

The Hindu ideas with regard to incarnations, though defective in many respects, recognise, says Hardwick, the idea of God descending to the level of the fallen creature and becoming man to lighten the burden of pain and misery under which the universe is groaning. They show a struggling to become conscious of the personality of God, and a panting for complete communion with Him.

5. *Regeneration.*—This denotes the *new birth*. After young Brahmans are invested with the cord, they are said to be *dwiya*, twice-born. But this does not produce any change in their character. Jesus Christ teaches, "Except a man be born again he

cannot see the kingdom of God." This means that unless a man's heart is renewed or purified, he cannot enter heaven.

6. *A Judgment to come.*—Both Hinduism and Christianity agree with regard to a future judgment, although they differ in important respects as to the way in which it is to be conducted.

While Christianity and Hinduism agree in some particulars, it is a great mistake to suppose that they are both much the same. If you compare a man and a beast, it may be said that they both have one head, one mouth, two eyes, two ears, &c. ; but there are essential differences. So with Christianity and Hinduism. Compare Christ and Krishna.

Some of the enemies of Christianity try to persuade educated Hindus that it is dying out before advancing civilization. On the contrary, it has never made greater progress than at present. The Royal Society of Great Britain includes some of the most distinguished scientific men in the world. To be elected its President is an honour reserved for those of the highest eminence. Its present President, Professor Stokes, of Cambridge, is an earnest Christian.

Space does not permit the doctrines of Christianity to be described in detail. The reader is referred for further information to *Short Papers for Seekers after Truth** and other works mentioned on the last page of the wrapper.

Special Danger of Educated Hindus.—There is, perhaps, no temptation to which intelligent men in India are more liable than to draw the conclusion: Popular Hinduism is mere priestcraft; therefore all religions are of human invention. A little consideration will show that this inference is unwarranted. The logic resembles the following: Hindu geography is false; therefore there is no true account of the earth. Man has religious instincts implanted in him by his Creator, and the just inference is that there is a true religion suited to his needs.

THE FUTURE OF HINDUISM.

Hinduism, it must be confessed, has a very strong hold upon the people of India. The great majority have been reduced to such a state of mental weakness that the most contradictory statements, the most astounding miracles, are accepted with unhesitating faith. Indeed, Sir Monier Williams remarks that "the more evidently physical and metaphysical speculations are opposed to common sense, the more favour do they find with some Hindu thinkers." The people, as a rule, hug the fetters of caste; their gods are beings after their own heart.

Hinduism, like every religion except Christianity, appeals to the

* Post free, 1½ as. Apply to Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras.

pride so dear to the human heart. Man wishes to be his own saviour. The Hindu rejects the idea of trusting to anything for salvation but his own self-righteousness,—the merit he has been able to accumulate. It is true that he acknowledges some misdeeds, but they are counterbalanced by acts of charity. A Hindi verse says, A man steals an anvil and gives away a needle. He then stands waiting for the celestial chariot which he thinks must take him to heaven.

The foregoing remarks refer to the people generally. Among educated Hindus, with some noble exceptions, prospects are not much brighter. The following description, written nearly half a century ago, still applies to not a few :—

“They show no hatred of idolatry, no anxiety to rescue their fellow-countrymen from its yoke, no lofty moral bearing, no great aims or aspirations, no seriousness of spirit, or thoughtful earnest inquiry after religious truth. In the flush and ardour of youth, the great majority kill the conscience by outward compliance with the idolatry which they despise, or by making themselves over deliberately to worldliness. There is nothing of healthy life connected with their intellectual activity. The mongrel class, of which we now write, too timid to break off from what they despise and disbelieve, will live the subtle faithless life of the Greek of the Lower Empire, without courage or conscience, and hide but too often the heart of the atheist under the robe of the idolater. Hinduism has nothing to fear from the educated Natives. Her philosophers and men of science, in former times, were as thorough unbelievers in the vulgar superstition as the educated Natives of the present day, and ancient heathenism had its Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero, and Plutarch, and Lucian, who attacked, disproved, and ridiculed their ancestral faith—conforming all the while. But Europe might be worshipping Jupiter and Juno, Odin and Freya, at this day, had not a new faith sprung up, and other and more effectual opponents. It will be the same here and elsewhere again, and again, and again.”

A recent illustration of this is afforded by *The Hindu*, which may be regarded as the exponent of educated Indians in the Madras Presidency. Referring to the Paper on “Caste,” an editorial says :—

“The subject is, however, familiar to our readers, most of whom admit its evils, but only differ from their foreign critics in their idea of the difficulty to find a workable remedy. It is all moonshine to talk of moral courage and setting an example of devotion and self-sacrifice to help the advancement of the reform : because we are sure that a man who acts under that notion and defies the extreme injunctions of caste will lose all influence over his countrymen, and will have no chance whatever of realizing the good that prompted such an extraordinary conduct on his part. Even for devotion and self-sacrifice to bear fruit there must be an antecedent condition of society where the example will operate on a sufficiently large number of men and thereby lead to an

appreciable diminution in the force of orthodox opinion. Nor, in our judgment is there any necessity for violent efforts. The distinctions of caste in their most objectionable features are disappearing, and under the effect of enlightened public opinion men of different castes are learning to look upon one another as brethren. We may expect to see in a short period these distinctions reducing themselves to the prohibition of intermarriage and of eating together." Oct. 19, 1837.

The Rev. W. Stevenson thus describes the mode in which changes are to be brought about according to these reformers :—

"The evil customs and practices pervade the whole society of which they form a part, and they do not profess to be exempt from them. But they want to have them reformed,—only they must have every body reformed all at once, the whole society ought to make one simultaneous movement and at one grand moment throw off the yoke together. So they must wait till every one is ready, none must make any step before all the rest; the whole community must as one body achieve the reform, the individual must just remain quiet until he finds himself free. You observe that in this case too the would-be reformers do not find it necessary to set about reforming themselves; it is society they are anxious to operate on; for themselves first and chiefly they do not feel called upon to undertake the unpleasant task. If only society could be put right! if by a stroke of some magic wand all its evil customs and practices could be made to disappear, and a new constitution take their place, what a glorious change it would be for the enlightened! They are dissatisfied with the present state of things and would like to see them improved. If only society could be put right! But there's the difficulty, a difficulty we can see no happy way of getting over. If the individuals are all to remain the same, it is beyond our weak power to see how the society is to be changed. For we don't know of any society which is not composed of individuals; and to make the whole move while every part remains where it was, does not appear an easy task. Given the problem :—how to make a railway train pass from Madras to Bangalore, while every wheel stands still—it will puzzle most to find a solution."

To such men "moral courage and self-sacrifice" are "all moonshine."

There can never be a reformation in any country if the leaders follow the masses, instead of setting them an example. Mill says in his book *On Liberty* : "The initiation of all wise or noble things comes and must come from individuals—generally at first from some one individual." The Rev. E. Rice says, "The self-styled patriot or reformer who will do all things for his country *provided he first saves his own skin* is only pretender to the name."

Educated men should not "lay that flattering unction to their soul," suggested by *The Hindu*, that they should conform to the customs of their ignorant and superstitious countrymen, lest they should lose their influence over them. One of the maxims taught

in Tamil schools is, "Do as your countrymen approve," or in other words, "Walk according to custom." Educated men should not be simply like dead fish floating with the stream.

Our conduct in life should be regulated by a sense of duty,—not from a desire to retain our influence over our countrymen. We should do what we believe to be right, whether others follow our example or not. We are not to do evil that good may come. Any other principle is as injurious as it is false. It is men who act up to their convictions—not time-servers—who have in the end most influence, and do most good to their countrymen.

It must be acknowledged that when the course of duty involves some self-denial, and a "by-path meadow" seems smooth and pleasant, it is very easy to find a plausible excuse for taking the latter. Self-deception is of all kinds the most common.

With some educated Hindus "God and conscience," as well as "moral courage and self-sacrifice," will be "all moonshine." Such men may be expected to take part in idolatrous rites as only "harmless customs," and Hinduism will have nothing to fear from them.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, there is no doubt about the ultimate issue. Although the foregoing statements apply largely to educated men as a class, there are among them a few zealous consistent reformers, and in the end "Truth conquers."

At the banquet given by the National Liberal Club in London, in honour of Lord Ripon, Mr. Bright, the well-known friend of India, gave expression to the following views:—

"Well, if the English language is being spoken so widely over India, if the English literature is being read and studied; if the science of this country and of western nations becomes the science of the people of India, what must be the result? Before that force there must fall certain things. There must fall the system of caste, and there must fall the system of a debasing idolatry. These things cannot stand against the literature which is now being freely read and studied by multitudes of the most intelligent people of India."

Sir A. C. Lyall, in his *Asiatic Studies*, has the following interesting forecast:—

"It is not easy to conceive any more interesting subject for historical speculation than the probable effect upon India, and consequently upon the civilisation of all Asia, of the English dominion; for though it would be most presumptuous to attempt any prediction as to the nature or bent of India's religious future, yet we may look forward to a wide and rapid transformation in two or three generations, if England's rule only be as durable as it has every appearance of being. It seems possible that the old gods of Hinduism will die in these new elements of intellectual light and air as quickly as a net full of fish lifted up out of the water; that the alteration in the religious needs of such an intellectual

people as the Hindus, which will have been caused by a change in their circumstances, will make it impossible for them to find in their new world a place for their ancient deities. Their primitive forms will fade and disappear silently, as witchcraft vanished from Europe, and as all such delusions become gradually extinguished." pp. 299, 300.

An effort is now being made to prevent the "old gods of Hinduism" from dying in the "new elements of intellectual light and air." The leading Bengali novelist is trying to do this even in the case of Krishna. All such attempts will be as fruitless as those made to arrest the decline of polytheism in Europe.

It is a pseudo-patriotism which rejects Christianity under the pretence that it is not Indian. The greatest Dravidian poet says, "The disease that is born with us kills us; the medicine which is found on some far-off mountain cures our natal disease." It has already been shown that there is no such thing as a *national* religion. Like science, religion is universal.

Under other names, many of the same gods now worshipped in India were once worshipped in Europe. A like change will follow. The temples of Vishnu and Siva will yet be as deserted as those of Jupiter and Minerva. "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens."

It is possible that the downfall of idolatry in India may require some centuries as it did in Europe. Much will depend, under God, upon Indian reformers being raised up with the courage and zeal of Luther. A rapid change would follow. Such will be the probable course of events.

The ancestors of the Hindus, the English, and other Aryan nations, says Max Müller, "had once the same faith, and worshipped for a time the same supreme Deity under exactly the same name—a name which meant Heaven Father." The time will yet come when they will again recognise each other as brethren, kneel together at the same footstool, and offer the same grand old prayer, beginning, "Our Father which art in heaven."

Blessed are those who by example and precept are seeking to turn the people of India from dumb idols to the living God. This would lead to every other needed reform. Unhappy are the men, whatever may be their motives, who are actively or passively countenancing idolatry, and all the evils which follow in its train.

It has been shown that the Hindus are fettered by absurd caste rules, and that they are the victims of numberless superstitious fears. And what is the outlook of the world according to Hindu sacred books? It is thus described by Dr. Murray Mitchell:

"They are marked by a despondency ever ready to darken into despair. At present the Kali Yuga is advancing; and the world is plunging

deeper and deeper into ignorance, vice, and misery. The patriot may die for his country—the martyr for his God; but their doings and sufferings are of no avail to stem the tide of evil. True, after æons of misery, the age of Truth comes back; but it does so only to pass away again, and torment us with the memory of lost purity and peace. The experience of the world is thus an eternal renovation of hope and of disappointment. Progress towards abiding good there is none. The whole conception which Hinduism forms of human life is overwhelmingly sad. Hope for ourselves, and effort for the good of others, are rendered impossible.”*

On the other hand, the Bible discloses “a Divine purpose—a purpose of mercy formed before the foundations of the world were laid, running through the ages, and steadily advancing towards a glorious consummation.”*

Let the reader carefully compare the two systems and follow the dictates of conscience.

* *Hinduism Past and Present*, p. 261.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART II.

PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.

Yatha deva, tatha bhaktah,
"As is the god, so is the worshipper."

'Thou thoughtest that I (God) was altogether such an one as thyself.'
The Bible.

"What is not true cannot be patriotic."
Raja Sir Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I.



MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEFERY.

1ST. ED.]

1887.

[2,000.

PREFATORY NOTE.

Part I. of the *Papers on Religious Reform* treats of **POPULAR HINDUISM**, the religion of the Hindus in general, as represented in the Epic Poems, Puranas, Tantras, and aboriginal cults.

Part II. discusses **PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM**, as unfolded in the Upanishads and Darsanas. In the following compilation the under-mentioned works have chiefly been used :—

Ballantyne, *Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy*.
Madden. 1859.

Banerjea, Rev. Dr. Krishna Mohun, *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy*. Williams and Norgate, 1861.

Barth, *Religions of India*, Trübner. 16s.

Bose, A. M. Ram Chandra, *Hindu Philosophy*, Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore, Rs. 2.

Do. *Hindu Heterodoxy*, Methodist Publishing House, Calcutta, Rs. 3.

Caldwell, Bishop, *Remarks on the Bhagavad Gita*.* C. V. E. S.
Chentsal Rao, Hon. P. *The Hindu Religion*, *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 915—932.

Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*.
Williams and Norgate.

Day, Rev. Lal Behari, *Tract on Pantheism*. Included in *Select Tracts*, C. V. E. S.

Duff, Rev. Dr., *India and India Missions*.*

Flint, Rev. Dr., *Antitheistic Theories*. W. Blackwood, 10s. 6d.

Gough, A. E. *Philosophy of the Upanishads* : Trübner, 9s.

Do. *Vaisheshika Aphorisms of Kanada*. Dr. Lazarus, Benares, Rs. 4.

Goreh, Rev. Nehemiah, *Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophy*. Translated by Hall. Calcutta Tract Society, Rs. 3.

Do. *Theism and Christianity*. Oxford Mission Press, Calcutta.

Hoisington, *Translations from Tamil Metaphysical and Theological Treatises*. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

Jacob, *Translation of the Vendantasara, with copious notes*.
Trübner. 6s.

Kellogg, *Hinduism and Christianity*. *Princeton Review*. Reprinted in the *Indian Evangelical Review*, April, 1885.

Mitchell, Rev. Dr. Murray, *Hinduism Past and Present*. Religious Tract Society. 4s.

Mullens, Rev. Dr. J. *Religious Aspects of Hindu Philosophy*,* Smith, Elder, & Co.

Müller, Max, *Sacred Books of the East, Vol. I. The Upanishads*, Part. I. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 10s. 6d.

Roer, Dr. L., *Translation of the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Robson, Rev. Dr. J., *Hinduism and its Relations to Christianity*, Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 7s. 6d.

Sarva Darsana Sangraha, translated by Cowell and Gough, Trübner, 10s. 6d.

Telang, Hon. R. T. *Translation of the Bhagavad Gita*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 10s. 6d.

Williams, Sir Monier. *Hinduism*. S. P. C. K. 2s. 6d.

Do. *Religious Life and Thought in India*. Murray, 14s.

Works known to be now out of print are marked by an asterisk. Perhaps it should be added to one or two others.

The quotations show which treatises have specially been used by the compiler. It should, however, be mentioned that there are many short extracts, generally abridged or slightly altered to suit the context, which are not acknowledged.

The reader is urged to examine the subject for himself. Religion is not a matter of mere speculation, but of the deepest personal interest, and may the Source of all true knowledge guide him in his inquiries.

J. MURDOCH.

MADRAS, December, 1887.

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART II.

PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.

INTRODUCTION.

Intellectual Growth.—"The life of a nation," says Morell, "bears an obvious analogy to that of the individual."

The child gives life to every object around it. Whatever strikes the imagination affords delight; the most extravagant tales are accepted as true.

"The severing of imagination on the one hand from abstract principles on the other, marks the rise of another era in a nation's development,—that, namely, which corresponds with the sphere of thought, properly so called. The separation is effected by the understanding, and is marked by a decided tendency to metaphysical speculations.

"When these periods have run their rounds, then the age of positive science commences,—that in which the reason gathers up all the results of the other faculties, and employs them for the direct investigation of truth."*

The Hindus, in general, represent the childhood of humanity. Every thing around them is instinct with life. "The idlest legend," says Professor Cowell, "passes current as readily as the most authentic fact, nay, more readily, because it is more likely to charm the imagination; and in this phase of mind, imagination and feeling supply the only proof which is needed to win the belief of the audience."

Part I. of this Series, **POPULAR HINDUISM**, seeks to describe the religion of the masses. It is that of the Epic Poems, the Puranas, and Tantras, including aboriginal superstitions.

The tendency to metaphysical thought, the speculative stage of the human intellect, may be called the "childhood of philosophy." In Hinduism, this may be described as the religion of the Upani-

* Morell's *Elements of Psychology*, pp. 263, 264.

shads, the Darsanas, and Bhagavad Gita. Its investigation forms the Second Part of the Series, PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.

There is no sharp line of demarcation between Popular and Philosophic Hinduism. They blend into each other. Some combine the two. Even the common people are leavened, more or less, with some of the notions of Philosophic Hinduism.

Course of Hindu Thought.—India was first occupied by non-Aryan races, generally like the wild tribes still found in various parts of the country, although some had attained an elementary civilisation. Their religion apparently consisted in propitiating the demons and tutelary gods which, to the present day, forms the actual cult of the masses.

The Aryans poured in from Central Asia through the western passes, and spread over the great river basins of the Indus and Ganges, where they gradually became mingled with the pre-existing population, the two races mutually acting upon each other.

In later Vedic times the Indian tribes were gathered together in farms; in huts of sun-dried mud, in houses of stone, in hamlets and in fenced towns, under village chiefs and Rajas. The outward aspects of their life were not unlike those of rural India of to-day. The Indians of the Vedic age tilled their rice and barley, irrigated their fields with water-courses, watched the increase of their flocks and herds, and made a hard or easy livelihood as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, boat-builders, weavers, doctors, soldiers, poets, priests. They lived upon the produce of their cattle and their fields, drank wine and soma juice, and exercised their leisure in sacrificial feasts, in games, and spectacles.

The powers of nature present themselves to them as so many personal objects. The child personifies the stone that hurts him; the child of superstition personifies the laws of nature as gods. Sky and Earth are the father and mother of gods and men. Mitra, presiding over the day, wakes men, and bids them bestir themselves betimes, and stands watching all things with unwinking eye. Varuna, ruling the night, prepares a cool place of rest for all that move, fashions a pathway for the sun, knows every wink of men's eyes, cherishes truth, seizes the evil-doer with his noose, and is prayed to have mercy on the sinful. Agni, the fire-god, bears the oblation aloft to the gods. Indra, riding the firmament, overthrows Vritra; Soma invigorates the gods, and cheers mankind.

The gods require to be flattered with hymns, to be fed with butter, to be refreshed with soma juice, that they may send rain, food, cattle, children, and length of days to their worshippers. Life is as yet no burden; there is nothing of the blank despair that came in later with the tenet of transmigration, and the misery of every form of sentient life. Pleasures are looked for in this world; their harvests are enough for the wants of all; their flocks and herds are many;

and pleasures are looked for again in the after-life in the body in the kingdom of Yama.

This worship of the personified powers of nature with a view to material benefits gradually hardened into a series of rites to be performed by the priesthood. In course of time it came to be held that the sacrifices performed without knowledge of their import produced their desired effect,—some material good, the birth of children, long life, or future happiness. This later form of Vedic religion received the name of the *Karmakanda*, or ritual department of the Vedas.

But in the midst of this life of the primitive Hindu, there are discernible the first stirrings of reflection. Questions began to be raised in the hymns of the Rishis in regard to the origin of earth and sky. One of them asks, "Which of them was first and which was later? You wise, which of you knows?" Another asks, "What was the fruit, what the tree, they cut the sky and earth out of?" In one hymn earth and sky are the work of Visvakarman. In another it is Hiranyagarbha, the Golden Germ, that arose in the beginning; in another it is Varuna. Agni is sometimes the son of Earth and Sky; at other times he is said to have stretched out the earth and sky. In a few of the later hymns there are touching confessions of ignorance; such as, "Who truly knows or who has told what path leads to the gods?"

"This creation, whether any made it, or any made it not? He that is the overseer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows, or haply he knows not."

The period of the hymns was followed by that of the ritual and legendary compilations known as the Brahmanas. Of these Brahmanas, particular portions, to be repeated only by the hermits of the forests, were styled Aranyakas, and to the Aranyakas were attached the treatises setting forth as a hidden wisdom the fictitious nature of the religion of rites, and the sole reality of the all-pervading and all-animating self, or Brahman. This hidden wisdom, the philosophy of the Upanishads, in contradistinction from the *Karmakanda*, or ritual portion, received the name of *Jnanakanda*, or knowledge portion of the Sruti, or everlasting salvation. There were now virtually two religions, the *Karmamarga* or path of rites, for the people of the villages, living as if life with its pleasures were real, and the *Jnanamarga*, or path of knowledge, for the sages that had quitted the world, and sought the quiet of the jungle, renouncing the false ends and empty fictions of common life, and intent upon reunion with the sole reality, the Self that is one in all things living."*

* Abridged from Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 7-17.

THE UPANISHADS.

Meaning of Title.—Sankara Acharya explains Upanishad as meaning the “setting to rest” (or destruction) of ignorance. “The term,” says Gough, “imports mystic teaching, and the synonymous term Vedanta means a final instalment of the Veda. The Upanishads are also called Vedantas, and the philosophy of the Upanishads, in its developed form is known as the Vedantic system.”

According to Professor Max Müller:

“All we can say for the present is that Upanishad, besides being the recognised title of certain philosophical treatises, occurs also in the sense of doctrine and of secret doctrine, and that it seems to have assumed this meaning from having been used originally in the sense of session or assembly in which one or more pupils receive instruction from a teacher.”*

Place among Hindu Sacred Books.—There are two great classes, *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*. The *Śruti*, the higher, means heard. It is equivalent to direct revelation, and is believed to have no human author. *Smṛiti*, ‘that which is remembered,’ though believed to be founded on direct revelation, is thought to have been delivered by human authors.

Śruti includes the three portions of the Vedas, viz. the *Mantras* or Hymns, the *Brahmanas*, directions about sacrifices, &c., and the *Upanishads*.

Smṛiti may be held to include all the other sacred books, the Darsanas, Dharma Sastras, Itihasas, Puranas, Tantras, &c.

The Upanishads, as stated above, belong to the *Śruti* class. The Chhândogya Upanishad gives the following account of its own origin: “Brahma told this to Prajapati, Prajapati to Manu (his son), and Manu to mankind.”

Number.—Weber, some years ago, reckoned the number of the Upanishads as 235; but some of them seem to have been quoted twice under different names. A later estimate makes them 170. New names, however, are being added to the list.

Max Müller says in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*:

“During the latter ages of Indian history, when none of the ancient Upanishads could be found to suit the purpose, the founders of new sects had no scruple and no difficulty in composing new Upanishads of their own. This accounts for the large and evergrowing number of these treatises. Every new collection of MSS., every new list of Upanishads given by native writers, adds to the number of those which were known before; and the most modern compilations seem now to enjoy the same authority as the really genuine treatises.” p. 317.

* Introduction to Translation, p. lxxxii.

Most of the Upanishads are small and unimportant. The two longest are the *Chhandogya*, attached to the Sama-Veda and the *Brihad-aranyaka* attached to the Satapatha-brahmana. Among others may be mentioned the *Isa*, attached to the White Yajur-Veda; the *Kena*, of the Sama-Veda, the *Katha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, *Mandukya*, of the Atharva-Veda, and the *Taittiriya*, of the Black Yajur-Veda. The *Svetasvatara*, attached to the Black Yajur-Veda, is considered one of the most modern of the Upanishads.

Date.—Max Müller says :

“Though it is easy to see that these Upanishads belong to very different periods of Indian thought, any attempt to fix their relative age seems to me for the present almost hopeless. No one can doubt that the Upanishads which have had a place assigned to them in the Samhitas, Brahmanas, and Aranyakas are the oldest. Next to these we can draw a line to include the Upanishads clearly referred to in the Vedanta-Sutras, or explained and quoted by Sankara, by Sayana, and other more modern commentators. We can distinguish Upanishads in prose from Upanishads in mixed prose and verse, and again Upanishads in archaic verse from Upanishads in regular and continuous anushtubh Slokas. We can also class them according to their subjects, and, at last, according to the sects to which they belong. But beyond this it is hardly safe to venture at present.”*

Sir Monier Williams considers some of the more ancient probably as old as the sixth century B. C.

Orthodox Hindus believe the Upanishads to be part of the Vedas; but their quotations from the Rig-Veda Samhita, as well as their language, prove them to belong to a much later age than that of the Rig-Veda.

Text, &c.—Several of the Upanishads, in the original Sanskrit, have been published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. Sankar Acharya, the great Hindu controversialist, who flourished about the eighth century of the Christian era, wrote commentaries on eleven of the Upanishads. There are also commentaries by other Hindu writers. About fifty of the Upanishads were translated into Persian for Prince Dara, brother of Aurangzeb. Rammohun Roy translated four of them into English. Drs. Rajendralal Mitra and Roer have translated others. The most recent English translation is by Max Müller, forming part of the *Sacred Books of the East*. But only a few of them have yet been translated or even printed. *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, by Mr. Gough, Principal of the Muir College, Allahabad, gives an admirable review, with copious extracts, of some of the most important of them.

“Liberation” the Aim of the Upanishads.—As already mentioned, in Vedic times a cheerful view was taken of life; but with the Upanishads, says Dr. Mitchell, “commences that great wail of

* Introduction to Translation, p. lxi.

sorrow which, for countless ages, has in India been rising up to heaven, and which, as time goes on, will deepen into the darkness of despair. In modern Europe the evils that still afflict both the individual and society have suggested the question—"Is life worth living?" If this be the case we cannot wonder that those ancient hermits were overwhelmed by the deep mysteries of existence and the manifold trials of life."*

The doctrine of transmigration, probably developed about the time of the Upanishads, had doubtless a great influence in producing this tone of sadness. Solomon, the richest and wisest king in ancient times, after trying every sensual pleasure, characterised all as "vanity and vexation of spirit." Buddha, the son of an Indian Raja, with similar experience, came to the same conclusion. His first "noble truth" is that "*existence is suffering.*" As a devout Buddhist counts his beads, he mutters *Anitya, Dukha, Anatta*, "Transience, Sorrow, Unreality." Life is a curse, and the great aim ought to be to get rid of it.

Hinduism has been powerfully affected by Buddhism. "Transmigration is the great bugbear, the terrible nightmare and daymare of Indian philosophers and metaphysicians. All their efforts are directed to getting rid of this oppressive scare. The question is not, What is truth? Nor as it the soul's desire to be released from the burden of sin. The one engrossing problem is, How is a man to break this iron chain of repeated existences? How is he to shake off all personality?"†

"Ask a Hindu," says Dr. Robson, what is the chief end of man's existence? and he will answer, Liberation (*mukti*). This is the answer which will be given alike by the peasant and the philosopher of any of the Schools. Ask him what he means by Liberation? and he will say that it is "to cut short the eighty-four."‡

"The Upanishads express the desire of the personal soul or spirit (*jiva* or *jivatman*) for deliverance from a long series of separate existences and from liability to pass through an infinite variety of bodies—gods, men, animals, plants, stones—and its longing for final union with the supreme soul or spirit of the Universe (*Atman* afterwards called *Brahman*)."

Max Müller, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, thus points out the object the Upanishads:

"To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness of all ritual performances, to condemn every sacrificial act which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward; to deny, if not the existence, at least the exceptional and exalted character of the Devas, and to teach that there

* Abridged from *Hinduism Past and Present*, pp. 49, 50.

† Sir Monier Williams.

‡ The 84 lakhs of births through which a person may pass.

§ *Religious Thought and Life in India*.

is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual Self recognizing the true and universal Self, and finding rest there, where alone rest can be found." p. 340, 341.

Way of Liberation.—How is liberation to be obtained? how are the 84 lakhs of births to be cut short? It is not to be gained by a virtuous life or by works of any kind. The following illustration is used, and with the Hindus an illustration has all the force of an argument:—

"We are bound to our existence by two chains, the one a golden chain and the other an iron chain. The golden chain is virtue, and the iron chain is vice. We perform virtuous actions and we must exist in order to receive their reward; we perform vicious actions, and we must exist in order to receive their punishment. The golden chain is pleasanter than the iron one, but both are fetters, and from both should we seek to free our spirit."

"We must seek a higher end—deliverance from pain and pleasure alike—and look for it by nobler means, by being free from works altogether. Knowledge is the instrument, meditation the means by which our spirit is to be freed. To avoid all contact with the world, to avoid distraction, to avoid works, and to meditate on the identity of the internal with the external spirit till their oneness be realised, is the 'way of salvation' prescribed by the higher Hinduism. Sankaracharya, one of the principal authorities, says: 'The recluse, pondering the teacher's words, "Thou art the Supreme Being," and receiving the text of the Vedas, "I am God," having thus in three several ways—by the teacher's precepts, by the Word of God, by his own contemplation—persuaded himself "I am God," obtains liberation. 'This is the Hindu philosophical answer to the question, 'What must I do to be saved?' It is called the 'way of knowledge,' and is said to be the highest and only infallible way; the other ways being supposed to conduce to it.'"

Character of the Upanishads.—The larger Upanishads contain dialogues and mythical stories; the shorter are more abstract and observe more order. "The images pressed into service are of the simplest order. The fire produced from the attrition of two pieces of wood, the spokes issuing from the nave of a wheel, the athlete running a race, cows suckling their calves, leaves attached to the branches and the stocks, a bowstring, an arrow let fly, a flaming fire, a rolling car, a bellowing ox, a drop of water on a lotus-leaf—such are the images which flit across our mind as we turn page after page of these ancient books. A favourite storehouse of figures is the beehive and the honey squeezed from it, which is now the best of gods, then the best of sacred writings, and anon the best of ceremonial observances."†

The gods of the Upanishads are those of the Vedas. Their number varies from three and three thousand to one, but as in the Rig-

* Robson's *Hinduism*, pp. 104, 109, 110.

† *Hindu Philosophy*, by Ram Chandra Bose, A. M.

Veda a partiality is shown to "thirty-three" or thrice eleven." These gods are invoked in the Upanishads. The Taittiriya begins : "May Mitra be auspicious to us, may Varuna be auspicious, may Indra, . . may the wide-striding Vishnu be auspicious to us."

The ceremonies referred to are Vedic. The Aswanedha, or horse sacrifice, is graphically described and referred to again and again. The Brihad Aranyaka thus sets forth its greatness :

"The dawn is verily the head of the sacrificial horse; the sun is the eye; the wind the breath; the fire, under the name Visvanara, the open mouth; the year, the body of the sacrificial horse; the heaven is the back; the atmosphere, the belly; the earth the footstool (hoof); the quarters, the sides; the seasons, the members; the months, the half months, the joints; day and night, the feet; the constellations, the bones; the sky, the muscles; the half-digested food, the sand; the rivers, arteries and veins; the liver and spleen, the mountains; the herbs and trees, the various kinds of hair. The sun as long as he rises, the forepart of the body; the sun as long as he descends, the hind part of the body. The lightning is like yawning; the shaking of the members is like the rolling of the thunder."

Mr. Bose adds : "Decency leads us to throw the veil over the concluding portion of this series of grotesque metaphors and similies."

The Soma-yajna, the Pasu-medha, or inferior animal sacrifices, and the great sacrifices, called Purusha-medha, or the sacrifice of the Lord of creatures, have also references.

"The most essential teaching of the Upanishads, is, and has been so understood by the great expounders of them from ancient times, that every thing is Brahma. That our *atma*, or soul, is itself Brahma and the highest worship according to them is self-worship, and that consists in meditating that my own self is Brahma, that it is every thing."*

The Manduka Upanishad says : "As from well-kindled fire thousands of sparks of the same nature are produced, so O meek one, from the Imperishable the creatures of various sorts spring forth, (and) into the same again they are resolved."

To give a better idea of an Upanishad, one of the principal of the shorter ones is quoted in full. It is the Isa, attached to the 40th chapter of the Vajasaneyya-samhita of the White Yajur Veda. Monier William says, "I was told by a great Pandit that this was the only Upanishad entitled to be called *apanurushya*, i. e., not written by men."

The translation is by Max Müller in the first volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*. The passages within brackets are inserted explanations :

1. All this, whatsoever moves on earth, is to be hidden in the Lord (the Self). When thou hast surrendered all this, then thou mayest enjoy. Do not covet the wealth of any man !

* *Theism and Christianity*, by Rev. Nehemiah Gorch.

2. Though a man may wish to live a hundred years, performing works, it will be thus with him; but not in any other way : work will thus not cling to a man.

3. There are the worlds of the Asuras covered with blind darkness. Those who have destroyed their self (who perform works, without having arrived at a knowledge of the true Self), go after death to those worlds.

4. That one (the Self), though never stirring, is swifter than thought. The Devas (senses) never reached it, it walked before them. Though standing still, it overtakes the others who are running. Mâtarisvan (the wind, the moving spirit) bestows powers on it.

5. It stirs and it stirs not; it is far, and likewise near. It is inside of all this, and it is outside of all this.

6. And he who beholds all beings in the Self, and the Self in all beings, he never turns away from it.

7. When to a man who understands, the Self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity?

8. He, (the Self) encircled all, bright, incorporeal, scatheless, without muscles, pure, untouched by evil; a seer, wise, omnipresent, self-existent, he disposed all things rightly for eternal years.

9. All who worship what is not real knowledge (good works), enter into blind darkness: those who delight in real knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

10. One thing, they say, is obtained from real knowledge; another, they say, from what is not knowledge. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this.

11. He who knows at the same time both knowledge and not-knowledge, overcomes death through not-knowledge, and obtains immortality through knowledge.

12. All who worship what is not the true cause, enter into blind darkness: those who delight in the true cause, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

13. One thing, they say, is obtained from (knowledge of) the cause; another, they say, from (knowledge of) what is not the cause. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this.

14. He who knows at the same time both the cause and the destruction (the perishable body), overcomes death by destruction (the perishable body), and obtains immortality through (knowledge of) the true cause.

15. The door of the True is covered with a golden disk. Open that, O Pushan, that we may see the nature of the True.

16. O Pushan, only seer, Yama (judge), Surya (Sun), Son of Prajapati, spread thy rays and gather them! The light which is thy fairest form, I see it., I am what He is (viz. the person in the Sun).

17. Breathe to air, and to the immortal! Then this my body ends in ashes. Om! Mind, remember! Remember thy deeds! Mind, remember! Remember thy deeds!

18. Agni, lead us on to wealth (beatitudo) by a good path, thou, O God, who knowest all things! Keep far from us crooked evil, and we shall offer thee the fullest praise! (Rv. I. 189, 1.)

Dr. Murray Mitchell says of the Upanishads :

"These are by no means either systematic or homogeneous. They have well been called 'guesses at truth; for they present no formal solution of great problems. They contradict one another; the same writer sometimes contradicts himself. They are often exceedingly obscure, and to Western minds repellent—vague, mystical, incomprehensible. A few rise to sublimity; others are nonsensical—'wild and whirling words,' and nothing more. Yet there is frequently earnestness—a groping after something felt to be needful; there is the yearning of hearts dissatisfied and empty. In this lies the value of the Upanishads."*

The Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit thus describes them :

"The Upanishads are usually in the form of dialogue; they are generally written in prose with occasional snatches of verse, but sometimes they are in verse altogether. They have no system or method; the authors are poets, who throw out their unconnected and often contradictory rhapsodies on the impulse of the moment, and have no thought of harmonizing to-day's feeling with those of yesterday or to-morrow. Through them all runs an unmistakeable spirit of Pantheism, often in its most offensive form, as avowedly overriding all moral considerations; and it is this which has produced the general impression that the religion of the Veda is monotheistic."†

The Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea says that some of the Upanishads contain "rather a large sprinkling of obscenities." Dr. Roer was obliged to translate nearly the whole of the concluding chapter of the Brihadaranyaka into Latin because of its gross indecencies. "It could not bear an English rendering."‡

THE SIX SCHOOLS OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

"The Upanishads contain the first attempts to comprehend the mysteries of existence; and their teachings cannot be gathered up into an harmonious system. But as time went on; a desire was felt to expand, classify, and arrange these earlier utterances—to make them more definite and more consistent. Hence gradually arose what we may call the official philosophy of India, which is comprised in a number of methodical treatises. These are generally called the six *Darsanas*, or 'exhibitions.'§ No doubt it was only by

* *Hinduism Past and Present*, p. 49.

† Quoted by Major Jacob, *Vedanta Sara*, p. 15.

‡ *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*, p. 321.

§ Or "Demonstrations of Truth." Sir Monier Williams.

degrees that they assumed their present elaborated shape, which cannot be much older than the Christian era.”* They consist of the following :—

1. The *Nyaya*, founded by Gotama.
2. The *Vaiseshika*, by Kanāda.
3. The *Sankhya*, by Kapila.
4. The *Yoga*, by Patanjali.
5. The *Mimamsa*, by Jaimini.
6. The *Vedānta* by Badarayana or Vyāsa.

The original text-books of the various systems consist of *Sutras*, which are held to be the basis of all subsequent teaching. The word properly signifies ‘a string.’ We may understand it to denote a string of rules, or rather aphorisms. “They are expressed with extreme conciseness—doubtless for the purpose of being committed to memory; and without a commentary they are exceedingly obscure.”

The date of the composition of these aphorisms cannot be settled with certainty. Nor is it possible to decide when the six schools were finally systematised, nor which of the six preceded the others.

The Darsanas belong to the division of Hindu books, called *Smṛiti*. They are therefore authoritative; but not to the same extent as the Vedas and Upanishads.

“It is usual to classify these systems in pairs, making three pairs in the order given above; but this arrangement is not satisfactory. The *Nyaya* and *Vaiseshika* may indeed go well enough together; and the *Sankhya* and *Yoga* may with some difficulty do the same; but the *Mimamsa* and *Vedānta* have very little in common. Their conjunction has arisen from the circumstance that the *Mimamsa* (otherwise called the *Purva* or earlier *Mimamsa*) deals with the ritual portion of the Vedas as explained in the *Brahmanas*; while the *Vedānta* or *Uttara* (later) *Mimamsa* seeks to unfold and apply the principles of the Upanishads; and thus, as each expounds a portion of what had come to be called the *Veda*, the two systems came to be bracketed together.”

“None of the six systems professedly attack, or deny, the authority of the Vedas: on the contrary, they all profess the profoundest reverence for the sacred books. It is difficult to see how the authors of some of the systems could do this with sincerity. Yet the Hindu mind has long surpassed all other minds in the ability to hold, or believe itself to hold, at the same time, two or more opinions which appear to be wholly irreconcilable: indeed an acknowledged note of the Hindu mind is ‘eclecticism issuing in confusion;’ it has been said to be ‘the very method of Hindu thought.’ But the contradictions among the philosophical systems were too glaring to escape the notice of men capable of reflection; and accordingly the author of one Darsana and his followers frequently attack the supporters of the others. Thus the great controversialist

* *Hinduism Past and Present*, by Dr Murray Mitchell.

Sankara denounces a follower of the Nyaya philosophy as a bullock minus the horns and tail—implying, we suppose, that he had all a bullock's stupidity without his power of fighting. The author of the Sankhya charges the followers of the Vedanta with 'babbling like children or madmen.' The Mimamsa accuses the Vedanta of being disguised Buddhism. The Padma Purana maintains that four of the six systems are simply atheism.

"But while thus radically opposed to each other, the six official systems of philosophy are all held to be orthodox."*

1. THE NYAYA.

Gotama, the founder of this system, is claimed to have been a Rishi, married to Abalya, the daughter of Brahma. She was seduced by Indra, who had to suffer in a way too indecent to be mentioned.

The word Nyaya signifies "going into a subject," taking it, is it were, to pieces. The system was intended to furnish a correct method of philosophical inquiry into *all the objects and subjects* of human knowledge, including, *amongst others*, the process of reasoning and laws of thought.

The different processes by which the mind arrives at true and accurate knowledge are four; viz.—*a. Pratyaksha*, 'perception by the senses'; *b. Anumana*, 'inference'; *c. Upamana*, 'comparison'; *d. Sabda*, 'verbal authority,' a 'trustworthy testimony,' including Vedic revelation.

'Inference' is divided into five *Arayas*, or 'members.' 1. The *pratijna*, or proposition. 2. The *hetu*, or reason. 3. The *udaharana*, or example. 4. The *upanaya*, or application of the reason. 5. The *nigamana*, or conclusion. The following is an example: 1. The hill is fiery; 2. for it smokes; 3. whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen-hearth; 4. this hill smokes; 5. therefore this hill is fiery.

The second topic of the Nyaya proper is *Prameya*, *i.e.*, the subjects of *Prana*, or the subjects about which right knowledge is to be obtained. These are twelve: viz. 1. Soul (*atman*). 2. Body (*sarira*). 3. Senses (*indriya*). 4. Objects of sense (*artha*). 5. Understanding or intellection (*buddhi*). 6. Mind (*manas*). 7. Activity (*pravritti*). 8. Faults (*dosha*). 9. Transmigration (*pretya-bhava*). 10. Consequences or fruits (*phala*). 11. Pain (*dukha*), 12. Emancipation (*apavarga*).

With regard to the fourteen other topics, they seem to be not so much philosophical categories as an enumeration of the regular stages through which a controversy is likely to pass.

There is first the state of *Samsaya*, or 'doubt about the point to be discussed.' Next, the *Prayojana*, or 'motive for discussing it.'

* Dr. Murray Mitchell, *Hinduism Past and Present*.

Next follows a *Drishtanta*, or, 'example' leading to the *Siddhanta*, or 'established conclusion.' Then comes an objector with his *Avayava*, or 'argument split up,' as we have seen, into five members. Next follows the *Tarka* or 'refutation,' (*reductio ad absurdum*) of his 'objection,' and the *Nirnaya*, or 'ascertainment of the true state of the case.' But this is not enough to satisfy a Hindu's passion for disputation. Every side of a question must be examined—every possible objection stated—and so a further *Vada*, or 'controversy' takes place, which of course leads to *Julpa*, 'mere wrangling,' followed by *Vitanda*, 'cavilling'; *Hetv-abhasa*, 'fallacious reasoning'; *Chhala*, 'quibbling artifices'; *Jati*, 'futile replies'; and *Nigraha-shtana*, 'the putting an end to all discussion,' by a demonstration of the objector's incapacity for argument.

After enumerating these sixteen topics, Gotama proceeds to show how false notions are at the root of all misery. For from false notions comes the fault of liking or disliking, or being indifferent to anything; from that fault proceeds activity; from this mistaken activity proceed actions, involving either merit or demerit, which merit or demerit forces a man to pass through repeated births for the sake of its rewards or punishment. From these births proceeds misery, and it is the aim of philosophy to correct the false notions at the root of this misery.*

The name *Iswara* occurs once in the *Sutras* of Gotama, the founder of the *Nyaya*, but they say nothing of moral attributes as belonging to God, nor is His government of the world recognized. Nor can the system be said to believe in creation, inasmuch as it holds matter to be composed of eternal atoms. Confluent atoms, in themselves uncreated, composed the world. Soul, or rather spirit, is represented as multitudinous, and (like atoms) eternal. It is distinct from mind.†

2. THE VAISESHIKA.

The *Vaiseshika* may be called a supplement of the *Nyaya*. It is attributed to a sage, nicknamed *Kanada* (atom-eater). Colebrooke explains *Vaiseshika* as meaning "particular," as dealing with "particulars" or sensible objects. It begins by arranging its inquiries under seven *Padarthas*, or certain general properties or attributes that may be predicated of existing things.

The *Vaiseshika Sutras* do not mention God. They go very fully into the doctrine of atoms—which, like the *Nyaya*, they declare to be uncaused and eternal. An atom is thus defined by *Kanada*: "Something existing, without a cause, without beginning and end. It is contrary to what has a measure." Atoms are so exceedingly

* Monier Williams.

† Dr. Murray Mitchell, *Hinduism Past and Present*.

small that it requires three of them to be perceptible like a mote in a sunbeam.

It is held that the living individual souls of men (*jivatman*) are eternal, manifold, and *diffused everywhere throughout space*; so that a man's soul is as much in England as in Calcutta, though it can only apprehend and feel and act where the body happens to be.

The Vaiseshika is dualistic in the sense of assuming the existence of *eternal atoms*, side by side either with *eternal souls*, or with the Supreme Soul of the universe.

The Vaiseshika Aphorisms of Kanada, with comments, have been translated by Mr. Gough, formerly Anglo-Sanskrit Professor in the 'Government College, Benares.*

3. THE SANKHYA.

The founder of this school is said to have been Kapila. In Gaudapada's commentary he is claimed to have been one of the seven Rishis, the "mind-born" sons of Brahma. Unlike the Nyaya, this is a *synthetic* system, as it were, placing things together. It is essentially dualistic. It holds that there are two primary eternal agencies. There is an eternally existing essence, called *Prakriti*, "that which produces or brings forth every thing else." This is sometimes, not very accurately, rendered by "*Nature*." "From the absence of a root in the root, the root of all things is rootless."

Prakriti is supposed to be made up of three principles, called *Gunas*, or cords, supposed to bind the soul. They are *Satva*, *Rajas*, *Tamas*; or Truth, Passion, and Darkness. These principles enter into all things; and on the relative quantity of each in any object depends the quality of the object.

Souls (*Purush*) are countless in number; individual, sensitive, eternal, unchangeable. All that is done by *Prakriti* is done on behalf of soul. In its own nature soul is without qualities, until united with *Prakriti*. The union of the two is compared to a lame man mounted on a blind man's shoulders; the pair are then both (as it were) capable of perception and movement.

Beginning from the original rootless germ *Prakriti*, the Sankhya counts up (*san-khyati*) synthetically (whence its name of 'synthetic enumeration') twenty-three other *Tattwas* or entities—all productions of the first, and evolving themselves spontaneously out of it, as cream out of milk, or milk out of a cow,—while it carefully distinguishes them all from a twenty-fifth, *Purusha*, the soul, which is wholly in its own nature destitute of *Gunas*, though liable to be bound by the *Gunas* of *Prakriti*.

* Published by Dr. J. Lazarus, Benares. Price 2s. 4.

The process is thus stated in the Sankhya-karika : "The root and substance of all things (except soul) is Prakriti. It is no production. Seven things produced by it are also producers. Thence come sixteen productions (*vikara*). Soul, the twenty-fifth essence, is neither a production nor producer."

According to the Sankhya system, the five grosser elements (*mahabhuta*) with their distinguishing properties and corresponding organs of sense are the following :

| | Distinguishing Property. | Organ of Sense. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>Akasa</i> , ether | Sound. | The Ear |
| 2. <i>Vayu</i> , air, | Tangibility | The Skin |
| 3. <i>Tejas</i> , fire, light, | Colour, | The Eye |
| 4. <i>Apas</i> , water | Taste | The Tongue |
| 5. <i>Prithivi</i> , earth | Smell | The Nose. |

In the Sankhya there is no place for God ; and accordingly it is known among Hindus by the name of Niriswara Sankhya, or *the Sankhya without the Lord*. Yet all the original text asserts is that this existence is "not proved." Kapila, then, was an agnostic rather than atheist.*

Notwithstanding those atheistical tendencies, the charge of unorthodoxy is evaded by a confession of faith in the Veda.

"It is remarkable that this singular Sankhya theory of the relationship between spirit and matter, involving as it does a strange jumble of physical and metaphysical subtleties, has always had peculiar charms for the Hindu mind. Not that the uneducated masses could make anything of the mysticism of a primordial eternal germ evolving out of itself twenty-three substances to form a visible world for the soul, described as apathetic, inactive, devoid of all qualities, and a mere indifferent spectator ; but that ordinary men are only too prone to accept any theory of the origin of the universe which makes the acts of the Creator harmonize with their own operations and the phenomena which surround them. Even the most illiterate Hindu, therefore, was well able to understand and adopt the idea of a universe proceeding from Prakriti and Purusha as from father and mother. Indeed the idea of a union between the female principle, regarded as an energy or capacity (*Sakti*), and the male principle, regarded as a generator, is of great antiquity in the Hindu system.

"In the Puranas and Tantras, Prakriti becomes the real mother of the universe, taking the form of female personifications, who are regarded as the wives or female energies and capacities (*Sakti*) of the principal male deities, to whom, on the other hand, the name

* An *agnostic* professes not to know whether there is a God ; an *atheist* denies his existence.

Purnusha, in the sense of the Supreme Soul, or primeval male, is sometimes applied.*

The Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila, with illustrative extracts from the commentaries, were translated by the late Dr. Ballantyne. (Trübner, 16s.)

4. THE YOGA.

The Yoga, founded by Patanjali, is often styled the Theistic Sankhya. It agrees in its general principles with the Sankhya proper, but claims greater orthodoxy by directly acknowledging the existence of God. The Supreme Being of the Yoga is a soul distinct from other souls, unaffected by the ills with which they are beset; unconcerned with good or bad deeds and their consequences, "a spirit unaffected by works, having for one of his appellations the mystical monosyllable Om." Practically he is a nonentity, introduced to satisfy popular feeling, prejudiced against the Sankhya as atheistic.

Indian philosophy makes salvation dependent upon right knowledge—that is the knowledge of the essential distinction between soul and non-soul. This right knowledge is generally supposed to be attainable only by the ascetic exercises prescribed in the Yoga Shastra.

The word *Yoga* means union. The great end of the Yoga is to obtain union with the Supreme Being. Patanjali defines Yoga as "the suppression of the functions of the thinking principle." The following are the exercises to be employed:—

1. *Yama*, restraint. 2. *Niyama*, religious observances. 3. *Asana*, postures. 4. *Pranayama*, regulation of the breath. 5. *Pratyahara*, restraint of the senses. 6. *Dharana*, fixed attention. 7. *Dhyana*, contemplation. 8. *Samadhi*, profound meditation.

All wandering thoughts are to be called on, and attention fixed on some one object. Any object will answer if it is thought of alone; other thoughts must be suppressed. At last there is profound meditation without any object.

Great importance is attached to *asana*, or postures. At an early period they were fixed as 84, but of this number ten are specially recommended. The following directions are given regarding some of them:

The Lotus Posture.—The right foot should be placed on the left thigh, and the left foot on the right thigh; the hands should be crossed, and the two great toes should be firmly held thereby; the chin should be bent down to the chest; and in this posture the eyes should be directed to the tip of the nose.

* Sir Monier Williams.

Gomukha, or Cow's Mouth Posture.—Put the right ankle on the left side of the chest, and similarly the left ankle on the right side.

Fowl Posture.—Having established the lotus posture, if the hand be passed between the thigh and the knees and placed on the earth so as to lift the body aloft, it will produce the fowl seat.

Bow Posture.—Hold the great toes with the hands and draw them to the ears as in drawing a bowstring.

The regulation of the breath, *pranayama*, is likewise of great importance. "The usual mode is after assuming the posture proscribed, to place the ring finger of the right hand on the left nostril, pressing it so as to close it, and to expire with the right, then to press the right nostril with the thumb, and to inspire through the left nostril, and then to close the two nostrils with the ring finger and the thumb, and to stop all breathing. The order is reversed in the next operation, and in the third act the first form is required."*

Marvellous powers are attributed to the man fully initiated in the Yoga. The past and present are unveiled to his gaze. He sees things invisible to others. He hears the sounds that are in distant worlds. He becomes stronger than the elephant, bolder than the lion, swifter than the wind. He mounts at pleasure into the air or dives into the depths of the earth and the ocean. He acquires mastery over all things, whether animated or inanimate.

To find Yogis possessed of such powers seems to have been one of the objects of Colonel Olcott in coming to India. He says in his addresses :

"I have met those who had seen the marvellous phenomena performed by ascetics, and amply corroborated all the stories we had heard and circulated through the Western press." (p. 13). He was not, however, successful in his search to find any of them. He thus describes some whom he saw : "A crowd of painted impostors who masquerade as *Sadhus* to cheat the charitable, and secretly give loose rein to their beastly nature." (p. 18+.)

Two gentlemen in South India each offered to give Rs. 500 to any Yogi who would raise himself in the air in an open space ; but no one has fulfilled the conditions.

The whole belief is a delusion. The brain is the organ of the mind. To enable it to act properly, it must have a good supply of pure blood. The blood is purified by fresh air entering into the lungs by breathing. From want of sufficient food and suppression of the breath, the blood of the Yogi is small in quantity and impure. The brain does not act properly. He may be in a dreamy condition or almost unconscious. Barth, a French writer, a distinguished

* Quoted by Mr. R. C. Bose from the translation of the Yoga Shashtra by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

Sanskrit scholar, says of the Yoga exercises: "Conscientiously observed, they can only issue in folly and idiocy."

5. MIMANSA.

This is sometimes called Purva-Mimansa, because founded on the Vedas. It is not a branch of any philosophical system; but rather one of Vedic interpretation, thrown into a kind of scientific form.

Jaimini, its founder, did not deny the existence of God, but practically he makes the Veda the only god. The Veda, he says, is itself authority, and has no need of an authorizer. *Dharma* consists in the performance of the rites and sacrifices prescribed in the Veda, because they are so prescribed, without reference to the will or approval of any personal god, for *Dharma* is itself the bestower of reward.

Jaimini asserts the absolute eternity of the Veda, and he declares that only eternally pre-existing objects are mentioned in it. Another doctrine maintained by him is that sound is eternal, or rather, that an eternal sound underlies all temporary sound.*

6. THE VEDANTA.

This system, though described last, has long been the chief philosophy of India. It is the truest exponent of the habits of thought of thoughtful Hindus. The outline of its pantheistic creed is traceable in the Rig-Veda, and it conforms more closely than any other system to the doctrines propounded in the Upanishads, on which treatises, indeed, as forming the end of the Veda, it professes to be founded.

Vyasa, or Badarayana, is said to be the founder of the Vedanta. He is commonly supposed also to have arranged the Vedas, to have compiled the Mahabharata, as well as to have written some of the Puranas. One theory is that there were several persons of the same name. The most probable explanation is that the writer, according to a common practice among the Hindus, claimed the celebrated name of Vyasa to gain more respect for his work. In South India, several books, quite modern, are attributed to the Rishi Agastya.

Vyasa is said to have composed the Sariraka Sutras, containing 555 aphorisms. They are very obscure, and numerous commentaries have been written upon them. The most celebrated is that of Sankar Acharya.

The first aphorism states the object of the whole system in one word, viz., *Brahma-jijnasa*, "The desire of knowing Brahm." In the second aphorism this Brahm is defined to mean "that from which the production of this universe results."

* Abridged from Monier Williams.

The *Vedānta Sār*, of much later date than the *Sariraka Sūtras*, is a good compendium of Vedāntic principles. There is a translation of it, with some valuable notes, by Major Jacob.

A Vedāntist's creed is comprised in the well-known formula of three words from the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (*ekam evadvitīyam*, one only without a second). This does not mean that there is no second God, but that there is no second anything. Rāmāmohun Roy and Keshab Chunder Sen understood it to mean monotheism, but it is pantheism.

The following are other statements: "Brahm* exists truly, the world falsely, the soul is only Brahm, and no other."† "All this universe indeed is Brahman; from him does it proceed; unto him is it dissolved; in him it breathes. So let every one adore him calmly."

Nothing really exists but the one impersonal spirit, called *Ātma*, or Brahm (*Puruṣa*). Hence the doctrine of the Vedānta is called *Advaita*, non-dualism. The *Sāṅkhya* has two—*Prakṛiti* and *Puruṣa*, and is therefore called *Dvaita*, dualism.

This eternal impersonal spirit is itself Existence, Knowledge, Joy (*sac-cid-ananda*). But this existence is without consciousness; a kind of dreamless sleep, the joy is only freedom from the miseries of transmigration. This pure Being is almost identical with pure Nothing.

When this impersonal unconscious Spirit assumes consciousness and personality—that is, when it begins to exist in any object, to think about any thing or be joyful about anything—it does so by associating itself with *Māyā*, the power of Illusion. It thus becomes the supreme personal God, *Paramesvara*. It is this personal God who, when he engages in the creation, preservation, and dissolution of the universe, is held to be dominated by one or other of the three *guṇas*, *rajas*, *satva*, *tanuṣ*.

According to Vedāntism, there are three kinds of existence. 1. True existence (*paramārthika*). Of this Brahm is the sole representative. 2. Practical (*vyaavahārika*). This includes *Isvara*, souls, heaven, hell, the world. Such objects are to be dealt with practically as if they were really what they appear to be. A man is practically a man; a beast, a beast. 3. Apparent existence (*pratibhāsika*). Among this class are things seen in dreams, a bright shell mistaken for silver, &c.

The Supreme Spirit is represented as ignoring himself by a sort of self-imposed ignorance, in order to draw out from himself, for his own amusement, the separate individual souls and various appearances, which, although really parts of his own essence, constitute the apparent phenomena of the universe. Hence the external world,

* Brahm is used instead of Brahma, neuter, to distinguish it from Brahmā, masculine.

† Brahma satyam Jagan mithya jiva Brahmaiva naapara.

individual souls, and even Isvara, the personal God, are all described as created by a power which the Vedantist is obliged for want of a better solution of his difficulty to call *Avidya*, generally translated 'Ignorance,' but perhaps better rendered by 'False knowledge,' or 'False notion.'

Avidya is possessed of two powers—*avarana*, envelopment (or concealing), which hides from the soul its identity with God, and *vikshepa*, projection, which causes the appearance of an external world.

Avidya is held to have an eternal existence equally with Brahm. It is the same as *Maya*, illusion.

By reason of *Avidya*, then, the Jivatman, or living soul of every individual, mistakes the world as well as its own body and mind for realities, just as a rope in a dark night might be mistaken for a snake. The moment the personal soul is set free from this self-imposed ignorance by a proper understanding of the truth through the Vedanta philosophy, all the illusion vanishes, and the identity of the Jivatman and of the whole phenomenal universe with the Paramatman, or Supreme Soul, is re-established. The "great sentence" is *Tat tvam asi*, "That (Brahm) art Thou," or *Aham Brahma*, "I am God." A man persuaded of this obtains *mukti*, or liberation.

The following illustration is used. The world is just like a dream. We fall asleep; we imagine things to be about us which are only the creations of the brain, but which have for us all the value of realities. We wake up, and find that they are all a delusion. So shall we one day wake up, and find that all the external universe has been but the play of our spirit.*

It is believed by many good authorities that there are two schools of Vedantists—an earlier and later. Major Jacob says, "The writers of the Upanishads, i.e., the Vedantists of the old school, were undoubtedly *parinamavadins*, or believers in the *reality* of the world of perception; and, with them, Brahma was not its substitute or illusory-material cause, but the material from which it was evolved or developed." The Munduka Upanishad says, "As a spider throws out and retracts (its web), as herbs spring up in the ground, and as hair is produced on the living person, so is the universe derived from the undecaying One." Professor Cowell says: "There can hardly be a question as to the fact that the original Vedanta of the earlier *Upanishads* and of the *Sutras* did not recognise the doctrine of *Maya*. The earliest school seems to have held Brahma to be the material cause of the world in a grosser sense."†

The idea of *Maya* was not fully developed till after the time of Buddha, about the sixth century B.C. Those who held it were

* Dr. Robson, *Modern Hinduism*.

† Quoted by Major Jacob, p. 8.

called *Mayavadins*, or Illusionists. Vedantism, in its maturity, is found in the *Vedanta Sar* and in a still later work, called *Vedanta Paribhasa*. Both are comparatively modern.

BHAGAVAD GITA.

The Bhagavad Gita, the Divine Song, is considered to represent the loftiest flights of Hindu philosophy and morality ; for beauty of style it is deemed incomparable. The sentiments expressed in it have undoubtedly exerted a powerful influence throughout India, for the last 1600 years.

At present only a general description will be given of the work. In a subsequent section its leading doctrines will be examined more in detail.

The real author of the Bhagavad Gita is unknown. It was inserted in the middle of the Mahabharata to give it more authority. The date of its composition is also uncertain ; but it is generally supposed to have been written in the second or third century of the Christian era. It is later than the six Darsanas, and Krishna, who elsewhere in the Mahabharata is little more than a human hero, is exalted as the Supreme Lord. There are several English translations in prose. The latest is by the Hon. K. T. Telang, in the *Sacred Book of the East*. There is also a poetical version by Edwin Arnold.

The book "consists of a dialogue between the warrior Arjuna, and the deity Krishna. The armies of the Pandavas and Kauravas were drawn up in battle array ; the war-shell had sounded ; and the deadly strife was about to commence when the tender-hearted Arjuna was overwhelmed with grief at the thought of imbruing his hands in the blood of men who, while opponents, were yet near relatives. His bow drops from his hand ; he weeps ; he cannot fight. The god Krishna, who has been acting as Arjuna's charioteer and giving him advice, here interposes with a rebuke of this faintheartedness, and denounces his reluctance to slay the foe as disgraceful, despicable weakness. And then, to prove his point, the deity plunges into the depths of metaphysical speculation, and at length reaches the conclusion,—'And therefore up ; on to battle, son of Bharata.'""

The great aim of the book is to harmonize the doctrines of the Yoga, the Sankhya, and the Vedanta, combining with them the doctrine of faith (*bhakti*) in Krishna, and of stern devotion to caste duties (*dharma*).

The poem is divided into three sections, each containing six chapters, the philosophical teaching in each being somewhat distinct.

The first section dwells chiefly on the benefits of the Yoga system, pointing out, however, that the asceticism and self-mortification of Yoga ought to be joined with action, and the performance of caste duties, and winding up with a declaration that the grand aim of all self-suppression is to attain that state which enables a man to annihilate his own individuality and see God in everything and everything in God.

In the second division the pantheistic doctrines of the Vedānta are more directly inculcated than in the other sections. Krishna here, in the plainest language, claims adoration as one with the great universal spirit, pervading and constituting the universe. He reveals himself to Arjuna as possessed of countless faces, countless mouths, countless eyes, and blazing like a thousand suns.

The third division aims particularly at interweaving Sāṅkhya Doctrines with Vedānta, though this is done, more or less throughout the whole work. It accepts the doctrine of a supreme presiding spirit as the first source of the universe, and asserts that both Prakṛiti and Puruṣa—that is the original eternal element and soul—both emanate from this Supreme Being. Moreover, it maintains the individuality of souls.

As a necessary result of its composite character, the work is, of course, full of contradictions.*

MINOR SCHOOLS.

The foregoing are the Six Darsanas, or recognised great systems of philosophy. Besides these, there are several minor schools. Both are described by Mādhava Āchārya in his *Sarva Darsana-Saṅgraha*, of which there is an English translation by Professors Cowell and Gough. The *Madras Christian College Magazine* (Vol. III. pp. 915-932) contains an account, by Mr. P. Chentisal Rao, of several systems, chiefly taken from the preceding work. It has also been used by Mr. R. C. Bose in his *Heterodox Philosophy*. Sir Monier Williams, in his *Religious Thought and Life in India*, gives some additional information. The following brief sketch of some of the Minor Schools is mainly compiled from the foregoing sources.

The Charvakas.

This sect is an ancient one which exercised no slight influence on Hindu philosophy, but it has now hardly any adherents. Nothing is known about Charvaka, the founder. The creed of the Charvakas is pure materialism. They reject all the *Pramāṇas* or sources of true knowledge except *Pratyakṣa*, 'perception by the senses'; they admit only four *Tattvas*, or 'eternal principles,' viz. earth, air,

* Abridged from Mopier Williams.

fire and water ; and from them intelligence (*caitaniya*) is alleged to be produced ; they affirm that the soul is not different from the body ; and lastly they assert that all the phenomena of the world are spontaneously produced without even the help of *adrishta*.*

"The system seems," says Dr. Murray Mitchell, "to have been marked by a light, sneering infidelity ; and it was probably in derision that the school was said to have been founded by Brihaspati, the *Guru* of the gods. 'The authors of the three Vedas were buffoons, knaves and demons'—such was the sweeping dictum of the Charvakas. Their morality seems to have amounted to this : 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'"

The Ramanuja, or Visishtadvaita School.

Ramanuja was born about the twelfth century at a town 26 miles west of Madras. He studied and taught at Conjeveram, and resided towards the end of his life in the great temple of Vishnu, at Srirangam, near Trichinopoly.

The distinctive point of his teaching was the assertion of the existence of three principles. 1. The Supreme Being. 2. Soul, and 3. Non-soul. Vishnu is the Supreme Being ; individual spirits are souls ; the visible world (*drisgam*) is non-soul. All three principles have an eternal existence from each other.

The soul is neither born nor dies, nor having been shall it again cease to be. It is atomic. "If the hundredth part of a hair be imagined to be divided a hundred times, the soul may be supposed a part of that, and yet it is capable of infinity." The Deity is the internal controller, who, abiding in the soul, rules the soul within.

At great periodical dissolutions of the Universe, human souls and the world are re-absorbed into God, but without losing their own separate identity.

Ramanuja's system is so indeterminate that it is charged with admitting the three ideas of unity, duality, and plurality. Unity was admitted by him in saying that all individual spirits and visible forms constitute the body of the one Supreme Spirit. This is called *Visishtadvaita*, 'qualified non-duality.' Duality was admitted in saying that the spirit of God and man are distinct. Plurality was admitted in saying that the Spirit of God, the spirit of man, which is multitudinous, and the visible world are distinct.

The Ramanujas, about 100 years ago, were divided into two parties, called the *Vadagalai* or Northern School, and the *Tengalai*, or Southern School. They are more opposed to each other than both parties are to Saivas. The northern school accept the Sanskrit

* Monier Williams.

Veda. The southern have compiled a Veda of their own called, The Four Thousand Verses (*Nalayira*), written in Tamil.

An important difference of doctrine, caused by different views of the nature of the soul's dependence on Vishnu, separates the two parties. The view taken by the Vadagalais is called the 'monkey theory.' The soul, say they, lays hold of the Supreme Being by its own free will, act, and effort, just as the young monkey clings to its mother. The Tenganais hold what is called the 'cat-hold theory.' The human soul remains helpless until acted on by the Supreme Being, just as the kitten remains helpless until transported by the mother cat.

The two sects are distinguished by different marks on the forehead, to which they attach great importance. Both are noted for the strict privacy with which they eat and even prepare their meals.

The Madhava or Purna-pragna Sect.

Madhava, also called Ananda-tirtha, was a Canarese Brahman, born about the beginning of the 13th century. Wilson supposes him to have been the brother of Sayana, the great commentator on the Veda; but Burnell considers that the two names represent the same person.

His doctrine is commonly called *Dvaita*, Duality, and is well known for the intensity of its opposition to the Advaita doctrines. The system is much the same as that of Ramanuja. Sir Monier Williams says: "I repeatedly questioned some of the more intelligent followers of Madhava I met in the South of India as to the exact distinction between his views and those of Ramanuja, but no one was able to give me any very satisfactory reply."

Vishnu is held to be the one eternal supreme Being, all other gods being subject to the law of universal periodical dissolution. "Brahma, Siva, and the greatest of the gods decay with the decay of their bodies; greater than these is the undecaying Hari."

Great efficacy is attached to branding the body with the circular discus and shell of Vishnu. It is considered almost a passport to heaven.

The sectarian mark, representing the foot of Vishnu, has a strip of black in the middle.

The Saiva Darsana.

"With regard to Saiva philosophical doctrines it should be observed that, like those of the Vaishnava sect, they deviate more or less from the orthodox Vedanta doctrine of the identity of the Supreme and human spirit, the amount of deviation depending of course on the intensity of the personality attributed to Siva.

"A particular system, which may be called the Saiva-darsana *par excellence*, came into vogue in India about the tenth or eleventh century. It was handed down in 28 books, called *Agamas*, almost all of which are lost. This philosophy is followed by a sect in the South of India, and is wholly opposed to the non-duality of the Vedānta. Its founder, like Ramanuja, taught that three entities have a separate existence. 1. The Lord (Siva) called Pasupati. 'lord of the Soul' (Pasu). 2. The Soul called Pasu, 'an animal.' 3. Matter called Pasa. 'a fetter.' The soul which belongs to the Lord as to a master, is bound by matter as a beast (pasu) is by a fetter; and of course the great aim of the Saiva philosophy is to set it free and restore it to its rightful owner. These doctrines have evidently much in common with the theistic Sankhya."*

The soul is non-atomic, all pervading, and eternal, unlimited in its nature by space or time. Souls transmigrate according to their actions.

Matter is eternal, although its connection with any particular soul is temporary.

The "four feet" by which the liberation of the soul is obtained are 1. *Jnana*, knowledge. 2. *Kriya*, ceremonial action. 3. *Yoga*, meditation. 4. *Charya*, practical duty.

In Tamil, these are called *Gnanam*, *Yogam*, *Kirikei*, *Sarithei*. *Sarithei* results in the heaven called *Salokam* i. e., the state of being with God; *Kirikei* ends in *Samipam*, nearness to God; *Yogam* conducts to *Sarupam*, the state of being in the image of God; *Gnanam* leads to *Sayuchchiyam*, the state of union with God.

The Pasupata Sect.

The founder of this system was Nakulisa. Instead of affirming the separate existence of three entities, it is content to distinguish between two—Pati and Pasu. The former (Pati) is the Lord (Ishvara), the cause and creator (*Karta*) of all things; the latter is the effect (*Karya*) or that which is created, and is wholly dependent on the cause.

This system has strange religious rites. Some of them are the following: Bathing with sand, lying upon sand; ejaculating *hum* like the bellowing of a bull, snoring as if asleep when awake, trembling as if from an attack of rheumatism, limping as if the legs were disabled, dancing, talking nonsensically, &c.

The Raseswara or Mercurial System.

This is also a branch of the Saiva system. It contends that we should make our bodies strong and permanent, as liberation results

* *Religious Thought and Life in India*, pp. 88. 89.

from knowledge, knowledge from study, and study is only possible in a healthy body. This healthy body can be secured by the aid of mercury, which must be first applied to the blood and then to the body. After the acquisition of a divine body by means of mercury, the light of pure intelligence shines forth, and the aspirant obtains liberation from the enveloping illusion, and attains the absolute.

The Panini Darsana.

Panini was the great Hindu grammarian. To retain the reciting of the Vedic hymns to themselves, the Brahmans taught that the mispronunciation of a single word brought down the anger of the gods. Prosperity is held to arise from the employment of a correct word. The wise have called Grammar the first *anga* of the Veda. Exposition of words is the means to final bliss.

The Vallabhacharis and Saktis were noticed under "Popular Hinduism."

FUNDAMENTAL ERROR OF HINDUISM.

This may be best expressed in the words from the Bible on the title page: "THOU THOUGHTEST THAT I (GOD) WAS ALTOGETHER SUCH AN ONE AS THYSELF."

For the present, only the general statement is made; it will hereafter be considered in detail. The meaning is that Hindus suppose that what man cannot do, God cannot do; what man likes, God likes.

It may be said that the whole of Hinduism, both popular and philosophic, rests on this foundation. It is a basis of sand, involving the overthrow of what is reared on it.

The reader is now invited to a calm consideration of the principal tenets of the systems which have been briefly described.

DOCTRINES OF PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.

Gov.

There are three leading opinions about God: 1. *Monotheism*, Belief in the existence of one God only, the Creator of all things. This is held by Christians and Muhammadans. 2. *Polytheism*, Belief in the existence of many gods. This prevails generally throughout the uncivilized nations of the world. 3. *Pantheism*, Belief that all that exists is God. This is held by so-called learned Hindus. The people generally combine it with polytheism.

Disbelievers are of two classes. An *atheist* is one who denies the existence of any god. An *agnostic* professes not to know whether there is a God or not, and, as a rule, does not care.

It has been mentioned that Kapila's system is known among Hindus as *Niriswara Sankhya*, the Sankhya without the Lord. Some others, although they acknowledge God, are virtually atheistic.

There are many passages in Hindu writings which seem to teach monotheism. The unity of God is the key-note of the faith of the modern Hindu. Not only the learned, but the most ignorant among the people are agreed in this. One may go into any village, where on every side he will see the grossest idolatry, and ask the first man that he meets, how many gods there are, and he will have but one answer: 'There is only one God.' The Vedantic formula is ever on the lips of those who know no other Sanskrit, *Ekam brahma dvitīyanastī*, 'Brahma is one; there is no second.' This formula, however, expresses *pantheism*—not *monotheism*. Brahma is one because he is all, and all that really is, is Brahma.* This is clear from the Chhandogya Upanishad: *Sarvam khalcidam Brahma*, All this (universe) is Brahma. The objections to pantheism will be noticed hereafter.

God's Attributes.—The Supreme Being, in his ordinary condition, is represented as *nirguna*, unfettered by action. He is said to be *sat*, *cit*, *ananda*. Brahm is pure unconscious existence (*sat*); he is pure Thought (*cit*) with nothing to think about; he is pure joy (*ananda*) with nothing to be joyful about, and only in the sense of being free from the miseries of transmigration.

Hindu books contain some sublime descriptions of the natural attributes of God—that He is infinite, eternal, unchangeable, &c.; but these qualities are often understood in an imperfect sense. Though God is represented as *sarvasakti*, almighty, as it will hereafter be shown, He cannot *create* anything, that is, call it into existence out of nothing. God is often called *dayalu*, merciful, but the Rev. N. Goreh thus proves that, according to Hinduism, it cannot be applied to God:—

"What do you understand by *daya*, mercy? Is it not doing good to some one without his meriting it? But it is a fundamental principle of all schools of religion among the Hindus that every thing that God does to souls He does with reference to their good and evil deeds only, in order that they may receive reward for good deeds, and punishment for their evil deeds, and He never does anything irrespectively of the good and evil deeds of the soul. The familiar expression '*Kritānakṛitābhyaḡamaprasaṅgaḡ*' is used to express this very fundamental principle of the Hindu religion. It means that if a soul should not obtain what he has merited, and should get what he has not merited, 'there, would

* Dr. Kellogg.

ensure the effacement of what is done, and the accession of what is not done.' ”*

Brahm, in his *nirguna* condition, is supposed to be like a Hindu Raja who spends his life or sloth within his palace, heedless of what is going on throughout his dominions, and leaving everything to his ministers.

“Unencumbered by the cares of empire,” says Dr. Duff, “or the functions of a superintending providence, he effectuates no good, inflicts no evil, suffers no pain. He exists in a state of undisturbed repose—a sleep so deep as never to be disturbed by a dream—even without any consciousness of his own existence.” A celebrated German philosopher says that “Pure being equals nothing.” Brahm, as *nirguna*, is a nonentity.

But Brahm does not always continue in this state of dreamless repose. After the lapse of unnumbered ages, he awakes. Becoming conscious of his own existence, and dissatisfied with his own solitariness, a desire for duality arises in his mind. Though himself devoid of form, he, in sport, imagines a form. How desire arises in this unconscious being is a question which never has been answered.

It is asserted that Brahm is *nirvikara*, incapable of change. How is this statement consistent with the other statement that he exists alternately in a *saguna* and a *nirguna* state? How can he who is essentially immutable become sometimes void of qualities and sometimes endued with qualities? The Vedantic writings say that the quality of *rajas* (passion) produces a longing for worldly pleasure, and the quality of *tamas* (darkness) is the effect of ignorance. How can he who is beyond the region of the senses and who is incapable of sensual pleasures, assume the quality of *rajas*? And how can he, who is eternal light itself, become endued with the quality of *tamas*, that is, darkness? And if Brahm becomes possessed of *tamas*, then does He become sinful, yea the author of sin itself—an idea contrary to right reason.†

The *nirguna* Brahm is a being without mercy or love. He neither sees, nor hears, nor knows, nor cares about any of his creatures; he has neither the power nor the will to do good or evil—to reward the righteous or punish the wicked. It is useless to present a petition which is not read; it is as vain to worship a being represented as in a state of unconscious slumber. Hence, throughout the whole of India, there is not a single temple dedicated to Brahm.

The God of the Bible is, in many respects, a perfect contrast to Brahm. He has, indeed, existed from all eternity. “From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God.” But He is never

* *Theism and Christianity*, pp. 13-15. † Rev. Lal Behari Day on Vedantism.

unconscious; He never slumbers nor sleeps. The care of the universe which He called into existence is no burden to Him. "The Creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not neither is weary." He knows every thing that takes place throughout His vast dominions. . Not a hair of our head can fall to the ground without His knowledge; every thought of our heart is known to Him. His ear is ever open to the cry of His children. With regard to His attributes, He thus makes Himself known: "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty."

His most glorious attribute is His spotless holiness. Sin is that abominable thing which He hates. "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts." Instead of exhibiting, like Brahm, an example of selfishness, He is continually doing good to His creatures: His character is expressed in one word—God is LOVE. Still, it is not the feeling which looks upon good and evil with equal eye. If a king allowed crime to be unpunished, his kingdom would become like a hell. But God's own declaration is, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his evil way and live."

The Bible emphatically teaches monotheism. There is one God, and there is none other but He. The supposed 33 crores of gods and goddesses have no existence.

CREATION.

According to Hinduism, there is no creation in the strict sense of the word. This is the result of that fixed dogma of a Hindu philosopher's belief—*navastuno vastusiddhik*, nothing can be produced out of nothing.

The Rev. Nehemiah Goreh thus states the case:—

"By the word, Creator, Christians as well as Theists mean one who gave being to things which had no being before, or according to the phrase used in Christian Theology, created things out of nothing. In this sense no sect of religion or school of philosophy among the Hindus believes God to have created anything.

"And here I wish to say that such of our countrymen as have been educated in English schools and colleges, and are not familiar with the true tenets of Hinduism are apt to be misled by certain words and phrases used in the religious books of our country. They are apt to think that those words and phrases were used by the authors of those books and are understood by Orthodox Hindus, in the same sense which they themselves attach to them, having acquired more enlightened notions of religious truths by coming in contact with Christianity, and then to

think that those very notions are taught in those books. For instance it is stated in those books that God is *Sarva-karta*, that is, maker of all. Yet it would be a great mistake to think that they teach that God is the *Creator* of all things. It is a fixed principle with the teachers of all the schools of philosophy in our country (and remember that with the Hindus philosophy is religion and religion is philosophy) that every *Karya*, that is, effect, must have a *Samavayi* or *Upadana Karana*, that is, a cause out of which an effect is produced or formed, such as clay is to an earthen pot. It may be translated by the English word 'material cause' in some cases, though not in all. Therefore the world could not be created out of nothing. According to the Hindus' belief the world has an *Upadana Karana*, or a material cause, and that material cause is uncreated, self-existing, and eternal like God Himself. According to the Nyaya School, the *paramanus*, or atoms of earth, water, fire, and air, which are infinite in number, are the material cause of the visible and tangible parts of this universe, and are themselves self-existent and eternal. Moreover *Akasa*, time, space, souls, not only of men, but also of gods, animals, and plants and *manus*, the internal organs which together with souls are infinite in number, are all uncreated, self-existent, and eternal. Very little indeed have they left for God to do. He only frames, with these self-existent substances the world. According to the Sankhya system *prakriti* is the material cause of the universe, and it is of course self-existent and eternal.

"Even the false god of the Vedantists, the maker of the false world, is only a framer of it like the God of the Nyaya, and not a *Creator*, *Maya* being the *Upadana Karana*, or material cause of it. From this *Maya*, though false yet eternal, the whole universe is evolved, as according to the Sankhya it is evolved from their eternal *prakriti*."*

It has been stated that the fundamental error of Hinduism is to judge God by our own standard. A carpenter cannot work without materials; in like manner it is supposed that God must have formed all things from eternally existing matter. The fallacy of this is thus shown by the late Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjee :

"That no man can work without materials is denied by none, simply because man is not omnipotent, and has not creative power. But when one looks at an exquisite production of art, he is so lost in admiration at the skill of the artist, that he almost forgets the minor question of the material. And yet so banefully has the theory of material causality worked among us that the mental energy of our philosophers has found most active exercise not in the exclamation, How wonderful is the arrangement of the universe! but in the interrogation, Of what pre-existing substance is all this made? Nay they have been so lost in that question, as to forget that a Creator of infinite power and perfection needs not, like weak and imperfect man, to stop for materials, but can make materials by the mere fiat of His will. If the natural instincts of the human soul lead us to believe in the existence of an all-powerful and perfect Being, if the irresistible arguments of the Vedanta itself drive us to the conclu-

sion that the universe was created by a God, infinite in wisdom and contrivance; then there can be no possible necessity for speculating on the *material* of the world: then the most philosophical course is to consider the object originally created by such a God as at once the *matter and form* of the world. To assume the eternity of some gross material, existing side by side with an intelligent and all-perfect God, is not only unnecessary (and therefore unphilosophical,) inasmuch as it assumes two principles, where one is amply sufficient to account for all we see; but it is inconsistent with the idea of perfection which we must attribute to the Deity. If he had some material to work upon, previously existing independent of Him, then there was nothing peculiar in His agency; then it was of the same species as that of a human architect; then he was our creator in no higher sense than that in which a potter is the maker of a jar. The Vedantist, on the other hand, placed himself in a false position, by seeking in a spiritual essence, the substance of such a world consisting of pure and impure, intelligent and unintelligent, rational and irrational, animated and inanimated creatures.”*

“Ye do err, not knowing the power of God,” applies to Hindus as well as those to whom the words were addressed by the Great Teacher.

Whether is it more rational to suppose the eternal existence of one Being, infinite in power and wisdom, or to imagine that innumerable unintelligent atoms and spirits existed from all eternity? Besides the latter, an eternal, intelligent Arranger is also required.

ADRIшта, OR KARMA.

As Hindus deny the *creation* of the world in the strict sense of the word, so they deny its *government* by God. All things are supposed to be determined by “an irresistible power, very significantly called *Adrishta*, because felt and not seen. Hence the soul has to bear the consequences of its own actions only, being tossed hither and thither by a force set in motion by itself, but which can never be guarded against, because its operation depends on deeds committed in former lives quite beyond control, and even unremembered.” “It stands for fate, merit or demerit founded on works of a previous state of existence; destiny, necessity; disposition which depends on or is derived from one’s own acts in a previous life.”†

Karma comes from *kri*, to do; it means ‘deeds’ or ‘actions.’ According to *Karma*, every action must bring forth its legitimate result. As Sankaracharya says, even God cannot alter it any more than He can produce rice out of wheat seed.

Dr. Kellogg thus explains the doctrine:—

“All Hindu thinkers agree that the whole universe, material and spiritual, and all that takes place in it, is the effect of actions done by

* *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 134, 136. † *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*.

souls as its meritorious cause. That is to say, for example, I myself in a former state of existence, whether as man, demigod, demon or beast, performed certain actions, good or bad; and of whatsoever sort they were, they made it necessary for me to be born just when and where and as I have been, and live just the life that I have, in order to reap the fruit of those actions in reward or retribution. Thus this life, with all that is in it, all my perceptions, feelings and actions, my joys and my sorrows, wealth and poverty, sickness and health, my right deeds and my crimes alike, like a given fruit from a given seed, are the necessary and inevitable result of actions performed in a former state of being of which it is not pretended that ordinary men have or can have the slightest recollection. And herein we have the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, together with its philosophical justification.

"This seems to the Hindu the one adequate explanation of the universe, and above all, of the so unequal distribution of happiness and misery. For, inconsistent though it may be with his pantheism, the Hindu still has a conscience, and feels that sin and suffering, and especially the suffering of the innocent, must be accounted for. If an infant agonize in pain the Hindu considers it arises from some great sin committed in a former life. So, on the other hand, if that reprobate prosper in the world, this is thought to be just as plainly the reward of meritorious deeds performed in a former state of being. Thus the inequality of life, and, above all, the sufferings of the innocent, seem to the Hindu to demand the doctrine of *karm* as their only adequate explanation."*

There is no doubt that the unequal distribution of happiness in this world is a great problem which has exercised the minds of thinking men from the dawn of philosophy. The theory of *Karma* has been accepted both by Hindus and Buddhists as the only explanation. On inquiry, however, it will be seen that it is attended with insuperable difficulties.

Adrishta, or *karma*, is supposed to be endowed with most wonderful influence and qualities. As a judge, its decisions are marked by unerring wisdom, and its awards are inevitably carried out to the letter. They may stated more in detail as follows:—

1. *It is most wise.*—A judge of the High Court, able to sentence a man to death, needs great wisdom; how much more is this necessary when the award may be heaven or hell for unnumbered ages?

2. *It is inflexibly just.*—A judge may be wise, but he may be partial. Not so with *karma*. It renders to every one exactly according to his deserts.

3. *Its power extends to all worlds.*—Through it a person is born in one of 84 lakhs of births in this world, in the world of the gods, or in one of the hells.

4. *It extends to all time.*—Its memory never fails. A man may be in the enjoyment of happiness for millions of years on account of

* Quoted in *Indian Evangelical Review*, April, 1865.

some supposed merit, but at the end of that period he may be born in the lowest hell for some crime in a former birth.

5. *It is unalterable.*—The highest gods have no power to avert its effects ; they are themselves subject to *adrishta*.

6. *Its object is good.*—To punish vice and reward virtue, is an aim of the noblest kind.

What is it that Hindus suppose to possess these high attributes ? A mere name, something that has no existence. What power is there in an action itself to reward or punish millions of years after it was performed ?

As a rule, there must be some one to give the rewards or punishments due to men's actions. Thus a man is engaged to do a certain work for which he is to receive wages. The work done is the man's *karma*: the wages to be received is the *phala* or fruit. But how is he to receive this *phala* ? Is it to be received from the *karma* ? No. • It must be given by some one able and willing to bestow it. Suppose a thief steals many thousand rupees, will he be punished without the intervention of other persons ? Were any person to say that for the purpose of punishing the criminal no judge is necessary, that by demerit of the crime the man would be flogged without any one flogging him, would any person of common sense believe him ? And if such an assertion cannot be received as true respecting the affairs of this world, can similar assertions be received as true respecting the other world ?

If, instead of *karma*, we read God, all becomes plain. He is eternal, His sway extends over all worlds. He possesses all power, omniscience, justice and goodness. But to ascribe such attributes to a mere word is folly. A living intelligent Being is required.

The Rev. Dr. K. M. Bauerjens states other objections to the doctrine of *karma*, of which an abstract is given below :—

Inequalities of Happiness less than is supposed.—Inequalities of birth do not necessarily imply a disproportion of happiness or misery. How often do we find the high-born man in greater misery than the low born ! A Persian poet has well said, ' While a poor man has only to seek a morsel for himself, and when he has got that, sleeps as soundly as if he were an emperor, a prince is troubled with the concerns of the whole world.'

Happiness or Misery is often traceable to conduct in this life.—Our success in business is much dependent on ourselves. You will frequently find that the man whom the world calls fortunate has made a better use of his time, his talents, and his abilities than he who has proved unfortunate. The fortunate man has perhaps been industrious, attentive, honest, courteous ; the unfortunate, on the contrary, may have been inactive, lazy, imprudent, dishonest, ill-mannered, or rash.

The facts brought forward to prove a prior existence may be, in a

great measure, accounted for by differences observable in the world itself, in the actions of men.

It is not necessary for any to blame destiny, after the fashion of the ignorant, for what his *own* acts bring on himself; neither is it philosophical to seek an *unseen* cause in *adrishta*, where there are visible causes before you to explain the mystery.

We may look forward as well as backward.—It is granted that all the inequalities in life cannot be explained in the preceding way. This only shows that we cannot consider this as our *only* stage of life. It forces us to look forward to another. It does not however necessarily force our eyes *backward* to a previous state. There is another theory more satisfactory, that this is a state of probation and trial preparatory to another and a better world. Probation itself demands difficulties. Gold cannot be tried without being placed in the heated crucible. A child is not trained for the purposes of life without passing through the ordeal of a school.

Karma does not explain the origin of things.—Inequalities in life are said to be the results of peculiar habits and works in a previous state of existence. This only removes the difficulty one single step, for the question will recur, *Whence those peculiar habits and works*,—and, whence the inequalities *in that life*? Thus Hindus were compelled to fly from stage to stage, until they were forced to declare that the world was never created—that it is without beginning, that it is eternal. And that which is eternal is, in their conception, not dependent on a cause. How can such men consistently find fault with the Charvakas, who deny the necessity of an intelligent First Cause, when they themselves pronounce the world to be without a beginning? The theory involves difficulties far greater than those it is intended to remove.

Before there could be merit or demerit, beings must have existed and acted. The first in order could no more have been produced by *karma* than a hen could be horn from her own egg.

Evil Effects of a belief in karma.—Suppose a child should be taught that he cannot possibly behave otherwise than he does, that he is not a subject of blame or commendation, nor can deserve to be rewarded or punished. The child would doubtless be highly delighted to find himself freed from the restraints of fear and shame, with which his play-fellows were fettered; and highly conceited in his superior knowledge so far beyond his years. But conceit and vanity would be the least bad part of the influence which these principles must have, when thus reasoned and acted upon, during the course of his education. He must either be allowed to go on and be the plague of all about him, and himself too, even to his own destruction: or else correction must be continually made use of, to supply the want of those natural perceptions of blame and commendation which we have supposed to

be removed; and to give him a practical impression of what he had reasoned himself out of the belief of, that he was in fact an accountable child, and to be punished for doing what he was forbid.*

The pernicious effects of a belief in *Karma* are thus further shown by Dr. Kellogg :—

“Even when, over-constrained by the testimony of conscience, the Hindu will speak as if moral good and evil were to be rewarded and punished by a personal God, still that doctrine of *Karm* remains, and is no less fatal to the idea of responsibility. For if I am not free, if all my actions are determined by a law of physical necessity entirely beyond my control, then assuredly I am not responsible for them. Let it be observed again that these are not merely logical consequences attached to the system by an antagonist which the people will refuse to admit. The Hindus themselves, both in their authoritative books and in their common talk, argue that very conclusion. In the Puranas again and again those guilty of the most flagitious crimes are comforted by Krishna, for example, on this express ground, that whereas all was fixed by their *Karm*, and man therefore has no power over that which is to be, therefore in the crime they were guilty of no fault. And so among the people, one wearies of hearing this constant excuse for almost every thing which ought not to be, ‘What can we do? It was our *Karm*.’”†

Thus even condemned murderers often view their crimes with stolid indifference.

God, the Ruler of the Universe.—It has been shown how absurd it is to suppose that a mere word can act the part of the wisest judge in millions of cases every day as is alleged to be done by *Karma*. On the other hand, all is agreeable to reason if, instead of *Karma*, we take God. He is eternal, the Creator of all things, having all power, inflexibly just, wise, and merciful. It is most fitting that He, the Lord of all, should be the Judge. This is what Christianity declares. His “dominion is an everlasting dominion and His kingdom is from generation to generation;” “He is Governor among the nations.” He knows every thing. A holy man of old said: “Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising, Thou understandest my thoughts afar off. Thou compassest my path and lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Lord, Thou knowest it altogether.” “Every one of us shall give an account of himself to God.” “God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.” God “will render to every man according to his works.”

Besides a judge to decide, an agency is necessary to carry out the sentence. While *Karma* has no power to do this, God is

* *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy.* † *Indian Evangelical Review*, April, 1885.

omnipotent; His power extends through all time and to every portion of the universe.

Hinduism denies free agency either on the part of God or man; Christianity affirms it in both. If we sin, it is our own fault.

MAN.

The Body.—The ancient Hindus thought that a man was rendered impure by touching a dead body. Hence they did not dissect and examine it minutely as is done in modern Medical Colleges. The writers of the Upanishads simply framed an imaginary body out of their own heads, and, to impose upon the ignorant, said that it had been revealed by Brahma.

The following assertion is made in the Chhandogya Upanishad:—

“There are a hundred and one arteries of the heart, one of these penetrates the crown of the head; moving upwards by it a man reaches the immortals; the others serve for departing in different directions, yea, in different directions.”

In the Taaittiriya Upanishad there is the further account: “There arise the hundred and one principal arteries; each of them is a hundred times divided; 72,000 are the branches of every branch artery; within them moves the circulating air.” According to this calculation, the number of arteries in the human body is 727,200,000!

When the soul proceeds to Brahma, it ascends by the coronal artery, *sushumna*, which springs from the upper part of the heart and goes to the top of the head. This is called the door of rejoicing. When the soul goes out to some other body it proceeds by the other arteries.

Hindu philosophers agree that mind (*manas*) is distinct from spirit or soul. Mind is not eternal in the same way. The spirit cannot exercise perception, consciousness, thought or will, unless joined to mind and invested with a bodily covering or vehicle. The spirit while impersonal is unconscious. When it assumes consciousness and personality—that is, when it begins to exist in any object, to think about anything, or to be joyful about anything—it does so, according to Vedantism, by associating itself with the power of Illusion (*Maya*), and investing itself with three corporeal envelopes.

First the causal body (*Karana sarira*), identified with *Ajnana* or Ignorance. It is also identified with *Maya*. It is therefore no real body. The second is the subtle body (*Linga sarira*) which encloses a portion of the universal spirit in a kind of thin envelope, constituting it a living individual personal soul (*Jivatman*), and carrying it through all its bodily migrations till its final reunion with its source. Third, the gross body (*Sthula sarira*) which surround the spirit's subtle vehicle and is of various forms in the

various stages and conditions of existence through animate or inanimate life.*

The Soul.—Hindu speculations regarding the soul differ in several respects. On one point, however, they are nearly unanimous, that the soul is not created by God but eternal, *śaśambhu*, self-existent.

The Kathavalli says: "The wise one (that is the soul) is not born nor does he die; he has not come into existence from any cause, nor has any one (as something distinct from him) come into existence from him. He is unborn, eternal, permanent, the ancient; he is not killed when the body is killed."† In like manner the Bhagavad Gita says that the soul is "neither born at any time nor does it die."

On other points there are differences.

The Vaiseshika school maintains that the soul is diffused everywhere through space. "Ether, in consequence of its universal pervasion, is infinitely great; and so likewise is soul." VII. 22.

On the contrary, the Svetasvatara Upanishad declares that the soul is almost infinitesimally small: "If the point of a hair be divided into one hundred parts, and each part again divided into one hundred parts—that is the length of the *atma*."

In the Katha Upanishad it is said that "Brahma, of the size of the thumb, dwells in the *atma*."

The Vedantic idea is that the soul is part of Brahm, and that to him it returns. A particle of him for a time is associated with a particle of Ignorance or Maya.

Remarks on Hindu ideas of the Body and Soul.—It is again and again asserted in the Upanishads that the heart has 101 arteries, by one of which the soul escapes at death. The slightest examination of the heart shows that all this is purely imaginary. There are just two arteries from the heart leading to the lungs, and one great artery, which, afterwards, subdivided, conveys blood to the whole body. In like manner, there is one great vein carrying the blood to the heart from the whole body, and two veins leading to the lungs.

The Taittiriya Upanishad says that "within the arteries moves the circulating air." Arteries mean air-pipes. They were thought to contain only air, because after death they are empty. When a person is alive, blood flows through them. This is proved by the fact that if one of them is cut, blood gushes out. When a person dies, the heart loses its power to send out blood, and the arteries are found empty.

It is plain, that God who made the body cannot have inspired the Upanishads, for He cannot give a false account of the human body.

* *Religious Thought and Life in India*, pp. 27, 28.

† *Theism and Christianity*, I. p. 44.

Hindu speculations about the soul are equally baseless.

One argument for the eternity of the soul is the supposed axiom : " Whatever exists must always have existed." As already shown, this denies God's omnipotence. By His will He can create things or call them out of nothing into existence.

Another argument is that " Whatever had a beginning must have an end." This is also a denial of God's power. He can give a future eternal existence to any creature He has called into being. According to Hinduism, souls may pass into gods, demons, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, into plants, and even into inanimate objects. Who can estimate the number of these eternal *svayambhu* essences! Is it not perfectly unphilosophical, because absolutely unnecessary and egregiously extravagant, to assume such an indefinite numbers of eternal essences, when one Supreme Essence is sufficient to account for all things, visible or invisible, material or spiritual? *

If a man denied the existence of his earthly parents, it would be a great sin ; but it is a much greater sin to deny that God is our Maker and Heavenly Father.

If our souls are eternal and self-existent, we are a sort of miniature gods. Our relation to God is changed. It is only that of king and subjects. His right over us is only that of might. It is only because He is mightier than we and of His possessing power to benefit and to harm us that we should be anxious to pay homage to Him. There is not the love which a child should cherish towards a father. True religion is thus destroyed.

To any man endowed with a grain of common sense, the opinion maintained by some of the schools that the soul is infinite, like *akasa*, must seem the height of absurdity. Other views held are scarcely less extravagant, that it is eternal, *svayambhu*, self-existent, or a part of God. The body is said to be the " City of Brahma," but who has the slightest recollection of passing through any former cities? To account for this it is asserted that at each new birth something takes place by which the remembrance of former things is destroyed. In this case the person on whom it is wrought is virtually no longer the same person. According to this doctrine one man is really punished for the faults of another of which he is quite ignorant. Would it be right to hang a man because his grandfather committed murder? Just as one falsehood is sought to be supported by another, so one fiction of Hindu philosophy requires a second equally without foundation.

The Christian doctrine is briefly as follows :—

God alone is self-existent, without beginning or end. He is omnipotent, able to call beings or things into existence out of

* Dr. K. M. Banerjee, *Dialogues*, p. 164.

nothing. He gave us a body and a soul. The soul never existed before our present birth. The body is mortal; the soul returns to God who gave it. At the great day of judgment, all must appear before God, to answer for the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil.

As already mentioned, it is unphilosophic to maintain that there are innumerable self-existent beings, when one possessed of almighty power is sufficient. The explanation given by Christianity is beautifully simple, and meets all the requirements of the case.

"The common people," says Dr. Kellogg, "speak of the soul as being 'a part of God.' It is a portion of the Supreme ruler as a spark is of fire. Yet in the same breath they will affirm that God is *akhand*, 'indivisible,' whence it follows that each soul is the total Divine Essence, and that is precisely the strict Vedantic doctrine! No one may go into any Hindu village and ask the first peasant that he meets who God is, and he will to a certainty, receive the answer, *Jo bolta hai, wahi hai*; 'That which speaks, that same is He.'" On the other hand, if the soul is a portion of God, our relation to Him is that of whole and part. It is not necessary for God to worship Himself. If I am either God or a part of God, why should I worship Him?

MAYA.

There are three words used in the same sense found in Vedantic writings; viz., *Ajñana*, Ignorance, *Avidya*, Nescience, and *Maya*, Illusion. Their meaning has already been explained. The object at present is to examine the truth of the theory.

The following are some of the arguments against Maya:

1. *The Testimony of our Senses*.—Every one of our five senses—sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch—bears witness to the reality of the objects around us.

The reply to this is as follows: A man sees a rope and by misapprehension takes it for a snake: in like manner the ignorant see the world, and suppose it to be real.

A man may, indeed, by misapprehension take a rope for a snake, but only so long as he keeps at a distance from it. Let him come near it, and he will at once see his error.

Another illustration is that the eye is deceived in mirage, fancying water to exist where there is none.

It is true that one sense may mislead us for a time, but the wrong idea is soon corrected by the other senses. The illusion of the mirage is detected by the touch. Kanada has well said, that it is only when the senses are unsound or defective or when some bad habit is contracted, that a person may be deceived.

According to Gôtama: "If all evidence is to be rejected, then the

refutation itself is inadmissible." The fact concerning the mirage is communicated to us through the senses. If the senses are never to be trusted, then how do we know about the mirage?

2. *The doctrine of Maya is incapable of proof.*—If all human beings are under the influence of the "eternal *Maya*," who is to find out that they are all deluded? How did the Vedantic philosophers discover it? Are they conscious of such an influence? But, on the supposition of the reign of universal and eternal delusion, is not that consciousness itself delusive? If it be said that the fact has been discovered by divine revelation; must not the perception of that revelation, as well as the comprehension of its import, on the supposition of a universal and eternal delusion, be also delusive?

3. *If the whole world is Unreal, the Vedas are also Unreal.*—The same applies to the Upanishads and all Vedantic writings.

4. *The doctrine gives a most dishonouring idea of God.*—"According to Vedantism, it is Brahma who has put the whole human race under the universal influence of the eternal *Maya*." He has projected a distorted reflection of himself with a view to delude his rational creatures. In consequence of this act he is termed *Mayavi Brahma*! How unworthy is such an opinion of the spotless and infinitely pure God! Can it be concerned for a moment that He delights in deceiving mankind? Can the idea be entertained in the mind that the holy God, is, like a potent juggler, perpetually deceiving the whole human race as a "divine amusement?"

Religious errors are the most serious of all errors, and of all religious errors, the greatest must be that which consists in a false notion of the Divine attributes.*

The doctrine of *Maya* is a mere figment of the imagination, utterly opposed to common sense.

HUMAN DUTY.

Hinduism, like Buddhism, makes life a curse instead of a blessing. The body is regarded as the mean lodging-place for vile worms and many diseases; men suffer from their fellowmen, from famines, from the malignant influence of evil stars or from the cruelty of demons and hobgoblins. The great object is to be delivered from an endless succession of births, exposed to such calamities. "The aim of the Hindu philosopher is essentially selfish; his own deliverance from pain in its varieties of ghastly forms. An aim so selfish cannot but lead a man to concentrate his attention upon his own self, to be self-centred and self-absorbed. Under its influence he makes self the centre of his thoughts, feelings, and desires, and all

* Abridged from Dr. K. M. Banerjea and the Rev. L. B. Day.

his schemes and projects revolve around it as their pivot or pole. Is it possible for a person to be thus absorbed in self without being degraded and debased, enfeebled in mind, and vitiated in soul?"

Christianity, on the other hand, teaches us to make *God*—not *self*—the centre of our thoughts, the end of our existence. He gave us life, He preserves us in life; every blessing we enjoy is His gift. So long as we have being, it is our duty to worship, honour, and love Him. A holy man of old says, "Praise the Lord, O my soul. While I live I will praise the Lord. I will sing praises unto my God while I have any being." According to Hindu philosophy, worship of God is only a means of obtaining *jnana*. When it has been reached, the worship of God ceases for ever. On the contrary, the longer we exist, the more should we love and honour God, the more should we desire to become pure and holy like Himself.

While the first command of Christianity is to love God with all our heart and soul, the second is to love our neighbour as ourselves. We are to try to do as much good as we can to all around us. The surest way to be happy ourselves is to try to make others happy.

According to Hindu philosophy, the chief end of man is to crush out all feeling and thought. Men are to abstain from action of every kind, good or bad; as much from liking as disliking, as much from loving as from hating, and even from indifference.

"Self-deliverance, self-improvement, or self-glorification is not to be made the aim of life, though these blessings are sure to crown man's efforts to serve God with a singleness of eye to His glory. He is delivered from sorrow, exalted and glorified, not because he seeks with all his heart his own beatification, but because his life is unreservedly devoted to the adoration and service of Him by whom he has been redeemed. Nay, in proportion as his mind is withdrawn from selfish aims and purposes 'and set on things above,' his sorrow of heart disappears, his thought becomes exalted, his feelings purified, and his soul made instinct with an abiding sense of peace, triumph, and gladness. The true philosophy of happiness is with him and him alone. Happiness flies the more it is (directly) sought. The Christian, by following the principle, 'not enjoyment and not sorrow,' succeeds in a pre-eminent degree in securing the one and fleeing from the other."*

THE CAUSE OF MAN'S DEGRADATION.

It is generally allowed that man is a fallen being. His inclination to wrong-doing is such that all means employed to counteract it often prove fruitless. Bolts and bars are needed to protect

* The greater part of this section is from *Hindu Philosophy*, by Mr. R. C. Bose.

property; bonds and deeds to check frauds; prisons, the lash, and the scaffold, to deter criminals. In a world of virtue such would have no place. Man, also, is born to trouble as the sparks fly upwards.

According to Hindu philosophy, what is the cause of man's debasement? The cause is *ajñāna*, ignorance. By *ajñāna* is not meant ignorance of God, but ignorance of the identity between the soul and Brahman.

Christianity traces man's degradation to sin. He has broken God's laws which are holy, just, and good, and he is suffering the consequences. All are guilty before God: "There is none righteous, no, not one."

"Sin makes us miserable in two different ways. It, in the first place, separates us from God, the source of life, light, and joy; from that dependence without which liberty is license; from that cheerful submission without which our will becomes stubborn and intractable; that communion without which the soul is bereft of its genuine enjoyment, and that grace without which true progress is an impossibility. It then darkens our understandings, vitiates our affections and passions, and proves thereby a source of ineffable restlessness and torment to our own selves and to all around us. For, though its seat is the heart, it is perpetually issuing out in putrid streams of corruption in our life and conversation. The springs and fountains of life within are vitiated, and its outgoings cannot but partake of the corruption. The history of the world is the history of sin incarnated in words and deeds."*

MEANS OF ARRIVING AT MUKTI.

The *Karma-marga* leads only to temporary happiness; the *Jñāna-marga*, according to Hinduism, is the only path to *Mukti*.

The means prescribed by the Yoga have already been mentioned. The repetition of the mystical monosyllable *om* is considered of great importance. So also are *āsana*, postures; as the lotus posture, the fowl posture, the bow posture, &c. Other means prescribed are the *prāṇāyāma*, suppression of the breath, fixing the eyes on the point of the nose, intense meditation at last without any object. In this way a person who thoroughly observes the directions, his blood not being properly purified and a mesmeric state being induced, he becomes dazed and half idiotic. He may then believe the monstrous fiction that he is God.

Christianity teaches that "bodily exercise profiteth little." A man who wishes to lead a holy, active life will be temperate in food and in every other respect; but he will try to preserve in

* Mr. R. C. Bose. *Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 333, 384.

health and strength the body which God has given him that it may be used in doing good.

According to Christianity, sin is the cause of man's degradation. Holiness is what is needed to make him happy here and hereafter.

The means of growth in holiness are prayer for Divine help, reflection, self-examination, sorrow for sin, confession of sin, acceptance of God's offered mercy, the study of good books, public worship, the company of the pious, meditation, &c.

MUKTI OR LIBERATION.

All women and the great majority of male Hindus can look forward only to the temporary happiness secured by *Karma-kanda*. The supposed higher bliss obtainable by the *Jnana-kanda* is the heritage of very few.

The means to be employed have already been mentioned. The two stages of happiness will now be described.

The first is called *jivan mukta*, "liberated but still living." The devotee in this state is in a manner petrified though alive. He moves not, he sees not, hears not, thinks not, breathes not as ordinary mortals do. He is not affected by heat or cold, light or darkness, storm or calm. Like the gods, he is above all responsibility and can do no wrong. All distinctions, even those between virtue and vice, purity and impurity, vanish before him. Anandagiri says that "as long as he lives he may do good and evil as he chooses and incur no stain." The Gita says, "Actions defile me not." He who has no feeling of egoism, and whose mind is not tainted, even though he kill (all) these people, kills not, is not fettered (by the action)." As water passes over the leaf of the lotus without wetting it, so these acts no longer affect the soul.

The Folk Songs of Southern India (page 166) thus express the doctrine :—

"To them that fully know the heavenly truth,

There is no good or ill ; nor anything

To be desired, unclean, or purely clean.

Where God is seen, there can be nought but God.

His heart can have no place for fear or shame ;

For caste, uncleanness, hate, or wandering thought,

Impure or pure, are all alike to Him."

Living representations of this stage are given in naked, filthy Sanyasis, indulging in every kind of vice.

"Such," says Mr. Bose, "is the goal of the system. The *Paramhansa*, or the Knower of Brahma, feeding as swine upon filth and living as swine without self-consciousness, thought, perception of physical and moral beauty, recognition of distinction

between good and bad; without taste, refinement, sublimity of thought, elevation of feeling, holiness of purpose, and grandeur of aspiration."

The second stage is absorption at death into Brahm. "Just as rivers falling into the sea lose their names and forms, so wise men knowing their names and forms attain the *Paratpara Purusha*."

The Rev. Lal Behari Day has the following remarks on this stage:—

"With regard to the doctrine of the absorption of the human soul into the Divine Essence; such a doctrine, to say the least, is highly improbable: for it is only homogeneous substances that mix. But God is unique in the universe; there is none like Him? How then can any other being be absorbed in him? Besides, if it be true, as the Vedas say, that Brahm is *nitya*, that is incapable of increase or decrease; how is such an idea in keeping with the absorption of numberless beings into his essence? The absorption of so many beings in so many ages and kalpas must be adding materially to his dimensions. Again, it is doubtful whether absorption into the Divine essence is a source of happiness to a creature. For absorption into the Divine Essence implies a loss of the sense of personal identity, that is, annihilation. And how can a creature that is annihilated be happy? When I swallow sugar, I get a sensation of pleasure; but if I myself become sugar, who will get that sensation? It is better to *eat* sugar than to *become* sugar. Hence absorption into the ocean of Brahm's essence, that is to say, a loss of personal identity, cannot make man happy."

Brahm is supposed to be in a dreamless sleep, without any more thought than a stone. Hindu absorption is practically the same as the Buddhist *nirvana*, or annihilation. "Not to be," says Professor Wilson, "is the melancholy result of the religion and philosophy of the Hindus."

Mr. R. C. Bose thus shows the moral influence of the doctrine:—

"This system has proved a refuge of lies to many a hardened sinner. What a balm to the seared but not deadened conscience is a system which assures them that all their fears arising from their recognition of moral distinctions are groundless, and that perfect beatitude will be their reward if they can only bring themselves to the conclusion that there is no difference between God and man, virtue and vice, cleanliness and filth, heaven and hell!"

While Hinduism denies, Christianity affirms, the reality of an eternal and necessary distinction between sin and righteousness. The Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea shows that the great aim of Christianity is to make us holy and happy like God. This does not refer to our bodies, for God is without form; but to our souls. He thus contrasts the two systems:

"The likeness has been disfigured by the introduction of sin. The reflection partakes of the mirror's impurity, but the chief end of human

existence is so to cleanse and polish the mirror of the soul by personal holiness that it may present an unspotted likeness of its God and Saviour, and be fully restored to the image in which it was originally made. The restoration of that image implies perfect release from all those corruptions which the Brahmanical philosopher dreaded most, but it does not involve destitution of sentient existence or loss of individual consciousness. Christianity animates us with the hope of positive happiness and glory. Far from involving a destitution of sentient existence or loss of individual consciousness, the ineffable bliss we look for, signifies the full sanctification of our senses, and the increasing contemplation of the divine perfections without the least abatement of individual consciousness. We do not seek to fall into a state of irreparable insensibility, but we seek for an eternal life of perfect sentiency, that we may live for ever, intelligently and consciously to laud and magnify the goodness and mercy of God. We wish our passions and affections not to be destroyed, but to be brought in subjection to God, and to continue as immortal trophies of His omnipotent grace.*

DOCTRINES OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA.

As this work is held in the highest estimation by most Hindus, an examination of its teaching is desirable.

1. *Krishna's reasoning with Arjuna when he expressed unwillingness to slay his kindred.* Arjuna says: "Preceptors, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, as also (other) relatives. These I do not wish to kill, though they kill (me) O destroyer of Madhu! even for the sovereignty over the three worlds, how much less then for this earth (alone)?"

To these noble and humane sentiments "The Deity" replies :

"Be not effeminate, O Son of Pritha! it is not worthy of you. Cast off this base weakness of heart, and arise O terror of (your) foes!

"You have grieved for those who deserve no grief. He who thinks to be the killed and he who thinks it to be killed, both know nothing. It kills not, is not killed. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable and primeval, it is not killed when the body is killed. As a man, casting off old clothes puts on others and new ones, so the embodied (self) casting off old bodies, goes to others and new ones. It is everlasting, all pervading, stable, firm, and eternal." "Looking alike on pleasure and pain, on gain and loss, on victory and defeat, then prepare for battle, and thus you will not incur sin."

Bishop Caldwell thus shows the fallacy of Krishna's reasoning by supposing it acted upon in the concerns of daily life :

"A man accused of murder neither denies his guilt nor pleads that he committed the act in self-defence; but addresses the Court

* *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 525, 526.

in the language of Krishna: 'It is needless,' he says, 'to trouble yourself about the inquiry any further, for it is impossible that any murder can have taken place. The soul can neither kill, nor be killed. It is eternal and indestructible. When driven from one body it passes into another. Death is inevitable, and another birth is equally inevitable. It is not the part therefore of wise men, like the judges of the Court, to trouble themselves about such things.' Would the judges regard this defence as conclusive? certainly not. Nor would it be regarded as a conclusive defence by the friends of the murdered person, or by the world at large. The criminal might borrow from the *Gita* as many sounding nothings as he liked, but the moral sense of the community would continue to regard his murder as a crime.

"Krishna's arguments, based upon transcendental doctrines respecting the immortality and impassibility of the soul, if they proved his point, would equally prove the most unjust war that was ever waged to be innocent."

2. *Caste.*

This system receives divine sanction in the *Gita*, and Arjuna is told that a man has no higher duty than to follow his caste.

"The Deity said: 'The fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the apportionment of qualities and duties.'" In Chapter XVIII., after describing the qualities and duties of the different castes, it is added: "One's duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Performing the duty prescribed by nature, one does not incur sin."

Intelligent Hindus admit that caste is one of the chief causes of India's degradation. Its evils are shown in the "Paper on Caste."* "The system of caste," says Principal Caird, "involves the worst of all wrongs to humanity—that of hallowing evil by the authority and sanction of religion." "Instead of breaking down artificial barriers, waging war with false separations, softening divisions and undermining class hatreds and antipathies, religion becomes itself the very consecration of them." "Of all forgeries," says Dr. K. M. Banerjea, "the most flagitious and profane is that which connects the name of the Almighty with an untruth." Yet this is what is done in the *Gita*.

Bishop Caldwell has the following remarks on the duty of every one to follow the work of his caste:—

"A soldier of the Kshatriya caste has no duty superior to fighting. If fighting and slaying are lawful simply because they are caste employments, the immutability of moral obligations is ignored. What shall we say then of the Kallars, the thief caste of the South, the ancient (but now generally abandoned) employment of whose caste was to steal, and whose

* See last page of wrapper.

caste name means simply 'thieves?' Krishna's teaching on this head elevates the conventional duties of the institutions of a dark age above the essential distinctions between right and wrong."

3. *The Doctrine concerning God.*

This is the chief characteristic of the poem, occupying the greater part of it. It is thus summarised by Bishop Caldwell :

"According to the Gita, God is the soul of the world; its material cause as well as its efficient cause. The world is his body, framed by himself out of himself. A consequence of this doctrine, a consequence which is distinctly taught again and again, is that God is all things, as containing all things. Every thing that exists is a portion of God, and every action that is performed is an action of God. The doctrine knows no limitations, and is incapable of being exaggerated. The basest animals that creep on the face of the earth, have not merely been created by God for some good purpose, but are divine, inasmuch as they are portions of God's material form; and the most wicked actions which men, vainly fancying themselves free agents, are ever tempted to perform, are not only permitted by God, but are actually perpetrated by him, inasmuch as they are performed by his power and will, working out their ends through the human constitution, which is a part of himself.

"This doctrine differs, it is true, from the Adwaita doctrine, to which alone the name of Vedantism is popularly given, that the Supreme Spirit alone really exists and that the world is unreal; but it may be regarded as questionable whether the unreality of phenomena be not preferable to the doctrine that their reality consists in their inclusion in God as parts of his totality."

4. *The Self or Soul.*

A passage already quoted asserts that this is "everlasting, all-pervading, stable, firm, eternal." We are thus, as has been said, "miniature gods." This assertion has already been discussed.

5. *Mukti or Liberation.*

The poem is partly an attempt to reconcile the *karma-marga* and the *jñana-marga*. The need of action is admitted, otherwise the human race would soon come to an end. On the whole, however, there is a leaning to the Yoga. Repeated directions are given about restraining the breath, looking at the tip of the nose, &c. He "is esteemed highest to whom a god, a stone, and gold are alike, who thinks alike about well-wishers, friends, and enemies, as well as about the good and the sinful."

The doctrine of Mukti was considered in the previous chapter.

6. *Bhakti or Faith.*

One great design of the poem is to exalt the doctrine of devotion to Krishna. "Even if a very ill-conducted man worships me, not worshipping any one else, he must certainly be deemed to be good,

for he has well resolved." The following assurance is given towards the end of the poem : "The man, also, who with faith and without carping will listen (to this) will be freed (from sin) and attain to the holy regions of those who perform pious acts."

The value of faith depends upon its object. Faith in a being who was confessedly a thief, adulterer, and murderer, must be worthless, and can only destroy him by whom it is exercised.

7 *Object of Krishna's Incarnations.*

"The Deity said : Whensoever, O descendant of Bharata ! piety languishes, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil doers, and establishment of piety."

The Bhagavata Purana professes to give a record of "The Deity's" life in his incarnation as Krishna. Instead of according with the above objects, it has been well characterised as the incarnation of Lust. The Krishna of the Bhagavad Gita should have appeared for the destruction of the Krishna of the Bhagavat Purana.

The Gita, like most Hindu writings, sometimes mingles the ridiculous with the sublime. The following is an example. The "bands of kings and principal warriors" are represented as rapidly entering Krishna's "mouths, fearful and horrific by (reason of his) jaws. And some with their heads smashed are seen (to be) stuck in the spaces between the teeth !"

It has been shown that the Gita inculcates principles whose falsity is seen by applying them to ordinary life ; that it upholds the divine institution of caste ; that it teaches pantheism and other errors.

Some of its deficiencies are thus pointed out by Bishop Caldwell :—

"It nowhere exhibits any sense of the evil of sin considered as a violation of law, as defiling the conscience, and as counteracting the ends for which man was created. It makes no provision for the re-establishment of the authority of the Divine Lawgiver by the expiation of sin in such a manner as to render forgiveness compatible with justice. It teaches nothing and knows nothing respecting the forgiveness of sin. It makes no provision for the healing of the wounds of the sin-sick soul by the communication of sanctifying grace and instruction in sanctifying truth. The salvation it teaches is not a salvation from sin by means of a new birth to righteousness, commencing in the present life and perfected hereafter, but merely a salvation from the necessity of being born again in repeated births, by means of the final emancipation of spirit from matter. The moral system of the Gita fails therefore in the most essential points—the vindication of the justice of the moral Governor of the Universe, and the restoration of harmony between man's moral nature and the constitution of things under which he is placed."

HINDU PHILOSOPHY TRIED BY ITS FRUITS.

This is an excellent test, easily applied. The following remarks are from Bishop Caldwell :—

“The soundness or unsoundness of this philosophy and the probability or otherwise of its divine origin and authority, may be estimated, like the characteristics of a tree, by its fruits. What are the visible, tangible fruits of this philosophy? What has it done for India the land of its birth?

“Has it promoted popular education, civilization, and good government? Has it educated the people in generous emotions? Has it abolished caste or even mitigated its evils? Has it obtained for widows the liberty of remarriage? Has it driven away dancing girls from the temples? Has it abolished polygamy? Has it repressed vice and encouraged virtue? Was it this philosophy which abolished female infanticide, the meriah sacrifice and the burning of widows? Is it this which is covering the country with a network of railways and telegraphs? Is it this which has kindled amongst the native inhabitants of India the spirit of improvement and enterprise which is now apparent? Need I ask the question? All this time the philosophy of quietism has been sound asleep or ‘with its eyes fixed on the point of its nose,’ according to the directions of the Gita, it has been thinking itself out of its wits. This philosophy has substantially been the creed of the majority of the people for upwards of two thousand years; and if it had emanated from God, the proofs of its divine origin ought long ere this to have been apparent; but it has all this time been too much absorbed in ‘contemplating self by means of self’ to have had any time or thought left for endeavouring to improve the world. What could be expected of the philosophy of apathy, but that it should leave things to take their course? There is much real work now being done in India in the way of teaching truth, putting down evil, and promoting the public welfare; but that work is being done, not by Vedantists or quietists of any school, but by Christians from Europe, whose highest philosophy is to do good, and by those Natives of India who, have been stimulated by the teaching and example of Europeans to choose a similar philosophy.”

“The remarks of Lord Macaulay in his Essay on Lord Bacon on the Stoical philosophy of the ancients as contrasted with the modern Baconian philosophy, which is developed from and leavened by the practical teaching of the Christian Scriptures, will illustrate the unprofitableness of the Vedantic philosophy better than can be done by any words of mine. I commend the study of that brilliant Essay to the youthful Hindu. If Sanskrit words be substituted for the Greek technical terms quoted by Macaulay, every word that he says respecting the philosophy of Zeno may be said with equal truth of the philosophy of the Gita.”

A few extracts are given below from Macaulay's Essay :—

“The chief peculiarity of Bacon's philosophy seems to us to have been this, that it aimed at things altogether different from those which his predecessors had proposed to themselves.

"What then was the end which Bacon proposed to himself? It was, to use his own emphatic expression, 'fruit.' It was the multiplying of human enjoyments and the mitigating of human sufferings. It was 'the relief of man's estate.'"

"Two words form the key of the Baconian doctrines, *Utility and Progress*. The ancient philosophy disdained to be useful and was content to be stationary. It dealt largely in theories of moral perfection, which were so sublime that they never could be more than theories; in attempts to solve insoluble enigmas; in exhortations to the attachment of unattainable frames of mind. It could not condescend to the humble office of ministering to the comfort of human beings.

"The ancient philosophy was a treadmill, not a path. It was made up of revolving questions, of controversies which were always beginning again. It was a contrivance for having much exertion and no progress. It might indeed sharpen and invigorate the brains of those who devoted themselves to it; but such disputes could add nothing to the stock of knowledge. There was no accumulation of truth, no heritage of 'truth' acquired by the labour of one generation and bequeathed to another, to be again transmitted with large additions to a third.

"The same sects were still battling with the same unsatisfactory arguments, about the same interminable questions. There had been plenty of ploughing, harrowing, reaping, threshing. But the garnerers contained only smut and stubble.

"Words and more words, and nothing but words, had been all the fruit of all the toil of all the most renowned sages of sixty generations. The ancient philosophers promised what was impracticable; they despised what was practicable; they filled the world with long words and long beards; and they left it as wicked and ignorant as they found it.

"We have sometimes thought that an amusing fiction might be written, in which a disciple of Epictetus and a disciple of Bacon should be introduced as fellow-travellers. They come to a village where the small-pox has just begun to rage, and find houses shut up, intercourse suspended, the sick abandoned, mothers weeping in terror over their children. The Stoic assures the dismayed population that there is nothing bad in the small-pox, and that to a wise man disease, deformity, death, the loss of friends, are not evils. The Baconian takes out a lancet and begins to vaccinate. They find a shipwrecked merchant wringing his hands on the shore. His vessel, with an incalculable cargo, has just gone down, and he is reduced in a moment from opulence to beggary. The Stoic exhorts him not to seek happiness in things which lie without himself. The Baconian constructs a diving-bell, goes down in it, and returns with the most precious effects from the wreck. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the difference between the philosophy of thorns and the philosophy of fruit, the philosophy of words and the philosophy of works."

Much more do the foregoing remarks apply to Hindu philosophy. It is notorious that the men most steeped in it, the pandits are,

of all classes, the most narrow-minded, bigoted, and the greatest enemies of social progress. Judged by its fruits, Hindu philosophy, when tested, is found wanting.

• REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

The students of Euclid are well aware that one method of proving the falsity of an assertion is to show that it leads to an absurd conclusion. The same mode of argument may be adopted with Hindu philosophy. Vedantism is the school by which it is most nearly represented. There are, it is true, some who dissent from it, but they are a comparative minority.

What is the ultimate aim, the goal of Hindu philosophy, of the *jñāna marga*? It is expressed in the great sentences:

Tat tvam asi, That art Thou.

Brahmāsmi, or *Aham Brahma*, I am Brahma.

With reference to the *maha-vākya*, "I am Brahma," Gaudapurnananda says:—

"Thou art verily riddled, O thou animal soul, of thy understanding, by this dark theory of Maya, because like a maniac, thou constantly ravest, 'I am Brahma.' Where is thy divinity, thy sovereignty, thy omniscience? O thou animal soul! thou art as different from Brahma as is a mustard seed from Mount Meru. Thou art a finite soul, He is infinite. Thou canst occupy but one space at a time, He is always everywhere. Thou art momentarily happy or miserable, He is happy, at all times. How canst thou say 'I am He?' Hast thou no shame?"*

Ramanuja, another celebrated Hindu writer, argues against it similarly:—

"The word *tat* (it) stands for the ocean of immortality, full of supreme felicity. The word *tvam* (thou) stands for a miserable person, distracted through fear of the world. The two cannot therefore be one. They are substantially different. He is to be worshipped by the whole world. Thou art but His slave. How could there be an image or reflection of the infinite and spotless One? There may be a reflection of a finite substance; how could there be such a thing of the Infinite? How canst thou, oh slow of thought! say, I am He, who has set up this immense sphere of the universe in its fulness? Consider thine own capacities with a pure mind. Can a collection of infuriated elephants enter into the stomach of a mosquito? By the mercy of the Most High a little understanding has been committed to thee: it is not for thee, oh perverse one, to say, therefore I am God. Some sophists, sunk in a sea of false logic, addicted to evil ways, labouring to bring about the destruction of the world by false statements, themselves deceived and deceiving the world, say I am God, and all this universe is God. Their wicked device is now abundantly exposed."*

* *Banerjée's Dialogues*, pp. 379, 408.

The folly and sin of Vedantic teaching are thus shown by the Rev. Lal Behari Day :—

“Who in this life has become or can become *jivannukta*? What man, putting his right hand on his bosom, can say—‘I am free from sin and sorrow; there is no sin in me; sin never enters my soul; I am as pure as God is pure?’ The fact is, that no man in this life can become absolutely sinless; *jivannukta* therefore is a mere sound; such a person has no existence.

“If you say that in this present Kali Yuga no *jivannukta* persons can be found, but there were plenty of them in the Satya, Treta, and Dvapara; then I ask, what proof is there that these persons you speak of were sinless? Besides, if in the present Kali Yuga no persons can become *jivannukta*, then, by your own showing, it appears that the Vedantika religion is not suitable to the present age.

“And what shall we say of ‘*Tat tvam asi*, ‘Thou art That!’ and *Aham Brahmasmi*, ‘I am Brahma?’ What blasphemy! The Vedanta calls such a person a wise man, but every reasonable person will call such a man the greatest fool and most wicked man that ever lived in the world, for the sin of a man that calls himself God can never be forgiven. An atheist is better than a *jivannukta*, for an atheist says there is no proof of the existence of a God, whereas a *jivannukta* by calling himself God actually reproaches Him. If a boy calls himself his own father, what can we say of him but that he is mad? But the *jivannukta* is worse than mad. Filled with intolerable pride, he blasphemes his Maker.”

It has thus been shown that the climax of Hindu philosophy is a blasphemous falsehood, too horrible almost to think of—for a puny, ignorant, proud, sinful mortal to say I am God! Yet, according to Hindu philosophy, he is the only wise man! How true are the words, “Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.”

FAILURE OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

For nearly three thousand years Hindu thought has been speculating about God, man, and human destiny. Its highest product is a miserable failure. This is briefly shown as follows :—

1. *Its Doctrines are contradictory.*—

“An English philosopher said that while man has the exclusive privilege of forming general theorems, he has also a monopoly of the *privilege of absurdity*, to which no other living creature is subject. And of men, he added, *those are of all the most subject to it that profess philosophy*. In India this monopoly is in the hands of those who profess to adhere to the Darsanas. All these systems are right in their eyes, notwithstanding their mutual inconsistencies. Whichever system they happen to take up for the time is supreme.”*

* *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*, p. 14. A.

It has been shown (see page 12) how the advocates of one system attack the others. But they also often contradict themselves. Sankaracharya, after ridiculing the idea of an eternal succession of works and creations, as a troop of blind leaders of the blind, virtually adopts it himself.

The differences between Hindu schools of philosophy are, in several cases, fundamental. If one is true, the other must be false, or, what is more likely, all may be based on error.

2. *Its aims are purely selfish.*

The personal happiness of the individual is the only consideration. His aim is neither to see, hear, nor care about what goes on in the world around him. The people of his nation may be sunk in ignorance, he is not to instruct them; they may be starving from famine, he is not to provide them with food; they may be dying from pestilence, he is not to give them medicine. With his eyes fixed on the tip of his nose, he is to try to meditate without any object. He is to refrain from all actions, good or bad.

This point has been considered at length under "Hindu Philosophy tried by its Fruits."

3. *It has no Moral Influence.*

Gough has the following remarks under this head :

"The Indian sages seek for participation in the divine life, not by pure feeling, high thought, and strenuous endeavour,—not by an unceasing effort to learn the true and do the right,—but by the crushing out of every feeling and every thought, by vacuity, apathy, inertion, and ecstasy. They do not for a moment mean that the purely individual feelings and volitions are to be suppressed in order that the philosopher may live in free obedience to the monitions of a higher common nature. Their highest Self is little more than an empty name, *caput mortuum* (dead head, worthless remains) of the abstract understanding. Their pursuit is not a pursuit of perfect character, but of perfect characterlessness. It is no aspiration and energy towards the true and the good, but only a yearning for repose from the miseries of life."*

4. *It denies the eternal Distinction between Right and Wrong.*—It has been shown that Hindu philosophy has no moral influence, but, worse than that, its teaching is most immoral. The *jivanmukta* is to look with equal eye upon virtue and vice, purity and impurity. According to Vedantism, "The sole existence being Brahma, or Self, sin is non-existent and impossible. It appears to exist; but that appearance is as illusive as the mirage of the desert. 'He whose intellect is not confused, even though he should kill, kills not.'"

5. *It strikes at the root of all Religious Feeling.*—The essence of

* *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 266, 267.

religion is to love, honour, and obey God, to pray to Him, to worship Him. If I am God, why should I worship myself ?

The following remarks on this subject are from Professor Flint :—

“The mystical piety of India, when strictly pantheistic, knows nothing of the gratitude for Divine mercy and the trust in Divine righteousness which characterise evangelical piety. Instead of love and communion in love, it can only commend to us the contemplation of an object which is incomprehensible, devoid of all affections, and indifferent to all actions. When feelings like love, gratitude, and trust are expressed in the hymns and prayers of Hindu worship, it is in consequence of a virtual denial of the principles of pantheism, it is because the mind has consented to regard as real what it had previously pronounced illusory, and to personify what it had declared to be impersonal. Hindunism holds it to be a fundamental truth that the absolute Being can have no personal attributes, and yet it has not only to allow but to encourage its adherents to invest that Being with these attributes, in order that by thus temporarily deluding themselves they may evoke in their hearts at least a feeble and transient glow of devotion. It has even been forced, by its inability to elicit and sustain a religious life by what is strictly pantheistic in its doctrine, to crave the help of polytheism, and to treat the foulest orgies and cruellest rites of idolatry as acts of reasonable worship paid indirectly to the sole and supreme Being. It finds polytheism to be the indispensable supplement of its pantheism. It is the personal gods of Hindu polytheism, and not the impersonal principle of Hindu pantheism, that the Hindu people worship. No people can worship what they believe to be entirely impersonal. Even in the so-called religions of nature the deified natural powers are always personified. It is only as persons that they are offered prayers and sacrifices.”*

6. *Its end is virtual Extinction of Being.*—*Mukti* is the happiness of a stone. “It is thought always the same and ever objectless, thought without a thinker or things to think of. It is a bliss in which there is no soul to be glad, and no sense of gladness.” “Hindu philosophy,” says Mr. Bose, “begins with a recognition of human sorrow, goes out in vain in quest of a proper remedy, and ultimately arrives at annihilation as the goal where human misery terminates only in the extinction of life.”

6. *It culminates in a blasphemous Falsehood, most abhorrent to every right-thinking person.*—As already mentioned, the great sentence is *Aham Brahma, I am God*. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Hindu philosophy.

The pernicious effects of pantheism on Indian polytheism are thus shown by Professor Flint :

“I have said that the ability of pantheism to ally itself with polytheism accounts for its prevalence in certain lands ; but I must add that, although a power, this ability is not a merit. It is a power for evil—a

* *Antitheistic Theories*, pp. 388, 389.

power which sustains superstition, corrupts the system which possesses it, deludes and degrades the human mind and heart, and arrests social progress. Educated Hindus are often found to represent it as an excellence of Brahminism, that it not only tolerates but embraces and incorporates the lower phases of religion. They contend that it thereby elevates and purifies polytheism, and helps the mind of men to pass from the lowest stage of religious development gradually up to the highest. The opinion may seem plausible, but neither reason nor experience confirms it. Pantheism can give support to polytheism and receive support from it, but only at the cost of sacrificing all its claims to be a rational system, and of losing such moral virtue as it possesses. If it look upon the popular deities as mere fictions of the popular mind, its association with polytheism can only mean a conscious alliance with falsehood, the deliberate propagation of lies, a persistent career of hypocrisy . . . India alone is surely sufficient proof that the union of pantheism with polytheism does not correct but stimulate the extravagances of the latter. Pantheism, instead of elevating and purifying Hindu polytheism, has contributed to increase the number, the absurdity, and the foulness of its superstitions."*

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

Some of these are the following :—

1. *Starting with False Premises.*—Two of the principal have already been mentioned :

1. That God is a being somewhat like ourselves, and that as we cannot create, God cannot create.

2. That the soul is eternal. Hence the weary round of transmigration.

Mr. Bose says of Hindu philosophers : " They had an intellect keen and argumentative, and their writings are fitted to raise the puzzling question, so well put by Lord Macaulay, viz., how men, who reason so closely and so consecutively from assumed premises fail so miserably to see the utter groundlessness of the assumptions on which their ably conducted arguments are based."

2. *A proneness to dwell on subtle distinctions instead of grasping a subject as a whole.*—The Hindu mind resembles that of Hudibras :

.. " He could distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side."

One great difference between a good and a bad lawyer is that the latter takes up some subordinate point, while he fails to see the main issue on which the case turns. Sir Monier Williams says that a Hindu disputant has captious propensities, leading him to be quick in repartee, and ready with specious objections to the most

conclusive argument. Mr. R. C. Bose says, even of the Hindu masterminds, that they were defective in the following respects :—

“A view broad and comprehensive, an investigation calm and persevering, a thorough sifting of evidence, and a cautious building up of generalisations, in a word for all those processes of research and reasoning which are the basis of reliable science.”*

3. *A tendency to Speculate instead of Investigate.*—This is a radical defect of the Hindu mind. Mr. Bose gives the following illustrations :—

“The Hindu geographer does not travel, does not explore, does not survey; he simply sits down and dreams of a central mountain of a height greater than that of the sun, moon, and stars, and circular oceans of curd and clarified butter. The Hindu historian does not examine documents, coins, and monuments, does not investigate historical facts, weigh evidence, balance probabilities, scatter the chaff to the winds and gather the wheat in his garner: he simply sits down and dreams of a monster monkey who flies through the atmosphere with huge mountains resting on the hairs of his body, and constructs thereby a durable bridge across an arm of an interminable ocean. The Hindu biographer ignores the separating line between history and fable, invents prodigious and fantastic stories, and converts even historical personages into mythical or fabulous heroes. The Hindu anatomist does not dissect, does not anatomize, does not examine the contents of the human body; he simply dreams of component parts which have no existence, multiplies almost indefinitely the number of arteries and veins, and speaks coolly of a passage through which the atomic soul effects its ingress and egress.”

“The Hindu metaphysician does not analyze the facts of consciousness or enquire into the laws of thought, does not classify sensations, perceptions, conceptions and judgments and cautiously proceed to an investigation of the principles which regulate the elaboration of thought and processes of reasoning;—he simply speaks of the mind as an accidental and mischievous adjunct of the soul, and shows how its complete extinction may be brought about by austerity and meditation.”†

“The country has had enough of poetic and speculative intellect, and what it needs now to enable it to march alongside of the foremost nations of the world is a little of that cast of mind which may be called *scientific*.”

4. *A want of Common Sense.*—There are men who are well styled “learned fools.” They possess a great amount of knowledge, but seem incapable of making any wise use of it.

Hindu philosophers framed certain theories, and then proceeded to draw from them a long train of conclusions. They did not think of testing their reasoning, where practicable, by the evidence of the senses, nor by its application to the affairs of ordinary life. Indeed, as Sir Monier Williams says, “the more evidently physical and metaphysical speculations are opposed to common sense, the

* *Heterodox Philosophy*, p. 7.

† *Hindu Heterodoxy*, pp. 8-10.

more favour do they find with some Hindu thinkers. Common sense tells an Englishman that he really exists himself and that everything he sees around him really exists also. He cannot abandon these two primary convictions. Not so the Hindu Vedantist."

5. *Accepting Illustration for Argument.*—One illustration may appear to prove one thing, but another may be adduced leading to an opposite conclusion. It is sometimes said, "As there is only one sun in the sky, so there is only one God." This is a great truth, but the reasoning is no better than the following, "As there are innumerable stars in the sky, so the number of gods is countless."

The main proof adduced for the doctrine of *Maya* is that a rope may be mistaken for a snake, or that in a dream things appear to be real. This has been considered under "*Maya*." See pages 39; 40. Dr. Robson says:

"I once asked a pundit to state logically his argument that man's spirit was sinless which he did as follows:—

Man's spirit is sinless,
Because it is distinct from the sin which man commits;
For all things are distinct from that which they contain, as the
water of a muddy stream is distinct from the mud which
it contains;
But so is the spirit of man distinct from the sin which it may
be said to contain:
Therefore it is sinless.

"This was an attempt to put into a logical form the stock argument used by the Hindus—Spirit is free from sin as water is distinct from all the dirt which may be mingled with it."*

2. *Its proud Dogmatism.*

Dr. Murray Mitchell notices

"the hard dogmatism and the unbounded self-assertion of all the schools. It would be an immense relief if one word betokening distrust of their own wisdom were uttered by those teachers—such as we have heard occasionally proceeding from the Vedic poets; but there is no such word. Each theorist moves with head erect, possessed of absolute faith in his own omniscience. It never occurs to him either that there are matters with which the human mind has no faculties to deal, or that Truth unveils her treasures only to the humble."

Their vagaries are even asserted to have a divine origin.

"The Hindu philosopher," says Mr. Bose, "claims prophetic functions, pretends to either miraculous insight or preternatural intercourse with superior beings, and brings out his excogitation as revelation to be implicitly believed in; not as results of philosophic inquiry to be tested by the ordinary appliances of the logical

science. He is the guru, heaven-appointed or self-raised teacher, and his utterances must be accepted as divine revelations ; while all sorts of woes are pronounced upon those impious wretches who have the audacity to call in question a jot or tittle of his sayings."

Pope calls pride the "never-failing vice of fools," and asserts that it is one of the chief causes of wrong judgments :

"Of all the causes which conspire to blind
Man's erring judgment, and misguide the mind,
What the weak head with strongest bias rules,
Is pride, the never-failing vice of fools."

7. *It failed, like all other attempts, to solve the insoluble by merely human reason.*

The claims of the learned Rev. Nehemiah Goreh on behalf of his countrymen are readily allowed :—

"This great country of ours is a world in itself, and our forefathers were not inferior to any nation in the world, in learning, cleverness and power of reasoning. And in one respect, namely, in possessing a religious and pious disposition, they appear to me far superior in all other people, except those in whom the influence of divine revelation has produced such a disposition. And such a disposition made our forefathers and countrymen peculiarly fitted to show whether man can ever acquire correct knowledge of religious truth by his own reason without the light of revelation. I say then that since men endowed with such qualifications have failed to acquire it, and indeed the more they tried to attain to it wandered the farther away from it, and have fallen into such strange and grievous errors about it, we ought to be pretty sure that it is unattainable by human reason. And when we see that the same has been the case with all men, in all countries, and in all ages, whether civilised or uncivilised, learned or unlearned, we ought to become quite sure of it. And that such has been the case with all men everywhere is clear to all who know anything of the past history or of the present state of the nations of the world."*

Europe has had its succession of philosophers from the days of Pythagoras downwards, who have indulged in speculations like those of Kanada and Kapila. Lewis, in his *Biographical History of Philosophy*, makes the following confession : "Centuries of thought had not advanced the mind one step nearer to the solution of the problems with which, child-like it began. It began with a child-like question ; it ended with an aged doubt. Not only did it doubt the solution of the great problem which others had attempted ; it even doubted the possibility of any solution. It was not the doubt which begins, but the doubt which ends inquiry ; it had no illusions." It is also admitted "as a saddening contemplation," that the "failures of the philosophy of the ancient world were only repeated with parallel experience by the modern."

It may, however, be said that of all attempts to solve the riddle of the universe, that of Hindu philosophy is the maddest and most blasphemous.

The Bible well says, "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven; what canst thou do? it is deeper than hell; what canst thou know?"

A revelation from God Himself is needed.

ESTIMATE OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

As a rule, the ignorant are always the most conceited. The highest estimates are formed of Hindu philosophy by men who know nothing else or are acquainted with it only by hearsay. Before referring to Hinduism, a parallel case may be taken from Islam. Sir W. W. Hunter, in his *Indian Musalmans*, thus describes the attainments of the students in the Calcutta Muhammadan College:—

"At the end of seven years the students know certain books by heart, text and interpretation; but if they get a simple manuscript beyond their narrow curriculum, they are in a moment beyond their depth. Such a teaching, it may well be supposed, produces an intolerant contempt for anything which they have not learned. The very nothingness of their acquirements makes them the more conceited. They know as an absolute truth that the Arabic grammar, law, rhetoric, and logic, comprise all that is worth knowing upon earth. They have learned that the most extensive kingdoms in the world are, first Arabia, then England, France, and Russia, and the largest town, next to Mecca, Medina, and Cairo, is London. *Au reste*, the English are Infidels, and will find themselves in a very hot place in the next world." pp. 204—207. 2nd Ed. 1872.

Shastris are much of the same stamp as the Maulavis. Professor Monier Williams admits

"the utter narrowmindedness of Indian Pandits. They have believed the whole circle of human knowledge to be contained in Sanskrit writings. To this very day the most bigoted are fully persuaded that to learn anything beyond the Śāstras is quite useless."*

Their learning generally is merely by rote. See Madhava Rao says: "A Pundit versed in logic very often repeats the maxim, 'where there is smoke there must be fire;' ask him to give illustrations, and he is at a standstill."

Claims of as high a nature are also made by Indians acquainted with English. Babu Surendranath Mookerjee, in the *National Magazine*, says of his countrymen:—

"Mentally and spiritually the average Bengalee is any day equal to a dozen John Bull. Centuries of worship with the unusual amount of

spirituality has resulted in making him more and more mentally and spiritually powerful than physically."

The *Pioneer*, with reference to the above, makes the sarcastic remark that "mental and spiritual power may co-exist with grammatical weakness."

But such pretensions are not confined to half-educated men. Mr. Krishna Behari Sen is an M. A. of the Calcutta University, and Rector of the Albert College. In a lecture which he delivered, he said that India "has given to the world a philosophy before which European philosophy hangs her head for shame."*

Hindu philosophy was the "perennial theme of the world's wonder" so long as it was shrouded in Sanskrit. Translations, by the ablest oriental scholars of the present day, have dispelled the illusion. Max Müller himself, the Editor of *The Sacred Books of the East*, says in the Preface:—

"It is but natural that those who write on ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than dark sides. . . . Scholars, also, who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only, than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them. I do not blame them for this; perhaps I should feel that I was open to the same blame myself."

"No one who collects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one, at all events so far as I know, has ever resisted, the temptation of giving what is beautiful, or it may be what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive. . . . We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, ay, to a great extent, is so still, how the sacred books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other."

The Principal of the Muir College, Allahabad, while Anglo-Sanskrit Professor at the Benares College published the Sanskrit text of the Vaiseshika Aphorisms of Kanada, with an English translation and comments from different works. He says in the preface:—

"The following pages will, it is trusted, facilitate to Sanskrit students the perusal of the original text, and to general readers an estimate of one of the Schools of Indian thought. Such interest as they may claim, will be historical, as a picture of a low stage of metaphysical culture."

Mr. Gough afterwards published a learned work on *The Philosophy of the Upanishads and Ancient Indian Metaphysics*. It concludes as follows :—

“Such as they are, and have been shown to be, the Upanishads are the loftiest utterances of Indian intelligence. They are the work of a rude age, a deteriorated race, and a barbarous and unprogressive community. Whatever value the reader may assign to the ideas they present, they are the highest produce of the ancient Indian mind, and almost the only elements of interest in Indian literature, which is at every stage replete with them to saturation.” p. 268.

Mr. Ram Chandra Bose, A. M., has written two of the most complete accounts in the English language of the Hindu Philosophical Systems, both Orthodox and Heterodox. As a Bengali, he is “mentally and spiritually” qualified to form an accurate judgment. He expresses the following opinion of Oriental Literature :

“The growing tendency among educated natives to look back to the past history of our country with exaggerated veneration, or to speak of our past achievements in the region of literature and philosophy in terms of fulsome eulogy, would be a good sign if it were accompanied with a corresponding desire to secure an insight therein by careful study and patient research. Our decided conviction is that if they were simply to sit down and read the books on which they lavish what Dr. Chalmers, calls the ‘idolatry of their praise,’ their retrospective veneration would give place to sheer disgust; and their Quixotic schemes of reformation brought about by an indigenous or Oriental *renaissance* would be scattered to the winds.... That there are some good things, some flights of thought which may justly be called sublime, in it (Oriental literature) no man, woman, or child has ever or will ever deny; but these are buried under heaps of rubbish which it needs a world of trouble to clear away; and such things, moreover, may be found amid such surroundings in the literatures of nations or peoples whom we are apt to regard with supercilious contempt. Let our educated countrymen only study what they were never tired of speaking of in glowing terms of panegyric; and the conclusion will be irresistibly forced on their minds that their only chance of rise in the scale of civilization hinges on the wide diffusion of that literature by which their own minds are being trained, and especially of that religion to which all that is grand and elevating therein is to be traced.”*

The learned pandit of Benares, now the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, is the author of a work on Hindu Philosophy so excellent, that it was translated into English by a distinguished American Sanskritist. Referring to the remark of Mr. Krishna Behari Sen, he says, “Had he really known the so-called philosophies of the Hindus he would never have said this. But such is the case with our educated young men in these days. They are utter strangers to the real teaching of the Hindu books, and they say whatever they like.”†

* *Heterodox Philosophy*, pp. 28, 29.

† *The Epiphany*, Nov. 26, 1887.

The late Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, Examiner in Sanskrit to Calcutta University, was one of ablest Indian scholars of modern times. He translated into English part of the Brahma Sutras with the commentary of Sankaracharya, and his *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy* shows deep research. What is his estimate?

"Sciences, distinct in themselves, were blended together. Objects which surpassed the limits of the human understanding, were pursued with the same confidence and eagerness with which the easiest questions were investigated. The philosophers professed to have solved problems really out of the range of our knowledge, while they threw doubts on matters which every body believed, and which none could deny without belying his nature."

"The authors began to dogmatize in the very infancy of philosophical speculation. They drew general conclusions before they had collected facts. They worked up their own ideas without sufficient attention to external phenomena. They delivered obscure sutras to exercise the ingenuity of their followers."*

Dr. Mohendralal Sircar, one of the most eminent citizens of Calcutta, said at a recent public meeting :—

"You must have observed a retrograde movement going on in our midst which I fear is calculated to retard the progress of the Hindoo race, I mean a return towards superstitions and idolatries which lie as the blackest blot upon this part of the world. The crude words and hazy conceptions of the sages are looked upon as absolute truth. No man is allowed to differ from them however much they may have differed from one another, or however much they may differ from modern science. Indeed, if we are to believe these reactionaries, it is so much the worse for modern science if she will not conform her doctrines to the transcendental nonsense of the sages."†

Every educated man can easily form his own opinion. Let him read two of the longest Upanishads, the Chhandogya and Brihad Aranyaka in the English translations by Max Müller, Roer and Rajendralal Mitra, and he will, with Dr. Mohendralal Sircar, characterise much of them as simply "transcendental nonsense."

The welfare of India is to be secured, not by a Sanskrit revival, not by touching false morality, false history, false philosophy, and false physics, but by truth.

The remark of Sir Madhava Rao should be pondered : "What is not true, cannot be patriotic."

DUTY WITH REGARD TO HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

Europe has had its philosophers who speculated from the dawn of civilization to the present time. They wrangled with each other and taught the most outrageous doctrines, just like their brethren

* *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*, p. 72.

† *The Epiphany*, Nov. 5, 1887

in India. Cicero, the greatest Roman orator, had studied philosophy at Athens, and was well acquainted with the different schools. He said there is no opinion, however absurd, which has not been held by some philosopher. Sidgwick, in his *History of Ethics* (p. 17), says that Socrates considered some of the doctrines of Greek philosophers so extravagant and so materially contradictory, that they were "like madmen disputing."

Dr. Mullens thus describes the Hindu pandit class, and shows the resemblance, in several respects, of the present state of things in India to that in ancient Greece :

"The Hindu mind is moulded in a peculiar form. In arguing with Hindus, whether learned or rude, we deal with men, not brought up from their youth, like the English and Americans, under the philosophy of common sense, and hence possessing a reason, trained by experience and sound principles to judge fitly and simply of facts before them : but we deal with men of perverted principles, of judgments warped by absurd dogmas, men who have received the Vedas as true, and are perfectly willing to forswear the evidence of their own senses, wherever the Vedas contradict them ; men who know little of the physical world, who have read little even of the world within them, and have received concerning things in general the theories which they have been taught. In Indian philosophy, therefore, we leave the sphere and age of Baconian inquiry, and are transported back to the age and schools of the philosophers of Greece. The Platonists and Epicureans, the Atomists and Stoics, are living and studying before our eyes. We behold the same select circle of students, the same system of verbal instruction, the same deference to authority. The same antique principles, the same deficiency of physical research exists among them, as amongst the sages of ancient Greece. The groves of Academus, and the many schools of young philosophers, still exist at Nuddea and Benares. Gorgias still displays his subtle rhetoric in paradox and sophistry, Platos and Aristotles still lecture to their disciples on the origin of the universe, the *summum bonum*, and the future of the soul. The defenders of pantheism still sit in conclave, discussing the illusions of Maya and the real nature of existing entities ; and when they have proved to their satisfaction that everything is *Brahma*, they break up their lecture, and proceeding to the Ganges, spend two hours, sitting on its muddy bank, repeating mantras, reciting prayers, throwing in flowers, sprinkling the appointed water, and bathing in proper rule, in honour of those very gods, whose separate existence as real beings they had just before disproved ! Such examples of contradiction between belief and practice are witnessed every day. Thousands upon thousands of men believe that both sides of a contradictory argument are true. In thousands upon thousands the divorce between principle and practice is all but complete."*

Enlightened men in India should follow the same course which has been taken in Europe. It is considered part of a liberal educa-

* *Religious Aspects of Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 237, 238.

tion to have some acquaintance with the schools of Greek philosophy ; but only those opinions are retained which longer experience has shown to be well founded. In like manner, educated men should have a general view of the different systems of Indian philosophy. They are interesting as showing the workings of Hindu thought. There is much acute reasoning ; but, starting with false premises, the conclusions are often erroneous or absurd. The Nyaya is especially worthy of attention. Still, the Germans have an illustration that the study of philosophy is like sowing and reaping in the air—the harvest is *nil*.

DOCTRINES TO BE ACCEPTED INSTEAD OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

It must be admitted that Hindu Philosophy is, on many points, diametrically opposed to the views held at present by the enlightened nations of the world. No compromise between the two is possible.

In opposition to the leading tenets of Hindu philosophy the following should be adopted :

1. **God.**—There is only one God, but not in the pantheistic sense *ekam evadvityam*. Unlike the supposed Brahm, He is never unconscious ; He knows every thing that transpires throughout His vast dominions. His most distinguishing attribute is His spotless holiness. To represent Him either as *nirguna* or endued with *tanu* is most derogatory to His honour.

2. **Creation.**—God alone is without beginning or end. All things were called into existence out of nothing by His omnipotent power. We, it is true, cannot create ; but, with God, all things are possible.

3. **Man.**—We did not exist before our present birth. Our souls are immortal, or not subject to death ; but they are not eternal as God is eternal in not having a beginning. Our souls were created by God, but they are not parts of Him.

It follows from the above that there is no truth in the Hindu dogmas of transmigration and *akrishta* or *karma*. Man is a free agent.

4. **Human Duty.**—A child should love, honour, and obey his earthly father ; a subject should respect his rightful king, render to him his just service, and obey his laws. God stands to us in both relations. To Him we are indebted for existence ; our parents were, as it were, only the instruments in His hand. He is our Father in heaven. One of the oldest names of God used by the Aryans before they entered India was *Dyaus Pitur*, Heaven-Father. From our birth to the present moment we have been dependent upon Him for every breath we draw ; every blessing we enjoy is His gift. We should regard Him as an affectionate child looks

upon his father. But God is also our sovereign. He is the rightful Lord of the universe which He created. His laws are holy, just and good. To worship any other than Himself is rebellion. To ascribe to Him human vices is to be guilty of blasphemy.

Again, a child should love his brothers and sisters, and always treat them with justice and kindness. All men are children of the same Heavenly Father, and they should behave towards each other as brethren. We should do all the good we can to our fellow-men.

Our duty may be summed up in *love to God* and *love to man*.

Hindu philosophy, on the contrary, teaches a man blasphemously to think that he is God, and selfishly to seek only his own happiness by refraining from all action.

5. **Cause of Man's Degradation.**—Hinduism ascribes this to *avidya*, ignorance of the supposed truth that he is God. Christianity attributes it to sin. We are all guilty before God. We have broken His laws times without number. Instead of loving our neighbour, we have selfishly sought our own happiness.

6. **Pardon.**—According to *karma*, every sin must be punished: there is no forgiveness under any circumstances. This, like some other things, is a limitation of God's power. A king is able to pardon a criminal, and so, much more, is God. Pardon, however, requires to be exercised with great judgment or the effects would be most disastrous. Krishna says in the Bhagavad Gita, that at crises in the world's history, he becomes incarnate. This dimly shadows forth the Son of God becoming incarnate and suffering death on the cross for man's redemption. God's justice is satisfied, and forgiveness is now freely offered to all who trust in Jesus as their Saviour. It is accompanied by genuine sorrow for sin, and a turning from every evil way.

7. **Salvation by Grace.**—In the so-called sacred books of the Hindus, Buddhists, and Muhammadans, says Sir Monier Williams:—

"The one key-note running through them all is salvation by works. They all declare that salvation must be purchased, must be bought with a price, and that the sole price, the sole purchase money, must be our own works and deservings.

"Here, then we make our grand contrast, and draw our broad line of separation. Our own Holy Bible, our own sacred Book of the East, is from beginning to end a protest against this doctrine. Good works are indeed enjoined upon us in our own sacred Book of the East far more strongly than in any other sacred book of the East; but they are only the outcome of a grateful heart—they are only the thankoffering of the fruits of our faith. • They are never the ransom money of the true disciples of Christ. 'Put off the pride of self-righteousness,' says our Holy Bible; 'it is filthy garment, utterly unfit to cover the nakedness of your soul at that awful moment when death brings you face to face with a

holy God.' 'Put on the garment of self-righteousness' says every other sacred book of the East. 'Cling closely to it. Fold it closely to your heart of hearts. Multiply your prayers, your penances, your pilgrimages, your ceremonies, your external rites of all kinds; for nothing else but your own meritorious acts, accumulated like capital at a bank, can save you from eternal ruin.' We can understand, then, the hold which these so-called sacred books of the East continue to exert on the natives of India; for the pride of self-righteousness is very dear to the human heart. It is like a tight-fitting inner garment, the first to be put on, the last to be put off."

8. **The Chief End of Man.**—This, according to Hindu philosophy, is deliverance from future births and unconscious absorption into the Deity. Kapila's first aphorism is: 'The complete cessation of pain, of three kinds, is the complete end of man.' "Such a *summum bonum*, implying nothing more than a state of nonentity and unconnected with any kind of moral action," says Dr. Bullantyne, "might satisfy tortoises, but not men."

A Christian catechism says, "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and enjoy Him for ever." By glorifying God is meant acknowledging His perfections, and behaving suitably to them, by trusting, loving, and obeying Him. 'To enjoy Him for ever, is to have an eternal conscious happy existence in His presence.

9. **Strength for Duty.**—It is not enough to know what we ought to do. Men often

"See the right; approve it too;
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

A Hindu writer says, "This powerful devil of a deceitful heart is fiercer than fire, more impassable than the mountains, and harder than adamant: sooner might the ocean be emptied than the mind be restrained." In the contest with evil which every man must wage, if he would be saved, Hindu philosophy leaves him to his own resources; Christianity offers him the help of God's Holy Spirit.

For further details on the above important points, the reader is referred to some of the little books mentioned on the last page of the wrapper, but especially to the New Testament. Earnest religious inquiry, with prayer for divine guidance, is the duty of every human being.

RELIGION OF VITAL, PERSONAL IMPORTANCE.

The Hindus are prone to speculate about religion, but often they do not realize that it is far more than an abstract theory, that it is a matter which intimately concerns their own well-being both in this life and in the eternal unseen world which they must enter at death.

The following remarks of Bishop Caldwell apply to most Hindus, educated or uneducated :

“ Practically it matters very little in general what theosophy or philosophy a Hindu professes, what his ideas may be about the most ancient form of his religion, or even what his ideas may be about the religious reforms that the age is said to require. As a matter of fact, and in so far as his actual course in life is concerned, he is content, except in a small number of exceptional cases, to adhere with scrupulous care to the traditional usages of his caste and sect. His ideas may have received a tincture from his English education, but ordinarily his actions differ, in no particular of any importance, from those of his progenitors.”

Most men are absorbed by pursuit of the present. The insufficiency of this is well illustrated by the following anecdote :

About three hundred years ago, a young man came into a distinguished University in Europe to study law. His long cherished desire was at last gratified. He possessed considerable talents, and commenced his studies with bright hopes.

Soon afterwards, the student called on a good old man, who devoted his life to the benefit of the people among whom he lived. The young man told him that he had come to the University on account of its great fame, and that he intended to spare no pains or labour to get through his studies as quickly as possible.

The good old man listened with great patience and then said :—

“ Well, and when you have got through your course of studies, what do you mean to do ?”

“ Then I shall take my degree,” answered the young man.

“ And then ?” asked his venerable friend.

“ And then,” continued the youth, “ I shall have a number of difficult questions to manage, shall catch people’s notice by my eloquence, my zeal, my learning, my acuteness, and gain a great reputation.”

“ And then ?” repeated the good man.

“ And then,” replied the young student, “ why there cannot be a question I shall be promoted to some high office. Besides, I shall make money and grow rich.”

“ And then ?” continued the old man.

“ And then,” added the young lawyer, “ then I shall be comfortably and honourably settled in wealth and dignity.”

“ And then ?” asked his friend.

“ And then,” said the youth, “ and then—and then—then I shall die.”

Here the good old man raised his voice : “ AND WHAT THEN ?” Whereupon the young man made no answer, but cast down his head and went away. The last, “ And then” had, like lightning, pierced his soul, and he could not get rid of it. The student, instead of devoting his life to the pursuit of the pleasures and honours of

this world, sought to promote the glory of God and the good of his country.

Man needs a religion. In youth, in the time of prosperity, the thoughts of God, of death and a future state, may be distasteful, and the world may be considered sufficient to satisfy the desires. But a change will take place in all. The dark clouds of affliction will overcast the sky ; wealth may take to itself wings and fly away ; the coveted office may not be gained ; health, the absence of which embitters every earthly pleasure, may be broken ; loved ones may be removed by death, and, sooner or later the inexorable summons will reach ourselves.

Fairbairn thus strikingly shows of the wants of the soul :—

“Man has noble instincts and impulses that impel him to seek the true, to admire the lovely, to worship the good, to feel after and find the Infinite Perfection in which the true, and right, and beautiful, blend into a divine and personal Unity. Man has deep moral convictions of rights that are his due, of duties that he owes, of an eternal law he is bound to discover and obey. Man has sad and remorseful experiences, the sense of unfulfilled duties, of wasted hours, of sorrows that have turned the anticipated joys of his life into utter miseries, of mean and unmanly sins against conscience and heart, against man and God, of losses unredeemed by gain, of the lonely anguish that comes in the hour of bereavement and throws across the life a shadow that no sunshine can pierce. And out of these mingling instincts and impulses, convictions and experiences, rise man's manifold needs, those cravings after rest, those gropings after a strong hand to hold and trust, those cries for pardon, those unutterable groanings after light shed from a Divine face upon his gloom, in which lie at once the greatness and misery of man.”

The only way in which you can be safe and happy for time and for eternity, is to become reconciled to God, your heavenly Father, and to make the doing of His will the grand object of your life. You may strive to be rich and yet die a poor man ; you may set your heart on some honour which always eludes your grasp. Even should you attain riches and rank, the loss of health, or some other affliction, may damp your joys ; while, even at the best, the want of permanence must cast a shadow over all. Not so if you live for God. You may do His will in the lowest sphere as well as in the highest ; when prostrated by sickness, as much as when most actively engaged. Milton says,

“They also serve who only stand and wait.”

“Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.”

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART III.

VEDIC HINDUISM.

Yatha devah, tatha bhaktah,

"As is the god, so is the worshipper."

'Thou thoughtest that I (God) was altogether such an one as thyself.'

The Bible.

"What is not true cannot be patriotic."

Raja Sir Mudhara Row, K. C. S. I.



MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY.

1ST. ED.] . 1888.

[2,000.

PREFATORY NOTE.

There are no books more esteemed by the Hindus than the Vedas, and few of which they know so little. The following pages, consisting chiefly of extracts from the writings of the best Orientalists—Indian and Western—are intended to give a general idea of the Vedas and Brahmanas, with translations of several of the hymns, quoted in full, as specimens.

The compiler is mainly indebted to the following works :—

Arya Samaj, Principles and Teaching of the. A Series of Lectures by Pandit Kharak Singh and Dr. Martyn Clark. The Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore.

Banerjea, Rev. Dr. K. M. *Oxford Mission Papers.*

Eggeling, Professor. *Translation of the Satapatha Brahmana.* Sacred Books of the East.

Forman, Rev. H. *The Arya Samaj.* North India Tract Society, Allahabad.

Haug, Dr. *Translation of the Aitareya Brahmanam.* Bombay.

Kunte, Mr. M. M., B. A., *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India.* Bombay.

Macdonald, Rev. K. S., M. A. *The Vedic Religion.* Nisbet 5s.

Muir, Dr. John, *Sanskrit Texts.* 5 Vols. Trübner.

Müller, Professor Max, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature, Hibbert Lectures, &c., &c.*

Rajendralala Mitra, Dr. *Indo-Aryans.* 2 Vols. Newman, Calcutta.

Weber, Professor, *History of Indian Literature.* Trübner.

Whitney, Professor. *Oriental and Linguistic Studies.* Scribner.

Wilson, Professor, B. H. *Translation of the Rig-Veda Samhita.* Allen.

Wilson, Rev. Dr. J. *India Three Thousand Years Ago.* Bombay.

There are numerous short extracts, generally abridged or slightly altered, which are not acknowledged. Most of the above works are somewhat expensive. *The Vedic Religion*, by the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, is comparatively cheap, and contains much valuable information. It may be obtained at the Bible and Tract House, Chowringhee, Calcutta, price Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Students, well acquainted with Sanskrit, should study the Vedas in the original. It must be acknowledged that, at present, it is very difficult to get access to them. The new edition of the Rig-Veda with Sayana's commentary, will help to remove this obstacle. Still, the translations give a fair idea of the contents.

The reader is earnestly invited to investigate the subject for himself, and consider how far the Vedic hymns and Brahmanas meet the wants of the soul. The concluding appeal of the late Rev. Dr. Krishna Mohun Banerjea deserves special attention.

J. MURDOCH.

MADRAS, *April*, 1888.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| NAME AND DIVISIONS OF THE VEDA | 3 |
| The Mantras, 5 ; Brahmanas, 8 ; Aranyakas and Upanishads, 9 ; the Sutras, 10. | |
| HINDU ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDAS | 10 |
| THE TIME WHEN THE VEDAS WERE COMPOSED | 14 |
| SOCIAL LIFE IN VEDIC TIMES | 16 |
| THE GODS OF THE VEDAS | 23 |
| Dyaus and Prithivi, 24, Varuna, 25 ; Indra, 26 ; Agni, 28 ; Sun Deities, 30 ; Soma, 31 ; Ka, Who? 32 ; Goddesses, 32 ; Pitris, 33 ; Sacrificial Implements, 35. | |
| THE RELATION OF THE WORSHIPPERS TO THE GODS | 35 |
| THE RELIGION OF THE VEDAS POLYTHEISTIC | 36 |
| THE GODS NOT MENTIONED IN THE VEDAS | 38 |
| THE OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES OF THE VEDAS | 39 |
| Soma, 41 ; Animal Sacrifices, 42 ; Purushamedha, Human Sacrifices, 45 ; Reaction against Sacrifices, 49. | |
| THE PRAYERS OF THE VEDAS | 52 |
| SPECIMENS OF RIG-VEDA HYMNS | 57 |
| Hymns to Agni, 57 ; Indra, 58 ; the Maruts, 60 ; Parjanya, 60 ; Surya, 61 ; Ushas, 62 ; the Aswins, 62 ; Soma, 63 ; Miscella- neous Hymns, 63. | |
| THE BRAHMANAS | 68 |
| The Aitareya Brahmana, 63 ; Satapatha Brahmana, 70. | |
| THE ĀRYA SAMAJ | 74 |
| REVIEW | 84 |
| False Patriotism, 85 ; Estimates of the Vedas, 86 ; Why the Vedas cannot be accepted as a Revelation, 87 ; Truths in the Vedas, 90. | |
| A RETURN TO VEDIC HINDUISM IMPOSSIBLE. | 93 |

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART III.

VEDIC HINDUISM.

INTRODUCTION.

In the series of *Papers on Religious Reform*, Part I. treats of POPULAR HINDUISM. This was defined to be the religion of the Epic Poems, Puranas, Tantras, and aboriginal Cults. Part II., PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM, investigates the systems unfolded in the Upanishads, the Darsanas, or Schools of Philosophy, and the Bhagavad Gita.

Part III., VEDIC HINDUISM, takes up the most ancient form of the religion, contained in the Vedas and Brahmanas.

Though considered separately, it has been mentioned that the different systems blend into each other.

The Vedas the highest Hindu authorities.—The Hindu sacred books are divided into two great classes, called *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*. *Śruti*, which means hearing, denotes direct revelation; *Smṛiti*, recollection, includes the sacred books which are admitted to have been composed by human authors.

Professor Max Müller thus shows the estimation in which the Vedas are held :—

“According to the orthodox views of Indian theologians, not a single line of the Veda was the work of human authors. The whole Veda is in some way or other the work of the Deity; and even those who received the revelation, or, as they express it, those who saw it, were not supposed to be ordinary mortals, but beings raised above the level of common humanity, and less liable therefore to error in the reception of revealed truth. . . . The human element, called *pauruṣheyatva* in Sanskrit, is drawn out of every corner or hiding-place, and as the Veda is held to have existed in the mind of the Deity before the beginning of time, every allusion to historical events, of which there are not a few, is explained away with a zeal and ingenuity worthy of a better cause.”

“The laws of Manu, according to the Brahmanic theology, are not revelation; they are not *Śruti*, but only *Smṛiti*. If these laws or any

other work of authority can be proved on any point to be at variance with a single passage of the Veda, their authority is at once overruled."*

The inspiration of the Veda, says Monier Williams, is regarded as so self-convincing, "as to require no proof, and to be entirely beyond the province of reason or argument."

Hindu Ignorance of the Vedas.—Although the Vedas are held in the highest estimation by the Hindus, their real character is almost entirely unknown to them. Very few copies of them existed until they were printed in Europe. It has often been said that if the Vedic Aryans were to reappear and act before their descendants their former life, they would be regarded with horror as a most impure and irreligious people. They killed cows and ate their flesh!

The later books were studied by the learned in India instead of the Vedas themselves. "When Rammohun Roy was in London," says Max Müller, "he saw at the British Museum a young German scholar, Friedrich Rosen, busily engaged in copying MSS. of the Rig-Veda. The Rajah was surprised, but he told Rosen that he ought not to waste his time on the Hymns, but that he should study the text of the Upanishads."†

Publication of the Vedas.—For a long time it was very difficult for European scholars to gain a knowledge of the Veda. "All other Sanskrit MSS. were freely communicated to Englishmen resident in India, but not the MSS. of the Veda. And even in cases where such MSS. had fallen into the hands of barbarians, the Pandits declined to translate them for them. Colebrooke alone seems to have overcome all these difficulties, and his Essays 'On the Vedas, or the Sacred Writings of the Hindus,' though published in 1805, are still extremely valuable."‡

Rosen published a specimen of the Hymns of the Rig-Veda in 1830. He died soon after, and only the first book of the Rig-Veda, translated into Latin, was finished by him, and published after his death in 1838.

In 1845 Max Müller was in Paris copying the text of the Rig-Veda with the commentary of Sayana Acharya. A year or two later, he was authorised by the East India Company to bring out an edition of both at their expense. The first Volume appeared in 1849. The editing occupied about twenty years. The cost of a new edition is to be borne by the Maharaja of Vizianagram.

The text of the Rig-Veda, in Roman character, was printed in Berlin in 1861.

An English translation of the Rig-Veda, based on the commentary of Sayana, was prepared by the late Professor Wilson.

The Rev. K. S. Macdonald mentions Shankar Pundit's *Vedar-thayātna*, an English and Marathi translation with notes and com-

* *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I.

† Max Müller, *Biographical Essays*, p. 39.

mentaries. Four volumes, of upwards of 900 pages each, containing 275 hymns, have appeared. A Bengali translation has lately been completed.

Dr. John Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, in five volumes, give many quotations classified under various heads. This is a most valuable work, which will be largely used in the following compilation. The text of the other Vedas has been published either in Europe or in India.

NAME AND DIVISIONS OF THE VEDA.

VEDA is from the Sanskrit *vid*, know, kindred with the Latin *vid*, and the English *to wit*. In its general sense it is sometimes applied by the Brahmans to the whole body of their most ancient sacred literature. More strictly, it denotes four collections of hymns which are respectively known by the names of Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sama-Veda, and Atharva-Veda. They are supposed to contain the science, as teaching that knowledge which, of all others, is best worth acquiring.

"The general form of the Vedas is that of lyric poetry. They contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindu people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilization, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds, and sung of other matters which kindled their poetical fervour."*

Metres.—Great importance is attached to the Metres used. Dr. Haug says:—

"The power and significance of the Hotri-priests at a sacrifice consists in their being the masters of the sacred word, which is frequently personified by *Vach*, i. e. Speech, who is identical with Sarasvati, the goddess of learning in the later Hindu Pantheon. Speech has, according to the opinion of the earliest divines, the power of vivifying and killing. The sacred words pronounced by the Hotar effect, by dint of the innate power of *Vach*, the spiritual birth of the sacrificer, form his body, raise him up to heaven, connect him with the prototypes of those things which he wishes to obtain (such as children, cattle, &c.) and make him attain to his full life term, which is a hundred years; but they are at the same time a weapon by means of which the sacrificer's enemies, or he himself (if the Hotar have any evil designs against him) can be killed, and all evil consequences of sin (this is termed *paṇman*) be destroyed. The power and effect of Speech as regards the obtaining of any particular thing wished for, mainly lies in the form in which it is uttered. Thence the great importance of the metres, and the choice of words and terms. Each metre is the invisible master of something obtainable in this world;

* * Whitney's *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, Vol. I., p. 5.

it is as it were, its exponent, and ideal. This great significance of the metrical speech is derived from the number of syllables of which it consists; for each thing has (just as in the Pythagorean system) a certain numerical proportion. The Gayatri metre, which consists of three times eight syllables, is the most sacred, and is the proper metre for Agni, the god of fire, and chaplain of the gods. It expresses the idea of Brahma: therefore the sacrificer must use it when he wishes anything closely connected with Brahma, such as acquirement of sacred knowledge, and the thorough understanding of all problems of theology. The Trishtubh, which consists of four times eleven syllables, expresses the idea of strength and royal power; thence it is the proper metre by which Indra, the king of the gods, is to be invoked. Any one wishing to obtain strength and royal power, principally a Kshatriya, must use it. A variety of it, the Ushnik metre of 28 syllables, is to be employed by a sacrificer who aspires for longevity, for 28 is the symbol of life. The Jagati, a metre of 48 syllables, expresses the idea of cattle. Any one who wishes for wealth in cattle, must use it. The same idea (or that of the sacrifice) is expressed by the Pañkti metres (five times eight syllables). The Brihati, which consists of 36 syllables, is to be used when a sacrificer is aspiring to fame and renown; for this metre is the exponent of those ideas. The Anushtubh metre, of 32 syllables, is the symbol of the celestial world; thence a candidate for a place in heaven has to use it. The Viraj, of 30 syllables, is food and satisfaction; thence one who wishes for plenty of food, must employ it.”*

One or two illustrative quotations are given below from the Aitareya Brahmana :

“He who wishes for long life, should use two verses in the *Ushnik* metre; for Ushnik is life. He who having such a knowledge uses two Ushniks arrives at his full age (i. e., 100 years).

“He who desires heaven should use two *Anushtubhs*. There are 64 syllables in two *Anushtubhs*. Each of these three worlds (earth, air, and sky) contains 21 places, one rising above the other (just as the steps of a ladder). By 21 steps he ascends to each of these worlds severally; by taking the sixty-fourth step he stands firm in the celestial world. He who having such a knowledge uses two *Anushtubhs* gains a footing (in the celestial world).

“He who desires strength should use two *Trishtubhs*. *Trishtubh* is strength, vigour, and sharpness of senses. He who knowing this, uses two *Trishtubhs*, becomes vigorous, endowed with sharp senses and strong.

“He who desires cattle should use two *Jagatis*. Cattle are *Jagati* like. He who knowing this uses two *Jagatis*, becomes rich in cattle.”†

“The metres,” says Max Müller, “were originally connected with dancing and music. The names for metre in general confirm this. *Chhandas*, metre, denotes stepping; *vritta*, metre from *vrit*,

* Introduction to the Aitareya Brahmanam, pp. 75-77.

† Haug's Translation, pp. 12, 13.

to turn, meant originally the last three or four steps of a dancing movement, the turn, the *versus*, which determined the whole character of a dance and of a metre. *Trishtubh*, the name of a common metre in the Veda, meant three steps, because its turn, its *vritta*, or *versus*, consisted of three steps, one short and two long.

"The laws regulating the succession of long and short syllables within the limits of the hemistich are in general anything but strict; all that is aimed at seems to be to give the whole a kind of rhythmical flow, or general metrical movement, on which the four last syllables shall stamp the peculiar character; their quantity is much more definitely established, yet even among them exceptional irregularities are by no means rare."

Language.—The language of the Vedas is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character, from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all departments. It is untrammelled by the rules by which Sanskrit after it passed into oblivion as a vernacular dialect was forced, as it were, into a mould of regularity by long grammatical treatment, and received a development which is in some respects foreign and unnatural. The dissimilarity between the two in respect of the stock of words of which each is made up is not less marked. Not single words alone, but whole classes of derivatives and roots, which the Veda exhibits in familiar use, are wholly wanting, or have left but faint traces in the classical dialect.*

Subdivisions.—The hymns are called *Mantras* or *Suktas*. The entire number form the *Sanhita* (or *Samhita*) collection. They are arranged in two methods. One divides them amongst eight *Khandas* (portions), or *Ashtakas* (eighths), each of which is again subdivided into eight *Adhyayas*, lectures. The other plan classes the *Suktas* under ten *Mandalas*, circles, subdivided into rather more than a hundred *Anuvakas*, or sub-sections. A further subdivision of the *Suktas* into *Vargas*, or paragraphs of about five stanzas each, is common to both classifications.†

RIG-VEDA.—The name means the Veda of hymns of praise. *Rich*, which before the initial soft letter of Veda, is changed into *Rig*, is derived from a root which in Sanskrit means to celebrate. When standing by itself, *rich* becomes *rik*.

The Rig-Veda is divided into ten Mandalas or books. As early as about 600 B. C. every verse, every word, every syllable had been carefully counted. The number of verses varies from 10,402 to 10,622; that of the *padas*, or words, is 153,826; that of the syllables, 432,000.

The ten books form separate collections, each belonging to one of the ancient families of India. The first seven books resemble each

* Abridged from Whitney.

† Professor Wilson's Introduction, p. xiv.

other in character and arrangement. They begin with hymns addressed to Agni, and these hymns, with the exception of the tenth Mandala, are invariably followed by hymns addressed to Indra. After the hymns addressed to these two deities we generally meet with hymns addressed to the Visva Devah, or 'all the gods.' This shows that the Mandalas do not represent collections made independently by different families; but collections carried out simultaneously in different localities under the supervision of one central authority.

The eighth Mandala contains 92 hymns, assigned to a great number of different authors; hymns of the same author do not always stand together, and of any internal arrangement according to divinities there is no trace. The ninth Mandala contains 114 hymns addressed to the Soma, the intoxicating drink prepared from the Soma plant. The tenth Mandala wears the appearance of being a later appendage to the collection. The first half is arranged upon no apparent system; the second commences with the longer hymns and diminishes their length regularly to the close. Many of the hymns do not differ from the mass of those found in the earlier books, but others are evidently of a later date and conceived in another spirit.

The Rig-Veda is an historical collection intended to preserve from further corruption those ancient songs which the Aryans had brought with them, as their most precious possession, from the earliest seats of the race.

In the eyes of the historical student the Rig-Veda is the Veda *par excellence*. The other Vedas contain chiefly extracts from the Rig-Veda, together with sacrificial formulas, charms, and incantations. The Rig-Veda contains all that had been saved of the ancient, sacred, and popular poetry, a collection made for its own sake, and not for the sake of any sacrificial performances.

The priests who specially recited the verses of the Rig-Veda were called Hotris.

YAJUR-VEDA.—The name comes from *Yaj*, sacrifice. It contains the formulas and verses to be muttered by the priests and their assistants who had chiefly to prepare the sacrificial ground, to dress the altar, slay the victims, and pour out the libations. The first sentences in one of the two divisions were to be uttered by the priest as he cut from a particular tree a switch with which to drive away the calves from the cows whose milk was to furnish the material of the offering.

There are two principal texts of the Yajur-Veda, called respectively the White and the Black, or the Vajasaneyi and Taittiriya Sanhitas. The Vishnu Purana gives the following explanation of their names: Vaisampayana, a pupil of the great Vyasa, was the original teacher of the Black Yajur-Veda. Yajñavalkya, one of his disciples, having displeased him, was called upon by his master to

part with the knowledge which he had acquired from him. He forthwith vomited the Yajur-Veda. The other disciples of Vaisampayana, assuming the form of partridges (*tittiri*), picked up from the ground its several dirtied texts. From this circumstance it received the name of *Taittiriya Krishna Yajur-Veda*. A more rational explanation is that Vaisampayana taught it to Yaska, who taught it to Tittiri, who also became a teacher. Yajnavalkya afterwards, by the performance of severe penances, induced the Sun to impart to him those Yajur texts which his master had not possessed. The Sun then assumed the form of a horse (*Vajin*), and communicated to him the desired texts. Hence the Sanhita was called *Vajasaneyi*, and also White (or bright) because it was revealed by the Sun.

Another explanation of the names is that the *Vajasaneyins* called their collection the White on account of its clear arrangement, while they applied the term Black, for the opposite reason, to the texts of the older school.

The Black and White Yajus differ in their arrangement. In the former the sacrificial formulas are for the most part immediately followed by their explanation; in the latter, they are entirely separated from one another.

A large portion of the materials of the Yajur-Veda is derived from the Rig-Veda, to about the half of which it is equal in both forms united. But it contains prose passages which are new.

As the manual of the priesthood, it became the great subject of study, and it has a great number of different *Sukhas* or Schools. The priests who used it were called *Adhwaryus*, offerers.

The text of both divisions has been printed either in India or in the West.

SAMA-VEDA.—This is wholly metrical. It contains 1549 verses, only 78 of which have not been traced to the Rig-Veda. The verses have been selected and arranged for the purpose of being chanted at the sacrifices of which the intoxicating juice of the Soma plant was the chief ingredient. Many of the invocations are addressed to Soma, some to Agni, and some to Indra. There are special song books directing the manner in which they were to be intoned. The priests who recited the Sama-Veda were called *Udgatris*, chanters.

The text has been printed, and there is an English translation.

ATHARVA-VEDA.—This Veda is of later origin than the others. Manu speaks of only the Three Vedas. One-sixth of the work is in prose, and about one-sixth of the hymns is found in the Rig-Veda. The number of the hymns is about 760, and of the verses about 6,000. Professor Whitney, who edited the work in America, thus describes its character:—

“In the earlier hymns of the other Vedas the gods are approached with

reverential awe indeed, but with love and confidence also ; the demons, embraced under the general name *rakshas*, are objects of horror whom the gods ward off and destroy : the divinities of the Atharvan are regarded rather with a kind of cringing fear, as powers whose wrath is to be deprecated, and whose favour curried for. It knows a whole host of imps hobgoblins, and addresses itself to them directly, offering them homage to induce them to abstain from doing harm. The *mantra*, or prayer, which in the older Veda is the instrument of devotion, is here rather the tool of superstition ; it wrings from the unwilling hands of the gods the favours which of old their good-will to men induced them to grant, or by simple magical power obtains the fulfilment of the utterer's wishes. The most prominent characteristic of the Atharva is the multitude of incantations which it contains. These are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited, or, more often, by the sorcerer for him, and they are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends. Most frequently, perhaps, long life or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought ; in that case a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given, or, in numerous instances some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate means of the cure ; further, the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate. Hymns of a speculative character are not wanting, yet their number is not so great as might naturally be expected.

"The Atharva Veda forms an intermediate step rather to the gross idolatries and superstitions of the ignorant mass, than to the sublimated pantheism of the Brahmins."*

BRAHMANAS.

The BRAHMANAS, 'belonging to Brahmins,' are that part of the Veda which is intended for the guidance of Brahmins in the use of the hymns of the Mantra, and therefore of later production ; but the Brahmanas, equally with the Mantra, is held to be *Śruti*, revealed word. They contain the details of the Vedic ceremonies, with long explanations of their origin and meaning ; they give instructions as to the use of particular verses and metres ; and they abound with curious legends, human and divine, in illustration. Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exogetical, mystical, and philosophical speculations than to the ceremonial itself.

Each of the Sanhitas has its Brahmanas, and these generally maintain the essential character of the Veda to which they belong. Thus the Brahmanas of the Rik are specially devoted to the duties of the Hotri, who recites the verses, those of the Yajur to the performance of the sacrifices by the Adhvaryu, and those of the Saman to the chanting by the Udgatri. The Rik has the *Āitareya Brahmana*,

* *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, pp. 20-21.

which is perhaps the oldest and may date as far back as the seventh century B. C. It has another, called Kaushitaki. The Black Yajur Veda has the Taittiriya Brahmana, and the White Yajur Veda has the Satapatha Brahmana, one of the most important of all the Brahmanas. The Sama Veda has eight Brahmanas, of which one of the best known is the Tandya. The Atharva has only one, the Gopatha Brahmana. "The Brahmanas," says Professor Eggeling, "form our chief, if not our only, source of information regarding one of the most important periods in the social and mental development of India. They are also of the highest importance as the only genuine prose works which the Sanskrit as a popular language has produced."

THE ARANYAKAS AND UPANISHADS.

Aranyaka means 'belonging to the forest.' The Aranyakas are attached to the Brahmanas, and are intended for study in the forest by Brahmins who have retired from the world. They expound the mystical sense of the ceremonies, discuss the nature of God, &c. There are four of them extant: 1. Brihad; 2. Taittiriya; 3. Aitareya; and 4. Kaushitaki Aranyaka. The Aranyakas are closely connected with the Upanishads, and the names are occasionally used interchangeably. Thus the Brihad is called indifferently Brihad Aranyaka or Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad: it is attached to the Satapatha Brahmana. The Aitareya Upanishad is a part of the Aitareya Brahmana.

Max Müller says:—

"We cannot hesitate for a moment to consider the Aranyaka as an enlargement upon the Brahmana. The chief interest which the Aranyakas possess at the present moment consists in their philosophy. The philosophical chapters well known under the name of Upanishads are almost the only portion of Vedic literature which is extensively read to this day. They contain, or are supposed to contain, the highest authority on which the various systems of philosophy in India rest. Not only the Vedanta philosopher, who, by his very name, professes his faith in the ends and objects of the Veda, but the Sankhya, the Vaisheshika, the Nyaya, and Yoga philosophers, all pretend to find in the Upanishads some warranty for their tenets, however antagonistic in their bearing. The same applies to the numerous sects that have existed and still exist in India. Their founders, if they have any pretensions to orthodoxy, invariably appeal to some passage of the Upanishads in order to substantiate their own reasonings. Now it is true that in the Upanishad themselves there is so much freedom and breadth of thought that is not difficult to find in them some authority for almost any shade of philosophical opinion."*

THE SUTRAS.

The Sutra period forms the connecting link between the Vedic and the later Sanskrit. *Sutra* means string; and all the works written in this style, on subjects the most various, are nothing but one uninterrupted string of short sentences, twisted together into the most concise forms. Shortness is the great object of this style of composition, and it is a proverbial saying (taken from the *Mahabhashya*) amongst the Pandits, that an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son. "Every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy, is reduced to a mere skeleton." It is impossible to understand them without the commentary by which these works are usually accompanied.

"*The Sutras*" generally signify those which are connected with the Vedas, viz., the *Kalpa Sutras*, relating to ritual; the *Grihya Sutras*, to domestic rites; and the *Samayacharika Sutras*, to conventional usages.

The *Sutras*, although based upon the *Sruti*, are yet avowedly composed by human authors. Whenever they appear to be in contradiction with the *Sruti*, their authority is at once overruled.

THE VEDAS THE MAIN POINT OF CONSIDERATION.

Although the different divisions of Vedic literature have been briefly described, attention will be chiefly confined to the Vedas strictly so called. The *Upanishads* have been considered under the head of PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM.

HINDU ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDAS.

The common belief in India is that the Vedas are eternal. They existed in the mind of the Deity before the beginning of time. At the commencement of each *Kalpa*, Brahm reveals them to Brahma, and they issue from his four mouths. They are taught by Brahma to the *Rishis* whose names they bear.

The different opinions entertained regarding the origin of the Vedas will now be considered. The writings of Dr. John Muir furnish a storehouse of information on the subject. He gives the passages both in Sanskrit and in English translations. The Third Volume of his *Sanskrit Texts* treats of "The Vedas, Opinions of their Authors, and of later Indian writers of their Origin, Inspiration, and Authority." Only a few quotations can be made.

Opinions may be classed under two heads.

1. Opinions expressed in the Hindu Sacred Books.

1. *The Vedas sprung from the mystical sacrifice of Purusha.*

The hymn *Purusha Sukta* of the *Rig-Veda* (x, 90) contains the

following: "From that universal sacrifice sprung the Rich and Saman verses: the metres sprung from it: from it the Yajush arose."

2. *The Vedas were cut or scraped off from Skambha as being his hair and his mouth.*

The Atharva-Veda (x. 7, 70) says, "Declare who is that Skambha (the Supporting-Principle) from whom they cut off the Rich verses; from whom they scraped off the Yajush, of whom the Saman verses are the hairs, and the verses of Atharva and Angiras the mouth."

3. *The Vedas sprung from Indra, and he sprung from them.*

The Atharva-Veda (xiii. 4, 38) says, "Indra sprung from the Rich verses; the Rich verses sprung from him."

4. *The Vedas sprung from Time.*

Atharva-Veda (xix. 54, 3.) "From Time the Rich verses sprung; the Yajush sprung from Time."

5. *The Vedas sprung from the leavings of Sacrifice.*

Atharva-Veda (xi. 7, 24.) "From the leavings of the sacrifice sprung the Rich and Saman verses, the metres, the Purana with the Yajush, and all the gods who dwell in the sky."

6. *The Vedas were produced from Agni, Vayu and Surya.*

The Eleventh Khanda of the Satapatha Brahmana gives the following account. Prajapati, after performing austerities, created three worlds—earth, air, and sky. He infused warmth into these three worlds. From them three lights were produced—Agni, Vayu, and Surya. He infused heat into these three lights. From them the three Vedas were produced—the Rig-Veda from Agni, the Yajur-Veda from Vayu, and the Sama-Veda from Surya.

Manu assigns to them the same origin.

7. *The Vedas are the breathings of the Great Being.*

Satapatha Brahmana (xiv. 5, 4, 10): "As from a fire made of moist wood various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this Great Being; the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, &c., all these are his breathings."

8. *The Vedas were dug by the gods out of the Mind-Ocean.*

Satapatha Brahmana (vii. 5, 2, 52). "Mind is the Ocean. From the mind-ocean, with speech for a shovel, the gods dug out the triple Vedic science."

9. *The Vedas are the hair of Prajapati's beard.*

Taittiriya Brahmana, (iii. 39, 1).

10. *Vach (speech) is the mother of the Vedas.*

Taittiriya Brahmana (ii. 3, 85). "Vach is an imperishable thing and the first-born of the ceremonial, the mother of the Vedas, and the centre-point of immortality."

11. *The Vedas issued from the mouth of Brahma.*

Vishnu Purana (i. 5, 48). "From his eastern mouth Brahma formed the Gayatri, the Rich verses; &c. From his southern mouth

he created the Yajush verses, &c. From his western mouth he formed the Saman verses, &c. From his northern mouth he framed the Atharvan, &c.

12. *The Vedas were produced from the Gayatri.*

Harivamsa, verse 11, 516. After framing the world, Brahma "next created the Gayatri of three lines, mother of the Vedas, and also the four Vedas which sprang from the Gayatri."

13. *Sarasvati was the mother of the Vedas.*

Mahabharata, Santi-parva, verses 12, 920. "Behold Sarasvati, mother of the Vedas, abiding in me.

14. *The Vedas are Vishnu.*

Vishnu Purana, iii. 3, 19: "He is composed of the Rich, of the Saman, of the Yajush; he is the soul, consisting of the essence of the Rich, Yajush and Saman, he is the soul of embodied spirits."

2. Opinions of the Rishis with regard to the origin of the Vedic Hymns.

The names of the authors of each hymn are preserved in the *Anukramani*, or explanatory table of contents, which has been handed down with the Veda itself, and of which the authority is unquestioned. The names of the fathers of the writers are often given as well as their own.

In later times when the Vedas were claimed to be eternal, it was pretended that these writers were only the Rishis by whom the hymns "were seen," or to whom they were communicated by Brahma. Of this there is not the slightest proof.

The Rishis claim to have written the hymns themselves, just as a carpenter makes a car, &c.

In some hymns they express no consciousness whatever of deriving assistance from any supernatural source.

Rig-Veda, i. 47, 2. "The Kanvas make a prayer to you: hear well their invocation."

i. 64, 61. "Thus O Indra, yoker of steeds, have the Gotamas made hymns for thee efficaciously."

ii. 39, 8. "These magnifying prayers, [this] hymn, O Asvins, the Gritsamadas have made for you."

x. 54, 6. "An acceptable and honorific hymn has been uttered to Indra by Vrihaduktha, maker of hymns."

i. 62, 13. "Nodhas, descendant of Gotama, fashioned this new hymn for [thee] Indra."

v. 2, 11. "I, a sage, have fabricated this hymn for thee, O powerful [deity], as a skilful workman fashions a car."

i. 61, 4. "To him (Indra) I send forth a hymn, as a carpenter a car."

The above are only specimens of 57 extracts given by Dr. Muir.

Some hymns ask for or acknowledge divine assistance just as poets of all nations often do. One poet says (Rig-Veda vi. 47, 10):

"O god (Indra), have mercy, give me my daily bread ; sharpen my mind, like the edge of an iron instrument. Whatever I now may utter, longing for thee, do thou accept it ; give me divine protection."

viii. 52, 4. "Indra was of old the promoter of the poet, and the augments of the song."

Instead of the hymns being eternal, or of infinite age, many of them are spoken of as *new*, while others are of ancient date. The Rishis entertained the idea that the gods would be more highly gratified if their praises were celebrated in new, and perhaps more elaborate and beautiful compositions, than if older and possibly ruder, prayers had been repeated.

Dr. Muir gives 52 quotations under this head. Only a few need be given :

R. V. i. 12, 11. "Glorified by our newest hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food with progeny."

i. 89, 3. "We invoke with an ancient hymn Bhaga, Mitra, &c.

vi. 44, 13. "He (Indra) who grew though the ancient and modern hymns of lauding Rishis."

vi. 48, 11. "Friends, drive hither the milch cow with a new hymn."

ix. 9, 8. "Prepare (O Soma) the paths for our newest, most recent hymn ; and, as of old, cause the lights to shine."

Panini openly states the fact that there are old and new Brahmanas ; whereas, according to the doctrine of later times, the Brahmanas are neither old nor new, but eternal and of divine origin. He rests his opinion as to the difference of dates on the evidence of language.

One argument for the eternity of the Vedas is that sound is eternal. To any person of common sense the simple statement of this proof, is its refutation.

3. Internal Evidence of the Authorship of the Vedas.—When a deed is produced in court which is affirmed to have been written many hundred years ago, there are often means of judging from the document itself as to its age. Suppose, for example, it contained the names of Warren Hastings or Hyder Ali, it could at once be known that it could not be older than last century. If it were asserted that these referred to other persons of the same name who lived long before or that they were prophecies, the conclusion would be that it was an attempt to support one falsehood by another. If the Vedas are eternal, why are the names of so many persons mentioned in them who lived in comparatively recent times ?

"The hymns of the Rig-Veda themselves supply us with numerous data by which we can judge of the circumstances to which they owed their origin, and of the manner in which they were created. They afford us very distinct indications of the locality in which they were composed.

The Indus is the great river; the Ganges is only twice mentioned; the Sarasvati was the eastern boundary.

"The hymns show us the Aryan tribes living in a state of warfare with surrounding enemies (some of them, probably, alien in race and language), and gradually, as we may infer, forcing their way onward to the east and south. They supply us with numerous specimens of the particular sorts of prayers, viz., for protection and victory, which men so circumstanced would naturally address to the gods whom they worshipped, as well as of the more common supplications which men in general offer up for the various blessings which constitute the sum of human welfare."*

4. Conclusion as to the Authorship of the Vedas.

Quotations have been given from Hindu sacred books containing fourteen different opinions as to the origin of the Vedas. In opposition to these, the authorship of many of the hymns is distinctly claimed by persons whose names are given. The hymns themselves show that they were written when the Aryans were entering India, when they had not advanced much beyond the border, and were engaged in constant wars with the aborigines.

Victory in battle was often ascribed to the virtue of some hymn. Thus in the Rig-Veda, vii. 33, 3, "Did not Indra preserve Sudas in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, O Vasishthas?"

Such hymns were considered unfailing spells, and became the sacred war-songs of a whole tribe. They were handed down from father to son as the most valuable heirloom.

The legitimate conclusion is that the Vedic hymns were written by the authors whose names they bear, and that they are not eternal.

THE TIME WHEN THE VEDAS WERE COMPOSED.

The Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit says, "The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. From the very earliest ages down to the present time, the Hindu mind seems never to have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence."

Hindu writers framed their chronology, like their geography and astronomy, out of their own heads. It was as easy to write a crore of years as a century, and the former was the more marvellous.

There is no date in India known with certainty till the time of Chandragupta, about 300 B.C., which was ascertained through the Greeks. The precise time when the Vedas were written cannot, therefore, be known with certainty. Indeed, their composition probably extended over several centuries. Max Müller estimates that they were composed, such as we now have them, about 1500 B.C.†

* Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. III, 217, 218.

† *India What can it teach us?* p. 53.

In his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. (340), he expresses the opinion that the Samhita (collection) was closed about 1000 B.C. The Brahmanas may date from 800 to 600 B.C. The Sutras may range from 600 to 200 B.C.

• THE VEDAS AT FIRST HANDED DOWN BY TRADITION.

The oldest inscriptions in India are those of Asoka, the Buddhist king, who reigned from 259 to 222 B. C. Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, who sailed down the Indus (325 B.C.), mentions that the Indians wrote letters on cotton that had been well beaten together, "but that their laws were not written." Writing was used by merchants and others, but not for literary purposes.

The Vedas, for many centuries, were handed down entirely by memory. The Guru recited a portion, and his pupils repeated it after him. There is a reference to this in the hymn about the frogs: "the one repeats the sounds of the other, as a pupil the words of his teacher."

Years were spent in learning the books by rote. Some selected certain books; others different ones; so that in this way, hymns were preserved from generation to generation.

"A Brahman," says Max Müller, "is not only commanded to pass his apprenticeship in the house of his Guru, and to learn from his mouth all that a Brahman is bound to know, but the fiercest imprecations are uttered against all who would presume to acquire their knowledge from written sources. In the Mahabharata we read, 'Those who sell the Vedas, and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell.' Kumarila says, 'That knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Sudra.'"*

The Brahmins persuaded the people to regard the Vedas with such superstitious awe, that a mere error of pronunciation was supposed to mar their miraculous power.

Professor Whitney thus explains why it was forbidden to write the Vedas:

"It is not very difficult to conjecture a reason why the Brahmins may, while acquainted with letters, have rigorously ignored them, and interdicted their confessed use in connection with the sacred literature. The Brahman priesthood was originally a class only, which grew into a close hereditary caste on the strength, mainly, of their special possession of ancient hymns, and their knowledge of how these were to be employed with due effect in the various offices of religion. The hymns had unquestionably long been handed down by oral tradition from generation to generation, in the custody of certain families or branches of the caste;

* *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 592.

each family having chiefly in charge the lyrics which its own ancestors had first sung. These were their most treasured possession, the source of their influence and authority. It might, then, naturally be feared that, if committed to the charge of written documents, when writing came to be known and practised among the more cultivated of the people—a class which could not be entirely restricted to the Brahmanic caste—and if suffered to be openly copied and circulated, passed from hand to hand, examined by profane eyes, the sacred texts would become the property of the nation at large, and the Brahmanic monopoly of them would be broken down. If, on the contrary, the old method of oral instruction alone in sacred things were rigidly kept up, if all open and general use of written texts were strictly forbidden, it is clear that the schools of Brahmanic theology would flourish, and remain the sole medium of transmission of the sacred knowledge, and that the doctrines and rites of religion would be kept under the control of the caste.”*

The Druids, the ancient British priests, acted exactly in the same way. Caesar says that some of them spent twenty years in learning a large number of verses by heart, and that they considered it wrong to commit them to writing.

The Vedas were first printed by European Scholars. Some of the editions have already been noticed.

SOCIAL LIFE IN VEDIC TIMES.

The ancestors of the Aryan nations, at a remote period, lived together, probably in the highlands of Central Asia. It was colder than India, for they counted their years by winters. In the Vedic prayers for long life, the worshipper asks for a hundred winters (*himas*). Like the northern tribes, they laid great stress upon the *ashvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice. Compared with their neighbours, they had a white or fair complexion.

When the Aryans increased in number so that their original home was unable to support them, they emigrated in bands. Some went westward towards the setting sun, and peopled Europe. Others turned their faces eastwards, and advanced towards the valley of the Indus. They marched in a large body, with their families, their servants, their cattle. India was probably entered by the mountain passes near Peshawar. Rivers were forded at conveniently shallow places, or, if deep, they were crossed in boats.

The greater part of India was then covered with forest, with scattered villages and towns belonging to the aboriginal tribes, who were of a dark complexion, and spoke a strange language. The Aryas had the pride of race in an extravagant degree, showing great contempt and hatred of the other nations with whom they

* *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, pp. 86, 87.

came in contact. They called the aborigines the 'black skin,' and as their noses were not so large as theirs, they were described as "goat-nosed" or "noseless." The aborigines were also called *Dasyus*, a word supposed to mean *enemies*. So many of them were enslaved, that the word *dasa* was afterwards applied to a servant.

Some of the *Dasyus* were like the Bhils or other wild tribes of India at present; others had a partial civilization. In several of the Vedic hymns the wealth of the *Dasyns* is mentioned, *e. g.* : "Subdue the might of the *Dasa*; may we through Indra divide his collected wealth." They had forts and cities. "Indra and Agni, by one effort together ye have shattered 90 forts belonging to the *Dasyus*." "O Indra, impetuous, thou didst shatter by thy bolt 99 cities for *Puru*."

The *Aryas*, as they advanced, gradually established themselves in the forests, fields, and villages of the aborigines. The latter contended as bravely as they could against their invaders. Their black complexion, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells during their night attacks, made the *Aryas* speak of them as demons.

The *Aryas* were the more powerful. The *Dasyns* were either driven before them or were reduced to slavery. The first great distinction in India was between the white and dark races, the conquerors and the conquered, the freeman and the slave. One of the earliest aboriginal tribes brought under subjection was called *Sudras*, and the name was extended to the whole race.

The war of invasion lasted for centuries, nor were the aborigines, as a whole, subjugated at any period.

The *Indus* is the great river of the *Vedas*; the *Ganges* is only twice mentioned. By degrees the *Aryas* spread eastward till they reached the *Sarasvati*, which was the boundary in Vedic times.

The state of society among the *Aryans*, as indicated by the hymns, will now be described.

Villages and Towns.—The invaders gradually settled in the Panjab. Villages were placed near watercourses, in positions favourable for pasturage and agriculture. The villages in some cases grew into towns, and these into cities. The houses in general, as at present, were built of mud. Some were of so frail a construction that they trembled as the *Maruts* passed, that is, when the fierce winds blew. In tracts bordering on the hills, where stone was abundant, that material was sometimes used. Indra is said to have demolished a hundred cities of stone. Iron cities or fortifications are mentioned.

Rajas and Headmen.—The country occupied by the *Aryas* was peopled by various tribes, and divided unto numerous principalities. Many names of kings occur in the *Rig-Veda*. Their meetings, whether friendly or hostile, are mentioned. Indra is represented

as living in the society of his wives like a king. When Mitra is said to occupy a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates, we may suppose that this is but an exaggerated description of a royal residence such as the poet had seen. The kings or chiefs did not acknowledge one superior. Hence sometimes an Aryan leader fought with an Aryan leader.

Mention is made of *purpati*, lords of cities, and *gramani*, heads of villages.

Domestic Relations.—In Vedic times the marriage of one wife seems to have been the rule. In some cases, from the *Swayamvara* ceremony, the bride could choose her husband. This shows that early marriage did not prevail. There was also more or less polygamy. A Rishi is said to have married in one day ten damsels. Two gods, the Ashvins, together took one wife. "Thus," says Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, "you have in the Rig-Veda, self-choice, polygamy, and polyandry." Widows were permitted to marry.

The general opinion of the female sex seems to have been that put into the mouth of Indra: "Indra declared that the mind of a woman was ungovernable and her temper fickle." R. V. viii, 33, 17.

Dress.—References are made to well-dressed females and to well-made garments. From these passages and others relating to jewels, it may be gathered that considerable attention was already paid to personal decoration. The materials of the clothing were probably cotton and wool. The form of the garments was much the same as among the modern Hindus. A turban is mentioned. References to the needle and sewing suggest that made dresses were not unknown.

Food.—Foremost came the products of the cow. Butter and curds were essential at every meal. Fried grain, mixed with milk, was particularly relished. Barley and wheat were ground and baked into cakes. But *flesh* was considered *the best food*. The Satapatha Brahmana says: *Etiad u ha vai paramam annadyam yan mamsam*.*

One of the most remarkable changes in Hindu customs since Vedic times is that with regard to the use of certain kinds of animal food. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra occupies the highest rank at present among Indian scholars, and he has investigated the subject simply to give the real facts of the case. In his *Indo-Aryans*, he has a chapter headed, "Beef in Ancient India." It begins as follows:

"The title of this paper will, doubtless, prove highly offensive to most of my countrymen; but the interest attached to the enquiry in connexion with the early social history of the Aryan race on this side of the Himalaya, will, I trust, plead my excuse. The idea of beef—the flesh of the earthly representative of the divine Bhagavati—as an article of food is so shocking to the Hindus, that thousands over thousands of the more orthodox among them never repeat the counterpart of the word in their vernaculars, and many and dire have been the sanguinary conflicts

* Quoted by Rev. F. Kittel on Sacrifice, p. 48.

which the shedding of the blood of cows has caused in this country. And yet it would seem that there was a time when not only no compunctions visitings of conscience had a place in the mind of the people in slaughtering cattle—when not only the meat of that animal was actually esteemed a valuable aliment—when not only was it a mark of generous hospitality, as among the ancient Jews, to slaughter the ‘fatted calf’ in honor of respected guests,—but when a supply of beef was deemed an absolute necessity by pious Hindus in their journey from this to another world, and a cow was invariably killed to be burnt with the dead. To Englishmen, who are familiar with the present temper of the people on the subject, and to a great many of the natives themselves, this remark may appear startling; but the authorities on which it is founded are so authentic and incontrovertible that they cannot, for a moment, be gainsaid.”

Dr. Mitra quotes Colebrooke as follows: “It seems to have been anciently the custom to slay a cow on that occasion (the reception of a guest) and a guest was therefore called a *goghna*, or ‘cow killer.’” In the “*Uttara-Rama-charitra* the venerable old poet and hermit Valmiki, when preparing to receive his brother sage Vasishtha, the author of one of the original law books (*Smritis*) which regulates the religious life of the people, and a prominent character even in the Vedas, slaughtered a lot of calves expressly for the entertainment of his guests. Vasishtha, in his turn, likewise slaughtered the ‘fatted calf’ when entertaining Visvamitra, Janaka, Satananda, Jamadagnya, and other sages and friends.”*

In the Rig-Veda, 1st Ashtaka, 4th Adhyaya, 29th Varga, the following prayer is addressed to Indra: “Hurl thy thunderbolt against this Vritra and sever his joints as (butcher’s cut up) a cow, that the rains may issue from him.”

Mr. Kunte, B. A., of Poona, author of the *Suddarshana Chintanika*, says in his Prize Essay on *The Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India*: “Hospitality was the rule of life, and guests were received with great ceremony: cows were specially killed for them.”* (p. 196).

The ancient Aryans highly valued their cows, but they did not make gods of them and worship them like the Hindus at the present time.

The sacrifice of oxen and cows, *gomedha*, will be noticed under another head.

Intoxicating liquors are mentioned in the hymns. Nearly a whole Mandala of the Rig-Veda is devoted to the praise of the Soma juice. Wine, *sura*, was also in use. “The earliest Brahman settlers,” says Dr. R. Mitra, “were a spirit-drinking race, and indulged largely both in Soma beer and strong spirits. To their gods the most acceptable and grateful offering was Soma beer, and wine or spirit was publicly sold in shops for the use of the community. In the

Rig-Veda Sanhita a hymn occurs which shows that wine was kept in leather bottles and freely sold to all comers. The *sura* of the *Saṭra-mani* and the *Vajapaya* was no other than arrack manufactured from rice meal. In the Ramayana the great sage Visvamitra is said to have been entertained with *māreya* and *sura* by his host Vasishtha. In the Mahabharata, the Yadavas are represented as extremely addicted to drinking.

Buddhism must have contributed much to check the spread of drunkenness in India, as it did in putting down the consumption of flesh meat; but it was never equal to the task of suppressing it.*

Grades of Society.—The two great divisions of the people in Vedic times were the Aryans and the aborigines, afterwards called Sudras. The chief occupations of the Aryans were fighting and cultivating the soil. Those who fought gradually acquired influence and rank, and their leaders appear as Rajas. Those who did not share in the fighting were called Vis, Vaisyas, or householders.

At first any one might preside at a sacrifice. In the Vedas there are kings who composed their own hymns to the gods, Rajarishis, who united in their person the power both of king and priest. Visvamitra, the author of the Gayatri, was a Kshatriya. The Brahman was at first simply an assistant at sacrifices; afterwards he became a *purohita*, or family priest, and thus acquired influence.

Fighting and cultivation were sometimes united. Mr. Kunte says: "The patriarch and his sons and perhaps grandsons quietly cultivated their land, but when necessary, they mounted their horses, and, sword in hand, marched against their enemies. As yet the Brahmana was not afraid of wielding a sword, nor was the Kshatriya ashamed of tilling the land."†

The caste system, with its minute and absurd rules, was not developed till later times.

• **Professions and Trades.**—Dr. Wilson, in his *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, gives the following sketch of the Social Life of the Aryas:

"The Aryas, in the times of the Vedas, were principally a pastoral, though to a certain extent an agricultural, people. Their flocks and herds and their sheep, goats, cows, buffaloes, horses, camels, and teams of oxen, with the hump on their shoulders, are frequently mentioned, and made the subjects of supplication and thanksgiving both to gods and men. A daughter among them in the earliest times was designated *dūhitri*, or milk-maid. (The English *daughter* has the same origin); and *Gopa* and *Gopāl*, or keeper of cattle, among them, came to mean a protector in general, no doubt from the owners or keepers of cows having great importance in the community."

Gotra, cow-house, was applied to the fences erected to protect the herd

* Abridged from the *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I., pp. 389—399.

† *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 191.

from violence or prevent the cattle from straying. The Brahman boasting of his sacred blood and divine generation speaks of the particular *gotra* to which he belongs, little dreaming that the word is itself a testimony that the fathers of his race were herdsmen.*

"That the Aryans were not, however, merely a nomadic people is very evident. As well as their enemies, they had their villages and towns as well as their cattle-pens; and many of the appliances, conveniences, luxuries, and vices, found in congregated masses of the human family. They knew the processes of spinning and weaving, on which they were doubtless principally dependent for their clothing. They were not strangers to the use of iron and to the crafts of the blacksmith, copper-smith, carpenter and other artisans. They used hatchets in felling the trees of their forests, and they had planes for polishing the wood of their chariots. They constructed rims of iron to surround the wheels of their carts. They fabricated coats of mail, clubs, bows, arrows, javelins, swords or cleavers, and discs to carry on their warfare, to which they were sometimes called by the sound of the conch shell. They made cups, pitchers, and long and short ladles, for use in their domestic economy and the worship of the gods, they employed professional barbers to cut off their hair. They knew how to turn the precious metals and stones to account; for they had their golden earrings, golden bowls, and jewel necklaces. They had chariots of war from which they fought, and ordinary conveyances drawn by horses and bullocks; they had rider-bearing steeds and grooms to attend them. They had eunuchs in their community. The daughters of vice were seen in their towns, and that, it would appear, with but a small accompaniment of shame; vendors of spirits were also tolerated by them. They constructed skiffs, boats, rafts and ships; they engaged in traffic and merchandise in parts somewhat remote from their usual dwellings. Occasional mention is made in their hymns of the ocean which they had probably reached by following the course of the Indus. Parties among them covetous of gain are represented as crowding the ocean in vessels on a voyage. A naval expedition to a foreign country is alluded to as frustrated by a shipwreck." pp. 29—33, (abridged).

The caste prohibition against crossing the "black water," is not found in the Vedas, but was a later invention of the Brahmans to keep the Hindus better under their control. While the Aryas were so far civilised, writing seems to have been unknown. They had no books and newspapers like their descendants at present.

Amusements.—Gambling was very common among the early Indians, and numerous illustrations are derived from the practice. In one of the hymns a gambler apparently describes his own experience:

1. The tumbling, air-born (products) of the great Vibhidaka tree (i.e., the dice) delight me as they continue to roll on the dice board. The exciting dice seem to me like a draught of the soma-plant growing on mount Mujavat.

7. Hooking, piercing, deceitful, vexatious, delighting to torment, the dice dispense transient gifts, and again ruin the winner; they appear to the gambler covered with honey.

13. Never play with dice: practise husbandry; rejoice in thy prosperity, esteeming it sufficient. x. 34.

"At a sacrifice," says Mr. Kunte, "the Kshatriya especially played at dice with his wife or wives and sons".

Dancers or actors afforded entertainment to the Aryans. Ushas is said to display herself like a dancer who decks himself with ornaments. Allusion is made to the living going forth to dance and laugh after a funeral. Drums are mentioned, and a hymn in the Atharva Veda is addressed to that musical instrument.

Crime.—Thieves or robbers are mentioned in some passages as infesting the highways or stealing secretly. The following occurs in a hymn to Pushan: "Drive away from our path the waylayer, the thief, the robber." Another hymn says: "Men cry after him in battle as after a thief stealing clothes." Cattle were often stolen. "The aborigines found it easy to revenge themselves on the invading Aryas by driving away their cows. But the Aryas were also prepared against the annoyance. As soon as the herd of cows disappeared, hue and cry was raised, and sharp men who traced the track of a thief by observing foot-prints, set to work. The thief was detected." With shouts of thanks to Indra, the herd was recovered and driven home.

Wars.—In the Rig-Veda wars are frequently mentioned. Cows and horses were often the cause. Indra is thus addressed: "O mighty Indra, we call upon thee as we go fighting for cows and horses." Max Müller says, "Fighting among or for the cows (*Gosuyuth*) is used in the Veda as a name for a warrior in general (I. 112, 22), and one of the most frequent words for battle is *gavisti*, literally 'striving for cows.'"

Mr. Kunte thus describes the mode of warfare:

"Different bands of the Aryas marched under their leaders, each having a banner of his own, singing of the prowess of their ancestors, and of the aid which Indra or Brihaspati granted them, and blowing conches. The leader drove in a war-chariot covered with cow-hides: some used the bow and arrows: others had darts. The army was divided into infantry and cavalry. Often did the leader of bands attack a town, and putting every inhabitant to the sword, occupied it. Sometimes they were content with large booty. Thus simultaneously, many Aryan leaders, independently of each other, waged war against the Dasas and Dasyus who were often able to make an impression upon the invaders."

Disposal of the Dead.—While the Parsis add the ancestors of

the Indian Aryans lived together in Central Asia, both probably exposed their dead to be devoured by vultures. After the Aryans came to India, burial was adopted. Dr. R. Mitra says: "This continued probably from their advent in India to about the 14th or 13th century B. C. Then came incineration with a subsequent burial of the ashes. This lasted from the 14th or 13th century B. C. to the early part of the Christian era, when the burial was altogether dispensed with, or substituted by consignment of the ashes to a

THE GODS OF THE VEDAS.

Classification—Yaska, in his *Nirukta*, the oldest commentary on the Vedas now in existence, says: "There are three deities, viz., Agni, whose place is on earth; Vayu, or Indra, whose place is in the air; and Surya, the sun, whose place is in the sky." "These gods might all be one as a priest receives various names at various sacrifices." "Or," says he, "it may be, these gods are all distinct beings, for the praises addressed to them are distinct, and their appellations also." The former "was certainly not the idea of most of the Vedic Rishis themselves, still less of the people who listened to their songs at fairs and festivals."

Yaska, in the latter part of his work, divides the deities into the three orders of terrestrial, aerial, and celestial.

Number.—The gods are generally spoken of as being "thrice-eleven" in number. "Ye gods, who are eleven in the sky, who are eleven on earth, and who in your glory are eleven dwellers in the (atmospheric) waters, do ye welcome this our offering." "Agni, bring hither according to thy wont, and gladden the three and thirty gods with their wives."

In the *Rig-Veda* iii. 9, 9, the gods are mentioned as being much more numerous: "Three hundred, three thousand, thirty and nine gods have worshipped Agni."

Origin and Immortality.—In the Vedas the gods are spoken of as immortal, but they are not regarded in general as self-existent beings; in fact, their parentage, in most cases, is mentioned.

Very different accounts are given of the origin of the gods. In many passages the gods are described as being the offspring of Heaven and Earth. Ushas, the dawn, is characterised as the mother of the gods; Brahmanaspati is called their father; Soma is said to be the generator of Heaven, Earth, Agni, Surya, Indra, and Vishnu. Some of the gods are spoken of as being fathers and others as being sons. The most extraordinary feat is ascribed to Indra: "Thou

hast indeed begotten thy father and mother together from thy own body." As Max Müller remarks, "A god who once could do that, was no doubt capable of anything afterwards."

"The same god is sometimes represented as supreme, sometimes, as equal, sometimes as inferior to others. There are as yet no genealogies, no settled marriages between gods and goddesses. The father is sometimes the son, the brother is the husband, and she who in one hymn is the mother, is in another the wife."

In some places Savitri and Agni are said to have conferred immortality on the gods; elsewhere it is said that the gods drink soma to obtain the same gift; but it is generally taught that they obtained their divine rank through austerities. The gods originally were all alike in power; but three of them desired to be superior to the rest; viz. Agni, Indra, and Surya. They continued to offer sacrifices for this purpose until it was obtained.

The immortality of the gods is only relative. They are supposed to be subject to the same law of dissolution as other beings. "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have, through time, passed away in every mundane age." The gods both desire and are capable of *mukti*, liberation from future births.

Some of the principal gods will now be described.

DYAUS AND PRITHIVI.

Dyaus seems to have been the oldest Aryan divinity. Max Müller says:—

"If I were asked what I consider the most important discovery which has been made during the nineteenth century with respect to the ancient history of mankind, I should answer by the following short line:

= Sanskrit DYAUSH-PITAR=Greek ΖΕΥΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ (ZEUS PATER)
=Latin JUPITER=Old Norse TYR.

"Think what this equation implies! It implies not only that our own ancestors and the ancestors of Homer and Cicero (the Greeks and Romans) spoke the same language as the people of India—this is a discovery which, however incredible it sounded at first, has long ceased to cause any surprise—but it implies and proves that they all had once the same faith, and worshipped for a time the same supreme Deity under exactly the same name—a name which meant Heaven-Father."*

"Those simple-hearted forefathers of ours," says C. Kingsley, "looked round upon the earth and said within themselves, 'Where is the All-father, if All-father there be? Not in this earth; for it will perish. Nor in the sun, moon, or stars; for they will perish too. Where is He who abideth for ever?'"

"Then they lifted up their eyes, and saw, as they thought, beyond sun,

* *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1885.

and moon, and stars, and all which changes and will change, the clear blue sky, the boundless firmament of heaven.

"That never changed; that was always the same. The clouds and storms rolled far below it, and all the bustle of this noisy world; but there the sky was still, as bright and calm as ever. The All-father must be there, unchangeable in the unchanging heaven; bright and pure, and boundless like the heavens; and, like the heavens too, silent and far off."

"And how," says Max Müller, "did they call that All-father?"

"Five thousand years ago, or, it may be earlier, the Aryans speaking as yet neither Sanskrit, Greek, nor Latin, called him *Dya patur*, Heaven-father.

"Four thousand years ago, or, it may be earlier, the Aryans who had travelled southward to the rivers of the Punjab called him *Dyaush-pita*, Heaven-father.

"Three thousand years ago, or, it may be earlier, the Aryans on the shores of the Hellespont, called him *Ζεύς πατήρ*, Heaven-father.

"Two thousand years ago, the Aryans of Italy looked up to that bright heaven above, and called it *Ju-piter*, Heaven-father.

"And a thousand years ago the same Heaven-father and All-father was invoked in the dark forests of Germany by the Teutonic Aryans, and his old name of *Tiu* or *Ziu* was then heard perhaps for the last time." *

There are clear traces in some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda that at one time Dyaus, the sky, was the supreme deity.

At an early period, however, the earth, under the name of Prithivi, was associated with Dyaus. The Aitareya Brahmana mentions their marriage. "The gods then brought the two (Heaven and Earth) together, and when they came together, they performed a wedding of the gods."

The ancient Greeks had the same ideas. The earth is addressed as, "Mother of gods, the wife of the starry Heaven." Their marriage too is described.

The Hindus thought their gods very much like themselves; so heaven and earth were called the father and mother of the gods.

In the hymns there are various speculations about the origin of Dyaus and Prithivi. A perplexed poet enquires, "Which of these two was the first, and which the last? How have they been produced? Sages, who knows?"

VARUNA.

Varuna, like Dyaus, is another representative of the highest heaven, as encompassing all things. The name is derived from *var*, to cover, and is identical with the Greek *Ouranos*, heaven.

"Varuna," says the Rig-Veda, "stemmed asunder the wide firma-

ments; he lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven; he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth." In the Atharva-Veda, illimitable knowledge is ascribed to him:—

"Varuna, the great lord of these worlds, sees as if he were near. If a man stands or walks or hides, if he goes to lie down or to get up, what two people sitting together whisper to each other, King Varuna knows; it, he is there as the third. This earth, too, belongs to Varuna, the King, and this wide sky with its ends far apart. The two seas (the sky and the ocean) are Varuna's loins; he is also contained in this small drop of water. He who should flee far beyond the sky, even he would not be rid of Varuna, the King. His spies proceed from heaven towards this world; with thousand eyes they overlook this earth. King Varuna sees all this, what is between heaven and earth, and what is beyond. He has counted the twinklings of the eyes of men. As a player throws down the dice, he settles all things."

Varuna is the only Vedic deity to whom a high moral character is attributed. The few hymns calling for pardon and purity are, therefore, addressed to him. Specimens will be given in a subsequent chapter.

In some of the hymns, Varuna is called Aditya, or son of Aditi. Aditi, from *a*, not, *dita*, bound, means infinitude. Aditi itself is now and then invoked in the Veda as the Beyond, as what is beyond the earth and the sky. More frequently, however, than Aditi, we meet with the Adityas, literally the sons of Aditi, in one sense the infinite gods. One of them is Varuna; others are Mitra, Aryaman, Daksha, &c.

Mitra is generally associated with Varuna. He is a form of the sun, representing day, while Varuna denotes night. They together uphold and rule the earth and sky, guard the world, encourage religion, and with their nooses seize the guilty.

In the Puranas, Varuna is stripped of all his majestic attributes, and represented as a mere god of the ocean. The Mahabharata represents him as having carried off Bhadra, the wife of Utathya.

INDRA.

The gods of the Hindus are somewhat like kings who reign for a time and then give place to successors. Max Müller says, "We see those two giant spectres of Heaven and Earth on the background of the Vedic religion, exerting their influence for a time, and then vanishing before the light of younger and more active gods."

Dyans and Varuna, representing the bright blue sky or the starry heavens, were the highest deities of the Aryans in their original home. In India they came to a country where for months

together the earth is exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, sometimes without a single shower, so that it is impossible for the fields to be ploughed or the seed to be sown. It is not surprising, therefore, that a god in whose hands are the thunder and lightning, at whose command the refreshing showers fall to render the earth fruitful, should most frequently be appealed to, and that the most laudatory songs should be addressed to him. Indra is the most popular deity of the Vedas.

"In the burning months of the hot season," says Dr. Mullens, "the ancient Aryans, turn to Indra. It is Vritra (Drought) his enemy and theirs, that withholds the refreshing showers for which all eyes long. And when at length along the western horizon the vapours thicken, and the desired storm bursts in grandeur—when they see the blinding dust whirling in lofty columns on its mighty march, and the swift sand flies low along the ground—when they see the blue flashes which pierce the clouds, and hear the crashing peals of the awful thunder, it is Indra and his Maruts who are fighting the celestial battle on their behalf. And when the driving rain pours, from the heavy clouds, and the earth drinking it in, all nature renews its life, fresh verdure clothes the fields, and the birds carol their joyous songs, it is to the mighty Indra, the conqueror, that their thanks are paid, and from him that fresh blessings are humbly craved."*

Sometimes the clouds are represented under the figure of herds of cows stolen by the demons, and hidden in the hollows of the mountains. Indra finds them, splits the caverns with his bolt, and they are again set at liberty, and their teats shower down rain.

Different accounts are given of his parentage. In one hymn Ekashtaka is said to be his mother; in another he is said to have sprung from the mouth of Purusha; while a third makes him to have been generated by Soma. According to the Mahabharata, Indra is one of the sons of Kasyapa.

Indra is exalted above Dyaus. "The divine Dyaus bowed before" Indra, before Indra the great Earth bowed with her wide spaces." "At the birth of thy splendour, Dyaus trembled, the Earth trembled for fear of thy anger."

Indra drives a golden chariot drawn by two yellow horses; the thunderbolt is his weapon, the rainbow is his bow; the Maruts, or storm-winds, are his companions. Like other Hindu gods, he is provided with a wife, called Indrani.

In the Vedas, Indra is characterised by his fondness for war and the intoxicating soma juice.

Even as an infant Indra is said to have manifested his warlike tendencies. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of Vritra grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?" "His love of the soma juice was shown as

* *Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 19, 20.

early." "On the day that thou wast born, thou didst, from love of it, drink the mountain-grown juice of the soma plant."

In the hymns Indra is invited by his worshippers to drink like "a thirsty stag" or like a "bull roaming in a waterless waste"; to fill his belly by copious potations. His inebriety is said to be "most intense." The sensations of the god after drinking the soma are described: "The draughts which I have drunk impel me like violent blasts. The five tribes of men appear to me not even as a mote. I surpass in greatness the heaven and this vast earth."

Thus exhilarated, Indra goes forth to war. Some of his feats are thus described in the Rig-Veda, I. 53:

"6. These draughts inspired thee, O lord of the brave, these were vigour, these libations, in battles, when for the sake of the poet, the sacrificer, thou struckest down irresistibly ten thousands of enemies.

"7. From battle to battle the advancest bravely, from town to town thou destroyest all this with might, when thou, Indra, with Nami as thy friend, struckest down from afar the deceiver Namuki."

The MARUTS, or storm-winds, are Indra's allies and companions. "They drive spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them."

While the Aryans were engaged in fierce contests with the aborigines, Indra held the highest rank. When the latter had been reduced to subjection, Indra gave place to other deities. In the Puranas he reigns over Swarga; but is often in fear lest he should be dethroned. Many instances are recorded of his adultery. According to the Mahabharata he seduced Ahalya, the wife of Gautama, his spiritual teacher: By the curse of the sage, Indra's body was impressed by a thousand marks, so that he was called *Sa-yoni*; but these marks were afterwards changed to eyes, and he is hence called 'the thousand-eyed.'

AGNI.

Agni is the god of fire, the Latin *ignis*, fire. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig-Veda, as far more hymns are addressed to him than to any other divinity except Indra.

Fire is very necessary for human existence. It enables food to be cooked; it gives the power of carrying on work at night; in cold climates it preserves people from being frozen to death. In early times, when lucifer matches were unknown, fire was looked upon with somewhat like religious awe. The production of fire by the friction of wood or its sudden descent from the sky in the form of lightning, seemed as marvellous as the birth of a child. In the

hymns of the Vedas fire is praised and worshipped as the best and kindest of the gods, the only god who had come down from heaven to live on earth, the friend of man, the messenger of the gods, the mediator between gods and men, the immortal among mortals. He, it is said, protects the settlements of the Aryans, and frightens away the "black-skinned enemies."

Soon, however, fire was conceived by the Vedic poets under the more general character of light and warmth, and then the presence of Agni was perceived, not only on the hearth and the altar, but in the Dawn, in the Sun, and in the world beyond the Sun, while at the same time his power was recognised as ripening, or as they called it, as cooking, the fruits of the earth, and as supporting also the warmth and the life of the human body. From that point of view Agni, like other powers, rose to the rank of a Supreme God. He is said to have stretched out heaven and earth—naturally, because without his light heaven and earth would have been invisible and undistinguishable. The next poet says that Agni held heaven aloft by his light, that he kept the two worlds asunder; and in the end Agni is said to be the progenitor and father of heaven and earth, and the maker of all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves on earth.*

Various accounts are given of the origin of Agni. He is said to be a son of Dyaus and Prithivi; he is called the eldest son of Brahma, and is then named Abhimani; he is reckoned amongst the children of Kasyapa and Aditi, and hence one of the Adityas. In the later writings he is described as a son of Angiras, king of the Pitris. He is occasionally identified with other gods and goddesses, as Indra, Vishnu, Varuna, Rudra, Sarasvati, &c. "All gods," it is said, "are comprehended in him."

Agni was worshipped in the fire kindled in the morning. The whole family gathered around it, regarding it with love and awe, as at once a friend and a priest. It was a visible god conveying the oblation of mortals to all gods. His nobleness was extolled, as though a god he deigned to sit in the very dwellings of men. At sunset, Agni is the only divinity left on earth to protect mortals till the following dawn; his beams then shine abroad and dispel the demons of darkness.

Agni's proper offering is ghee. When this is sprinkled into the flame, it mounts higher and glows more fiercely; the god has devoured the gift, and thus testifies his satisfaction and pleasure. Several of his epithets describe his fondness for butter. He is butter-fed, butter-formed, butter-haired, butter-backed, &c. The poor man who cannot offer ghee, brings a few pieces of wood to feed the fire.

As destroyer of the Rakshas, Agni assumes a different character.

* Max Müller's, *India What can it Teach us?* pp. 176, 177.

He is represented in a form as hideous as the beings he is invoked to devour. He sharpens his two iron tusks, puts his enemies into his mouth, and swallows them. He heats the edges of his shafts and sends them into the hearts of the Rakshas.

The first hymn of the Rig-Veda is addressed to Agni.

SUN DEITIES.

Surya and Savitri are two names by which the sun is addressed in the Vedic hymns. Sometimes Surya is called son of Dyaus, sometimes of Aditi. In one passage Ushas, the dawn, is his wife; in another he is the child of the Dawn. He has several wives. According to later legends, his twin sons, the Aswins, who ride in a golden car as precursors of Ushas, were born of a nymph called Aswini, from her having concealed herself in the form of a mare. As the brightness of Surya was too great for his wife Sanjna, her father Visvakarma cut part of him away. The fragments fell blazing to the earth, and from them Visvakarma formed the discus of Vishnu, the trident of Siva, and the weapons of the other gods! Surya is represented in a chariot drawn by seven horses. When he unharnesses his horses, the night spreads out her garment over everybody.

MITRA was another name for the sun. He is most frequently invoked in conjunction with Varuna. Vishnu was originally a solar being. This is indicated by his three strides, his position in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. But in the later books his physical character soon vanishes. Pushan was the sun as viewed by shepherds. He carries an ox-goad and is drawn by goats.

Max Müller thus shows how the sun was gradually developed into a supreme being :

"The first step leads us from the mere light of the sun to that light which in the morning wakes man from sleep, and seems to give new life, not only to man, but to the whole of nature. He who wakes us in the morning, who recalls the whole of nature to new life, is soon called 'the giver of daily life.'

"Secondly, by another and bolder step, the giver of daily light and life, becomes the giver of light and life in general. He who brings light and life to-day, is the same who brought life and light in the first of days. As light is the beginning of the day, so light was the beginning of creation, and the sun, from being a mere light-bringer or life-giver, becomes a creator, then soon also a ruler of the world.

"Thirdly, as driving away the dreaded darkness of the night, and likewise as fertilizing the earth, the sun is conceived as a defender and kind protector of all living things.

"Fourthly as the sun sees everything and knows everything, he is asked to forget and forgive what he alone knows."*

* *Hilbert Lectures*, pp. 265, 266.

The worship of Surya has continued to the present time. It is to him that the Gayatri is addressed at his rising by every devout Brahman. This short verse is supposed to exert magical powers. It is as follows: *Tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasyad himahi | dhiyo yo nah prachodyāt* | It is differently translated. The following is one of the latest renderings: "May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works." It is simply an invocation to the sun to render religious performances successful. The Skanda Purana thus extols its powers:

"Nothing in the Vedas is superior to the Gayatri. No invocation is equal to the Gayatri, as no city is equal to Kasi. The Gayatri is the mother of the Vedas and of Brahmans. By repeating it a man is saved. What is there indeed that cannot be effected by the Gayatri? For the Gayatri is Vishnu, Brahma, and Siva and the three Vedas."

SOMA.

Hindus, at present, differ in their habits in two remarkable respects from their forefathers in Vedic times. One has already been noticed. The ancient Aryans delighted in eating beef, which is an utter abomination to their descendants. The other change is with regard to the use of intoxicants. Nearly a whole book of the Rig-Veda, containing 114 hymns, is devoted to the praise of Soma, and there are constant references to it in a large proportion of the other hymns. The ancient Aryans rejoiced in drinking; respectable Hindus now wisely abstain from what inebriates.

Not only were the people themselves fond of drinking the Soma juice, but the gods were represented as eager to partake of the beverage. Professor Whitney thus explains how it came to be worshipped:

"The simple-minded Aryan people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had the power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it was to their apprehension a god, endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred."

The Soma is a creeping plant, with small white fragrant flowers. It yields a milky juice, which when fermented is intoxicating. The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant was being pressed out and purified.

Various accounts are given of the way in which the Soma plant was obtained. In some passages the plant is said to have been

brought from a mountain and given to Indra ; in others King Soma is said to have dwelt among the Gandharvas. A third account is that Soma existed in the sky, and that Gayatri became a bird and brought it.

When Soma was brought to the gods, there was a dispute as to who should have the first draught. It was decided that a race should be run ; the winner to have the first taste. Vayu first reached the goal, Indra being second.

The juice of the plant is said to be an immortal draught which the gods love. Soma, the god in the juice, is said to clothe the naked and heal the sick, through him the blind see, and the lame walk. Many divine attributes are ascribed to him. He is addressed as a god in the highest strains of veneration. All powers belong to him ; all blessings are besought of him as his to bestow. He is said to be divine, immortal, and also to confer immortality on gods and men. Future happiness is asked from him. "Place me, O purified god, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory."

In later times Soma was a name given to the moon. When the Vishnu Purana was written, intoxicants were strictly forbidden ; hence Soma, as the god of the Soma juice, was no longer known and praised. According to that Purana, Soma was the son of Atri, the son of Brahma.

The ancient Greeks had also a god of wine, called Bacchus.

KA, WHO ?

The interrogative pronoun was raised to the position of a deity. Max Müller says : "The authors of the Brahmanas had so completely broken with the past that, forgetful of the poetical character of the hymns and the yearning of the poets after the unknown God, they exalted the interrogative pronoun itself into a deity, and acknowledged a god Ka or Who ? In some places it is said that Ka is Prajapati. In the later Sanskrit literature of the Puranas, Ka appears as a recognised god, as a supreme god, with a genealogy of his own." The Mahabharata identifies Ka with Daksha, and the Bhagavata Purana applies the term to Kasyapa.

GODDESSES.

Several goddesses are mentioned in the Vedas ; but with the exception of Prithivi, Aditi, and Ushas, little importance is attached to them. Sarasvati is celebrated both as a river and as a deity. The wives of Agni, Varuna, the Ashvins, &c., are mentioned, but no distinct functions are assigned to them. Their insignificance is

in striking contrast to the prominent place assumed by the wife of Siva in the later mythology.

THE PITRIS.

The following account of the Pitris is abridged from Max Müller's *India, What can it Teach us?* :—

“There was in India, as elsewhere, another very early faith, springing up naturally in the hearts of the people, that their fathers and mothers, when they departed this life, departed to a Beyond, wherever it might be, either in the East from whence all the bright Devas seemed to come, or more commonly in the West, the land to which they seemed to go, called in the Veda the realms of Yama or the setting sun. The idea that beings which once had been, could never cease to be, had not yet entered their minds; and from the belief that their fathers existed somewhere, though they could see them no more, there arose the belief in another Beyond, and the germs of another religion.

Nor was the actual power of the fathers quite imperceptible or extinct even after their death. Their presence continued to be felt in the ancient laws and customs of the family, most of which rested on their will and their authority. While the fathers were alive and strong, their will was law; and when, after their death, doubts or disputes arose on points of law or custom, it was but natural that the memory and the authority of the fathers should be appealed to settle such points—that the law should still be their will.

Thus Manu says (IV. 178), ‘On the path on which his fathers and grandfathers have walked, on that path of good men let him walk, and he will not go wrong.’

In the same manner then in which, out of the bright powers of nature, the Devas or gods had arisen, there arose out of predicates shared in common by the departed, such as pitris, fathers, preta, gone away, another general concept, what we should call *Manes*, the kind ones, *Ancestors*, *Shades*, *Spirits*, or *Ghosts*, whose worship was nowhere more fully developed than in India. That common name, Pitris or Fathers, gradually attracted to itself all that the fathers shared in common. It came to mean not only fathers, but invisible, kind, powerful, immortal, heavenly beings, and we can watch in the Veda, better perhaps than anywhere else, the inevitable, yet most touching metamorphosis of ancient thought,—the love of the child for father and mother becoming transfigured into an instinctive belief in the immortality of the soul.

In the Veda the Pitris are invoked together with the Devas, but they are not confounded with them. The Devas never become Pitris, and though such adjectives as *deva* are sometimes applied to the Pitris, and they are raised to the rank of the older classes of Devas, it is easy to see that the Pitris and Devas had each their independent origin, and that they represent two totally distinct phases of the human mind in the creation of its objects of worship.

We read in the Rig-Veda, VI. 52, 4: ‘May the rising Dawns protect me, may the flowing Rivers protect me, may the firm Mountains protect

me, may the Fathers protect me at this invocation of the gods.' Here nothing can be clearer than the separate existence of the Fathers, apart from the Dawns, the Rivers, and the Mountains, though they are included in one common Devahûti, or invocation of the gods.

We must distinguish, however, from the very first, between two classes, or rather between two concepts of Fathers, the one comprising the distant, half-forgotten, and almost mythical ancestors of certain families, or of what would have been to the poets of the Veda, the whole human race, the other consisting of the fathers who had but lately departed, and who were still, as it were, personally remembered and revered.

The old ancestors in general approach more nearly to the gods. They are often represented as having gone to the abode of Yama, the ruler of the departed, and to live there in company with some of the Devas.

We sometimes read of the great-grandfathers being in heaven, the grandfathers in the sky, the fathers on the earth, the first in company with the Adityas, the second with the Rudras, the last with the Vasus. All these are individual poetical conceptions.

Yama himself is sometimes invoked as if he were one of the Fathers, the first of mortals that died or that trod the path of the Fathers leading to the common sunset in the West. Still his real Deva-like nature is never completely lost, and, as the god of the setting sun, he is indeed the leader of the Fathers, but not one of the Fathers himself.

The following is from one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda by which those ancient Fathers were invited to come to their sacrifice :

1. May the Soma-loving Fathers, the lowest, the highest, and the middle, arise. May the gentle and righteous Fathers who have come to life (again) protect us in these invocations !

4. Come hither to us with your help, you Fathers who sit on the grass ! We have prepared these oblations for you, accept them ! Come hither with your most blessed protection, and give us health and wealth without fail !

5. The Soma-loving Fathers have been called hither to their dear viands which are placed on the grass. Let them approach, let them listen, let them bless, let them protect us !"

The daily Pitriyagna, or ancestor worship, is one of the five sacrifices, sometimes called the great sacrifices, which every married man ought to perform day by day.*

There are full descriptions of the worship due to the Fathers in the Brahmanas and Sutras. The epic poems, the law books, the Puranas, all are brimful of allusions to ancestral worship. The whole social fabric of India, with its laws of inheritance and marriage, rests on a belief in the Manes.

To the mind of a Hindu, says Professor Bhattacharyya, in his *Tagore Law Lectures* (p. 130), "Ancestor worship, in some form or other, is the beginning, the middle, and the end of what is known as the Hindu religion."

* *India, What can it Teach us ?* pp. 219--229.

SACRIFICIAL IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Divine powers are ascribed in the hymns to various objects. The Yupa, or sacrificial post, is thus addressed :—

“1. Vanaspati, (forest lord), the devout anoint thee with sacred butter at the sacrifice; and whether thou standest erect, or thine abode be on the lap of this thy mother (earth), grant us riches.

2. Standing on the east of the kindled (fire), dispensing food (as the source) of undecaying (health) and excellent progeny, keeping off our enemy at a distance, stand up for great auspiciousness.

3. May those (posts) which devout men have cut down, or which, Vanaspati, the axe has trimmed, may they standing resplendent with all their parts (entire), bestow upon us wealth with progeny.” iii. 8.

A hymn is especially dedicated to the arrow. It is addressed : “Arrow, whetted by charms, fly when discharged; go, light among the adversaries; spare not one of the enemy.” The ladle, a kind of large spoon, likewise receives great honour. “We revile not the ladle which is of exalted race; verily we assert the dignity of the wooden implement. The ladle has established the sky.”

The mortar is thus addressed : “Lord of the forest, as the wind gently blows before thee, so do thou, O Mortar, prepare the Soma juice for the beverage of Indra.” The sacrificial grass is said to support heaven and earth, and wonderful attributes are predicated of the Vasa, cow. There is a hymn professedly dedicated to frogs. It concludes thus : “May the cow-toned, the goat-toned, the speckled, the green (frog, severally), grant us riches. May the frogs in the fertilizing (season of the rains), bestowing upon us hundreds of cows, prolong our lives.”

THE RELATION OF THE WORSHIPPERS TO THE GODS.

Varuna, from his majesty and purity, was regarded with awe by the early Aryans; but he was dethroned by Indra who was looked upon both as a mighty god and as one who would join with them in drinking the Soma juice.

The Rev. K. S. Macdonald has the following remarks on the light in which the gods were generally regarded : “In one word the relation was very familiar. There is little or no sense of love or fear, no sense of the holy or the pure or the spiritual. They treat the gods as of themselves, only more powerful, subject to the same weaknesses, the same desires, the same appetites. The Soma, the clarified butter, the horses, etc., in which the worshippers delighted, were supposed to be sources of still greater pleasure to their gods. The strength, the stimulus which they themselves experienced, or imagined they experienced, from their drinking of the Soma juice, they supposed their gods to receive in still greater measure...The

worshipper offers his Varuna honey, sweet things which the god is sure to like, and then appeals to him, 'Now be good, and let us speak again.' 'Let us speak together again, because my honey has been brought.' 'Thou eatest what thou likest like a priest,'* In another hymn Vasistha addresses Indra, "Desirous of milking thee like a milch cow at pasture, Vasistha has let loose his prayers to you." (VII. 18. 4.)

THE RELIGION OF THE VEDAS POLYTHEISTIC.

Monotheism is a belief in the existence of one God only; *polytheism* is a belief in a plurality of gods. Max Müller says, "If we must employ technical terms, the religion of the Veda is polytheism, not monotheism." The 27th hymn of the first Ashtaka of the Rig-Veda concludes as follows: "Veneration to the great gods, veneration to the lesser, veneration to the young, veneration to the old; we worship (all) the gods as well as we are able: may I not omit the praise of the elder divinities." As already mentioned, the gods are repeatedly said to "be thrice-eleven in number." Whitney says: "The great mass of Vedic hymns are absorbed in the praise and worship of the multifarious deities of the proper Vedic pantheon, and ignore all conception of a unity of which these are to be accounted the varying manifestations."

There are different kinds of polytheism. The ancient Greeks and Romans had a more or less organised system of gods, different in power and rank, and all subordinate to a supreme God, a Zeus or Jupiter. In the Veda, the gods worshipped as supreme by each sept stand still side by side, no one is always first, no one is always last. Even gods of a decidedly inferior and limited character assume occasionally in the eyes of a devoted poet a supreme place above all other gods. "It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute." Only one can be supreme, but a Hindu has no difficulty in accepting the most contradictory statements. He may also select some deity as his special object of worship while professing to believe in all.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed by many authors, extending over a period of several centuries. Hence the theology is often inconsistent. The polytheism of some hymns is very marked and distinct. In others it is hazy. Some hymns, in the absence of all others, might be regarded as monotheistic.

Some suppose that the Indo-Aryan worship in *Pre-Vedic* times was monotheistic. Max Müller says:

"There is a monotheism which precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocation of their innumerable gods, the remembrance

* *The Vedic Religion*, pp. 136-138.

of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the midst of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."

The great Heaven-Father, Dyaus Pitar, *may* at a remote period have been the only object of worship. In Vedic times, however, polytheism prevailed. "A large number of so-called Devas, or gods, were called into existence, the whole world was peopled with them, and every act of nature, whether on the earth, or in the air, or in the highest heaven, was ascribed to their agency. When we say, *it* thunders, they said Indra thunders; when we say, *it* rains, they said Parjanya pours out his buckets; when we say, *it* dawns, they said the beautiful Ushas appears like a dancer displaying her splendour; when we say, *it* grows dark, they said Surya unharnesses his steeds. The whole of nature was alive to the poets of the Veda, the presence of the gods was felt everywhere."*

Deities sprung from the same source had a tendency, after a very short career of their own, to run together. Dyaus was the sky as the ever-present light. Varuna was the sky as the all-embracing. Mitra was the sky as lighted up by the morning. Surya was the sun as shining in the sky. Savitri was the sun as bringing light and life. Vishnu was the sun as striding with three steps across the sky; Indra appeared in the sky as the giver of rain, Rudra and the Maruts passed along the sky in thunderstorms; Vata and Vayu were the winds of the air; Agni was fire and light.

Hence it happened constantly that what was told of one deity could be told of another likewise; the same epithets are shared by many, the same stories are told of different gods.

Some of the old poets go so far as to declare that one god is identical with others. In the Atharva Veda (XIII. 3, 13) we read: "In the evening Agni becomes Varuna; he becomes Mitra when rising in the morning; having become Savitri he passes through the sky; having become Indra he warms the heaven in the middle." Surya, the sun, is identified with Indra and Agni; Savitri with Mitra and Pushan; Indra with Varuna: Dyaus, the sky, with Parjanya, the rain-god. One poet says (Rig-Veda I. 164, 46): "That which is *one*, sages name it in various ways—they call it Agni, Yama, Matarisvan." Another poet says: "The wise poets represent by their words Him who is one with beautiful wings in many ways."

Sometimes all the gods were comprehended by one common name, *Visve Devas*, the All-gods, and prayers were addressed to them in their collective capacity.

Pantheism Developed.—The tendency towards unity shown by some of the Vedic poets, did not end in *monotheism*, but in *pantheism*, that the universe, as a whole, is God. Both the hymns and

* Max Müller, *India*, p. 109.

the Brahmanas teach a polytheistic religion. They form the *Karmakanda*, 'the department of works.' The Upanishads, philosophical treatises at the end of some of the Brahmanas, form the *Gnanakanda*, 'the department of knowledge.' According to the Upanishads there is only one real being in the universe, which Being also constitutes the universe. This pantheistic doctrine is everywhere traceable in some of the more ancient Upanishads, although often wrapped up in mysticism and allegory. It is clearly expressed in the well-known formula of three words from the Chhandogya Upanishad, *ekam evadvitiam*, 'one only without a second.'

Rammohun Roy, as already mentioned, despised the hymns of the Vedas; he spoke of the Upanishads as the Vedas, and thought that they taught monotheism. The Chhandogya formula was also adopted by Keshab Chunder Sen. But it does not mean that there is no second God, but that there is no second any thing—a totally different doctrine.

Later Development of Polytheism.—While the Vedic poets were generally satisfied with "thrice-eleven" or thirty-three deities, in the Puranas they were converted into 33 crores,—a number greater than every man, woman and child in the country.

It has been shown under "Popular Hinduism," "that there is not an object in heaven or earth which a Hindu is not prepared to worship."

Pantheism and polytheism are often combined; but monotheism, in the strict sense of the word, is not found in Hinduism.

THE GODS NOT MENTIONED IN THE VEDAS.

Many of the principal gods now worshipped by the Hindus, says Professor Wilson, are either wholly unnamed in the Veda, or are noticed in an inferior and different capacity. The name of SIVA, of MAHADEVA, of DURGA, of KALI, of RAMA, of KRISHNA, never occur, as far as we are yet aware; we have a RUDRA, who, in after times, is identified with SIVA, but who, even in the *Puranas*, is of very doubtful origin and identification, whilst in the *Veda* he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either AGNI or INDRA. There is not the slightest allusion to the form in which for the last ten centuries at least, he (Siva) seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India—that of the *Linga*: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism, the *Trimurthi* or Tri-une combination of BRAHMA, VISHNU, and SIVA, as typified by the mystical syllable *Om*.*

The gods now chiefly worshipped by the Hindus were the inventions of later times. Sir A. C. Lyall explains, in his *Asiatic Studies*,

* Introduction to the Translation of the *Rig Veda*, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

how the worship of new gods sprang up. A man, looked upon as holy, when he died, had a shrine set up in his honour. If he was supposed to make a few good cures at the outset, especially among women, and valuable cattle, his reputation spread through the country. "This," says he, "is the kind of success which has made the fortune of some of the most popular, the richest, and the most widely known gods in Berar, who do all the leading business." One of the richest temples in South India, Tirupati, near Madras, was set up in honour of a man named Balaji. When any local god acquired high repute, the Brahmans made him an incarnation of Vishnu or Siva.

The gods of the Hindus were, like their kings, one dynasty succeeding another.

THE OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES OF THE VEDAS.

Importance of Sacrifice in Vedic Times.—Mr. Kunte says :

"It is impossible to understand and appreciate the spirit of the civilization of the ancient Aryas as it is revealed in the collection of hymns called the Rik-Sanhita, without studying their sacrificial system, the soul of their civilization. No matter what hymn is read, it directly or indirectly cannot but refer to a sacrifice. Either the musical modes of the Udgata-singer are mentioned or the name of a sacrifice such as *Yajna* or *Makha*, or some prayer asking a god to partake of their sacrificial portion (*Yajniya Bhaya*) occurs. The main ground of the picture of society drawn in the Rik-Sanhita is a sacrifice."*

Dr. Haug has the following remarks on the supposed influence attached to sacrifice :

"The sacrifice is regarded as the means for obtaining power over this and the other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures. Who knows its proper application, and has it duly performed, is in fact looked upon as the real master of the world ; for any desire he may entertain, if it be even the most ambitious, can be gratified, any object in view can be obtained by means of it. The *Yajna* (sacrifice) taken as a whole is conceived to be a kind of machinery, in which every piece must tally with the other, or a sort of large chain in which no link is allowed to be wanting, or a staircase, by which one may ascend to heaven, or as a personage endowed with all the characteristics of a human body. It exists from eternity, and proceeded from the Supreme Being (Prajapati or Brahma) along with the *Trividya*, i.e., the three-fold sacred science (the Rik verses, the Samans or chants, and the Yajus or sacrificial formulas). The creation of the world itself was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being."†

Kinds of Offerings and Sacrifices.—The products of the cow

* *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, pp. 21, 21.

† *Introduction to Aitareya Brahmanam*, pp. 73, 74.

were offered, milk, curds, and butter. Grain was offered in different forms—fried, boiled, or as flour-balls (*pinda*). Sacrifices included goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes, horses, men—the last two being considered of the greatest value. Somayajna was the most frequent kind of offering. Incense was burnt, but tufts of wool and horse dung were also used.

Times of Offering, &c.—The central part of a house was dedicated to the gods. When a new house was entered upon, the fire was kindled for the first time by rubbing together pieces of wood, after which it was not allowed to go out. Morning and evening devout *Aryas* assembled around the sacred fire. The master of the house, as *agnihotri*, made offerings to it of wood and ghee, hymns were chanted, the children joining in the chorus and the words *svaha* and *vausat* were reiterated till the roof resounded.

The new and full moons were seasons of sacrifice. The house was decorated; grass was tied over the door and about its sides.

Every four months, at the beginning of spring, the rainy season, and autumn, sacrifices were offered.

The first ripe fruits were offered generally twice a year.

A he-goat was sacrificed once a year at the beginning of the rainy season in the house of the sacrificer.

If addition, offerings and sacrifices were made on many other occasions, some of which will be mentioned hereafter.

Sacrificial Implements.—Among these were the following : *Yāpa*, a post to which the animal to be sacrificed was tied ; pots of various kinds for holding water, for boiling milk and flesh ; a wooden tub in which to keep the filtered soma juice ; a knife to cut up the body of the slain animal ; an axe to divide the bones ; a spit to roast parts of the flesh ; several kinds of wooden spoons ; a cup for drinking and offering soma, &c. The *sphya* was a piece of wood, shaped like a wooden sword, with which lines were drawn round the sacrificial ground. One of the priests had to hold it up high so long as the chief ceremonies lasted, to keep off rakshas, evil spirits.

Sacrificers and Priests.—In early times any one might preside at a sacrifice. The Brahman was at first simply an assistant. King Janaka asserted his right of performing sacrifices without the intervention of priests.

As great importance was attached to the hymns sung at sacrifices, Brahmans who committed them to memory acquired more and more power. As time advanced also, the ceremonies became more and more complicated, till at some sacrifices 16 priests were required, each performing his own peculiar office.

One priest watched over the whole in a sitting posture. The *Hotris* (callers) chanted the hymns of the Rig-Veda ; the *Udgatris* (singers) sang the hymns of the Sama-Veda ; the *Muhvayus* (persons of the ceremonies) muttered the mantras of the Yajur-Veda.

The last had to build the altar, bring the sacrificial implements, kill the animals, press the Soma, dress the offerings, throw some of them into the fire, &c.

A few of the principal offerings and sacrifices will now be described.

SOMA.

* Soma juice was an essential part of every offering of importance. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra says that it was made with the expressed juice of a creeper, diluted with water, mixed with barley meal, clarified butter, and the meal of wild paddy, and fermented in a jar for nine days. It may be concluded that a beverage prepared by the vinous fermentation of barley meal, should have strong intoxicating effects, and it is not remarkable, therefore, that the Vedas should frequently refer to the exhilaration produced by its use on men and gods.*

The Aryans were fond of the soma themselves. It is thus described: "O soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in a most sweet and most exhilarating current."

"We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us?"

All the gods are supposed to delight in the soma juice. The following are some extracts from the hymns:

"These sharp and blessing-bearing soma juices, are poured out: come, Vayu, and drink of them as presented."

"We invoke Mitra and Varuna, becoming present at the sacrifice and of pure strength, to drink the soma juice."

"Earnestly art thou invoked to this perfect rite, to drink the soma juice: come, Agni, with the Maruts."

"Awaken the Ashvins, associated for the morning sacrifice: let them both come hither to drink of the soma juice."

"Agni, bring hither the loving wives of the gods, and Twashtri to drink the soma juice."

But Indra is the deity especially addicted to love of the soma. One of his epithets is "voracious drinker of the soma juice." "Indra, the destroyer of enemies, repairs assuredly to every ceremony where the libation is poured out, to drink the soma juice for (his) exhilaration." "May the stone (that bruises the soma) attract, by its sound, thy mind toward us." When Indra has come he is urged to drink as follows: "Rejoice, Indra! open thy jaws, set wide thy throat, be pleased with our offerings." "Indra

* *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I; p. 419.

gulps down the soma : quickly quaffing the libations." He drinks so much that his belly swells enormously.

After Indra has had his fill of soma, he is asked to grant cows : "Drinker of the soma juice, wielder of the thunderbolt, O friend, (bestow upon) us, thy friends, and drinkers of the soma juice, (abundance of cows) with projecting jaws." Another effect was to strengthen Indra to conquer Vritra :

"That exceedingly exhilarating soma juice which was brought by the hawk (from heaven), when poured forth, has exhilarated thee, so that in thy vigour, thunderer, thou hast struck Vritra from the sky, manifesting thine own sovereignty."

The soma juice offered to the gods was apparently poured on the bundles of kusa grass provided for them as seats. "These dripping soma juices are offered upon the sacred grass : drink them, Indra, (to recruit thy) vigour."

ANIMAL SACRIFICES.

The animals chiefly sacrificed were goats, sheep, cows, bullocks, buffaloes, deer, and occasionally horses. Large numbers were sometimes sacrificed. Three hundred buffaloes are mentioned as having been offered to Indra.

Modern Hindus, who now worship the cow, can scarcely believe that their Aryan forefathers sacrificed her and ate her flesh. But times without number the Vedas refer to ceremonies called *gomedha* in which the cow was sacrificed. Minute directions are given as to the character of the animal to be chosen. The Taittiriya Brahmana of the Yajur Veda gives the following rules :

"A thick-legged cow to Indra ; a barren cow to Vishnu and Varuna ; a black cow to Pushan ; a cow that has brought forth only once to Vayu ; a cow having two colours to Mitra and Varuna ; a red cow to Rudra ; a white barren cow to Surya, &c."

One great sacrifice, called the *Panchasaradiya sava*, was celebrated every five years. At this seventeen young cows were immolated. "Whoever wishes to be great," says the Taittiriya Brahmana, "let him worship through the Panchasaradiya. Thereby, verily, he will be great."

"In the Asvalayana Sutra," says Dr. Mitra, "mention is made of several sacrifices of which the slaughter of cattle formed a part. One of them, in the Grihya Sutra, is worthy of special notice. It is called *Sulagava*, or 'spitted cow,' i. e., Roast Beef."*

Oxen were sacrificed as well as cows. The Taittiriya Brahmana prescribes : "A dwarf ox to Vishnu ; a drooping horned bull to Indra ; a piebald ox to Savitri ; a white ox to Mitra, &c."

* *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, p. 363.

Ignorant Hindus now allege that the animals were not really killed, but that after the form of sacrificing had been performed, they were allowed to go free. This statement is a pure fabrication. "Nothing," says Dr. Clerk, "is more conclusive than the evidence on this point that the animal sacrificed was really killed and subsequently eaten. It was first tied to the sacrificial post after the recital of appropriate mantras and the performance of certain special rites; some kusa grass was then spread, and the animal was laid on it with its head to the west and its feet to the north." After it was killed, the Adhvaryu said, 'It is immolated (*sanjñapta*).'

"That the animal slaughtered was intended for food," says Dr. R. Mitra, "is evident from the directions given in the Asvalayana Sutra to eat of the remains of the offering; but to remove all doubt on the subject I shall quote here a passage from the Taittiriya Brahmana in which the mode of cutting up the victim after immolation is described in detail: it is scarcely to be supposed that the animal would be so divided if there was no necessity for distribution."

Only a few extracts need be given:

"Separate its hide so that it may remain entire. Cut open its breast so as to make it appear like an eagle (with spread wings). Separate the forearms; divide the arms into spokes; separate successively in order the 26 ribs. Dig a trench for burying the excrements. Throw away the blood to the Rakshasas. O slayer of cattle, O Adhvirgu, accomplish your task; accomplish it according to rules."

The Gopatha Brahmana of the Atharva-Veda gives in detail the names of the different individuals who are to receive shares of the meat for the parts they take in the ceremony. The following are a few of them:

"The Prastata is to receive the two jaws along with the tongue; the Pratiharta, the neck and the hump; the Udgata, the eagle-like wings; the Neshta, the right arm; the Sadasya, the left arm; the householder who ordains the sacrifice the two right feet: his wife, the two left feet, &c."

Diverse imprecations are hurled against those who venture to depart from this order of distribution.

Some had poor shares, but all were allowed plentiful libations of the soma beer.

Ashvamedha.—This rite was probably borrowed from the Scythians in Central Asia, who often sacrificed horses. The same importance was not attached to it in Vedic times as it acquired in after ages.

A year's preparation was needed for the horse sacrifice. According to the Taittiriya Brahmana, "ten times eighteen" domestic animals were to be sacrificed with it. Two hundred and sixty

wild animals were also brought and tied to the sacrificial posts, but they were let loose after the fire had been carried round them.

The first animal sacrificed was a goat to Pushan. That the horse was killed and cooked is evident from the following extract from the Rig-Veda II. 162.

"11. Whatever (portion) of thy slaughtered (body) fall from thy carcase when it is being roasted by the fire (escaping) from the spit; let it not be left on the ground, nor on the (sacred) grass, but let it (all) be given to the longing gods.

12. Let their exertions be for our good who watch the cooking of the horse; who say, It is fragrant; therefore give us some; who solicit the flesh of the horse as alms.

13. The stick that is dipped into the caldron in which the flesh is boiled, the vessels that distribute the broth, the covers of the dishes, the skewers, the knives, all do honour (to the horse).

18. The axe penetrates the 34 ribs of the swift horse: the beloved of the gods (the immolators) cut up (the horse) with skill, so that the limbs may be unperforated, and recapitulating joint by joint."

This hymn would be nonsense if the horse was not really killed and cooked. Professor Wilson says:

"That the horse is to be actually immolated admits of no question; that the body was cut up into fragments is also clear; that these fragments were dressed, partly boiled, and partly roasted, is also undisputable; and although the expressions may be differently understood, yet there is little reason to doubt that part of the flesh was eaten by the assistants, part presented as a burnt-offering to the gods."*

The horse, however, was comforted by the thought that it was going to the gods:—

"20. Let not thy precious body grieve thee, who art going verily (to the gods): let not the axe linger in thy body; let not the greedy and unskilful (immolator), missing the members, mangle thy limbs needlessly with his knife.

21. Verily at this moment thou dost not die; nor art thou harmed; for thou goest by auspicious paths to the gods. The horses of Indra, the steeds of the Maruts shall be yoked (to their cars), and a courser shall be placed in the shaft of the ass of the Ashvins (to bear thee to heaven)."

In the Rig-Veda the object of the *Ashvamedha* is no more than as usual with other rites, the acquiring of wealth and posterity:

"22. May this horse bring to us all-sustaining wealth, with abundance of cows, of excellent horses, and of male offspring; may the spirited steed bring us exemption from wickedness; may this horse, offered in oblation, procure for us bodily vigour."

* Introduction to Translation of Rig-Veda, Vol. II, pp. xiii, xiv.

In the Ramayana the horse sacrifice is employed by the childless Dasaratha as the means of obtaining sons. As one step towards this, the principal queen, Kausalya, is directed to lie all night in closest contact with the dead horse. "In the morning," says Wilson, "when the queen is released from this disgusting and, in fact, impossible, contiguity, a dialogue, as given in the Yajush, and in the Ashvamedha section of the Satapatha Brahmana, and as explained in the Sutras, takes place between the queen and the females accompanying or attendant upon her, and the principal priests, which, though brief, is in the highest degree both silly and obscene. We find no vestige, however, of these revolting impurities in the Rig-Veda, although it is authority for practices sufficiently coarse, and such as respectable Hindus of the present generation will find it difficult to credit as forming a part of the uncreated revelations of Brahma."*

A later idea was that the Ashvamedha was celebrated by a monarch desirous of universal dominion. Another fiction was that a hundred celebrations deposed Indra from the throne of Swarga, and elevated the sacrificer to his place.

PERUSHAMEDHA, HUMAN SACRIFICES.

Human sacrifices, though now regarded with horror, were practised in ancient times by nearly all nations. The Aryan Hindus, the Greeks, Romans, Germans and Britons, once lived together, speaking the same language, and following the same customs. We know that human sacrifices were offered by the Western Aryans at an early period. In England, large numbers of human beings were burnt alive in images made of wicker work. At Athens, a man and a woman were annually sacrificed to expiate the sins of the nation. The Germans sometimes immolated hundreds at a time. It is therefore very probable that the practice prevailed also among the Eastern Aryans.

The subject has been carefully investigated by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, the most distinguished Indian scholar of modern times, in a paper originally published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Some maintain that human sacrifices are not authorised in the Vedas, but were introduced in later times. Dr. Mitra says: "As a Hindu writing on the actions of my forefathers—remote as they are—it would have been a source of great satisfaction to me if I could adopt this conclusion as true; but I regret I cannot do so consistently with any allegiance to the cause of history."

His paper on the subject occupies 84 pages in his *Indo-Aryans*, giving numerous quotations both in Sanskrit and English. The

* Introduction to Translation of Rig-Veda. Vol. II., p. xiii.

following is only a brief summary. Dr. Mitra first describes the prevalence of human sacrifices in all parts of the world, both in ancient and modern times. He adds : " Benign and humane as was the spirit of the ancient Hindu religion, it was not at all opposed to animal sacrifice ; on the contrary, most of the principal rites required the immolation of large numbers of various kinds of beasts and birds. One of the rites enjoined required the performer to walk deliberately into the depth of the ocean of drown himself to death. This was called *Mahaprasthanā*, and is forbidden in the present age. Another, an expiatory one, required the sinner to burn himself to death, on a blazing pyre—the *Tushanala*. This has not yet been forbidden. The gentlest of beings, the simple-minded women of Bengal, were for a long time in the habit of consigning their first-born babes to the sacred river Ganges at Sagar Island, and this was preceded by a religious ceremony, though it was not authorised by any of the ancient rituals. If the spirit of the Hindu religion has tolerated, countenanced or promoted such acts, it would not be by any means unreasonable or inconsistent, to suppose that it should have, in primitive times, recognised the slaughter of human beings as calculated to appease, gratify, and secure the grace of, the gods.

But to turn from presumptive evidence to the facts recorded in the Vedas. The earliest reference to human sacrifice occurs in the first book of the Rig-Veda. It contains seven hymns supposed to have been recited by one Sunahsepha when he was bound to a stake preparatory to being immolated. The story is given in the Aitariya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda.

Harischandra had made a vow to sacrifice his first-born to Varuna if that deity would bless him with children. A child was born, named Rohita, and Varuna claimed it ; but the father evaded fulfilling his promise under various pretexts until Rohita, grown up to man's estate, ran away from home, when Varuna afflicted the father with dropsy. At last Rohita purchased one Sunahsepha from his father Ajigarta for a hundred cows. When Sunahsepha had been prepared, they found nobody to bind him to the sacrificial post. Then Ajigarta said, " Give me another hundred, and I shall bind him." They gave him another hundred cows, and he bound him. When Sunahsepha had been prepared and bound, when the Apri hymns had been sung, and he had been led round the fire, they found nobody to kill him. Next Ajigarta said, " Give me another hundred, and I shall kill him." They gave him another hundred cows, and he came whetting the knife. Sunahsepha then recited the hymns praising Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and other gods. He says :—

" 13. Sunahsephas, seized and bound to the three-footed tree, has

invoked the son of Aditi: may the regal Varuna, wise and irresistible, liberate him; may he let loose his bonds."

Varuna, pleased with the hymns of Sunahsephas, set him free. Disgusted with his father, he forsook him, and became the adopted son of Visvamitra, his maternal uncle.

This story shows that human sacrifices were really offered. If Harischandra had simply to tie his son to a post and after repeating a few mantras over him, let him off perfectly sound, he could easily have done so. "The running away of the son from his father would also be unmeaning; the purchase of a substitute stupid; the payment of a fee of a hundred head of cattle to undertake the butcher's work quite supererogatory; and the sharpening of the knife by Ajigarta a vain preliminary." Dr. Mitra adds: "Seeing that, until the beginning of this century, the practice of offering the first-born to the river Ganges was common, and the story simply says that Sunahsephas was offered to the water-god Varuna as a substitute for the first-born Rohita, he can perceive nothing in it inconsistent or unworthy of belief."

This view is supported by Max Müller. He says that the story in the Aitareya Brahmana "shows that, at that early time, the Brahmans were familiar with the idea of human sacrifices, and that men who were supposed to belong to the caste of the Brahmans were ready to sell their sons for that purpose."

The *Purushamedha* was celebrated for the attainment of supremacy over all created beings. Its performance was limited to Brahmans and Kshatriyas. It could be commenced only on the tenth of the waxing moon in the month of Chaitra, and altogether it required 40 days for its performance, though only 5 out of the 40 days were specially called the days of the Purushamedha, whence it got the name of *panchaha*. Eleven sacrificial posts were required for it, and to each of them was tied an animal fit for Agni and Soma (a barren cow), the human victims being placed between the posts.

The earliest indication of this rite occurs in the Vajasaneyi Samhita of the White Yajur Veda. The passage in it bearing on the subject is supposed to describe the different kinds of human victims appropriate for particular gods and goddesses. The section, in which it occurs, opens with three verses which, the commentator says, were intended to serve as mantras for offerings of human victims. Then follows a series of 179 names of gods in the dative case, each followed by the name of one or more persons in the objective case; thus: "to Brahma a Brahmana, to the Maruts a Vaisya," &c. The copula is nowhere given, and it is quite optional with the reader to supply whatever verb he chooses. The whole of their names occurs also in the Taittiriya Brahmana of the Black Yajur Veda, with only a few slight variations, and in some cases having

the verb *alabhate* after them. This verb is formed of the root *labh*, "to kill" with the prefix *ā*, and commentators have generally accepted the term to mean slaughter, though in some cases it means consecration before slaughter.

Dr. R. Mitra quotes the 179 names in full, and gives long explanatory extracts from the Brahmanas and Apastambha. He arrives at the following conclusion: "Probably the number originally sacrificed was few, and that when the rite became emblematic, the number was increased in confirmation of some liturgical theory, particularly as it did not involve any trouble or difficulty. But whether so or not, certain it is that at one time or other men were immolated for the gratification of some divinity or other in this rite or its prototype."

The presumption is strong that the real sacrifice belonged to the *Saṁhita*, and the Brahmana divested it of its hideousness and cruelty and made it emblematic, even as the Vaishnavas have, within the last five or six hundred years, replaced the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes to Chandika by that of pumpkins and sugar-cane.

Nor is the Purushamedha the only sacrifice at which human sacrifices were ordained. The Ashvamedha, or horse sacrifice, required the immolation of a human being just as much as the former, and hence it is that the horse sacrifice was prohibited in the Kali Yuga along with it.

The Satapatha Brahmana, in another passage, has a verse which is remarkable for the manner in which the human victim is therein referred to. It says, "Let a fire offering be made with the head of a man. The offering is the rite itself (*yajna*); therefore does it make a man part of the sacrificial animals; and hence it is that among animals man is included in sacrifice."

Passing from the Brahmanas to the Itihasas, we have ample evidence to show that the rite of Purushamedha was not unknown to their authors. The Institutes of Manu affords the same evidence, but it would seem that when it came into currency, the rite was looked upon with horror, and so it was prohibited as unfit to be performed in the present age.

But while the Puranas suppressed the Purushamedha they afford abundant indications of another rite requiring the immolation of a human victim having come into vogue. This was *Narabali*, or human sacrifice to the goddess Chamunda, or Chandika,—a dark, fierce sanguinary divinity.

The Kalika Purana says: "By a human sacrifice attended by the forms laid down, Devi remains gratified for a thousand years, and by a sacrifice of three men one hundred thousand years." A human sacrifice is described as *atibali* (highest sacrifice.) "The fact is well known," says Dr. Mitra, "that for a long time the rite was common all over Hindustan; and persons are not wanting who

suspect that there are still nooks and corners in India where human victims are occasionally slaughtered for the gratification of the Devi."

"Apart from the sacrifices enjoined in the Sastras, there used, in former times, to be offered human victims to several *dii minores* (inferior gods) by way of expiations or good-will offerings whenever a newly excavated tank failed to produce sufficient water, or a temple or building cracked, accidents which were attributed to malevolent divinities who generally yielded to the seductive influence of sanguinary offerings."

"The offering of one's own blood to the goddess is a mediæval and modern rite. It is made by women, and there is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not, at one time or other, shed her blood under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that, on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and in the first Durga Puja following, or at the temple at Kalighat, or at some other sacred fane, the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then bares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and with a nail-cutter (*naruna*) draws a few drops of blood from between her busts, and offers them to the divinity."

Dr. R. Mitra gives the following summary of the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from the facts cited above :

1st. That looking to the history of human civilization and the rituals of the Hindus, there is nothing to justify the belief that in ancient times the Hindus were incapable of sacrificing human beings to their gods.

2nd. That the Sunahsepha hymns of the Rik Samhita most probably refer to a human sacrifice.

3rd. That the Aitareya Brahmana refers to an actual and not a typical human sacrifice.

4th. That the Purushamedha originally required the actual sacrifice of men.

5th. That the Satapatha Brahmana sanctions human sacrifice in some cases, but makes the Purushamedha emblematic.

6th. That the Taittiriya Brahmana enjoins the sacrifice of a man at the Horse Sacrifice.

7th. That the Puranas recognise human sacrifices to Chaudika, but prohibit the Purushamedha rite.

8th. That the Tantras enjoin human sacrifices to Chandika, and require that when human victims are not available, the effigy of a human being should be sacrificed to her."

Reaction against Sacrifices.

There have been many changes in the religious beliefs and practices of the Hindus. They have changed their gods again and

again as has been already shown; Dyaus, Varuna, Agni, Indra now being superseded by Vishnu, Siva, Rama, and Krishna.

Their practices have also changed. When the Aryans entered the Punjab, they were largely a pastoral people, their flocks and herds affording a large proportion of their food. It has been shown that the Aryans in Vedic times ate beef and drank freely the intoxicating soma beer. Much of their time was spent in fighting with the aborigines, whose fields and cattle they sought to take. Indra, supposed to be strong in battle, was therefore the principal god.

By degrees the Aryans were settled in peaceful possession of the country, the aborigines having either retired to the mountains or been reduced to slavery. The Aryans became milder than their forefathers. Instead of considering beef the best of food and delighting in soma beer, they began to think that no life should be taken and that no intoxicating liquors should be tasted.

The new doctrine of transmigration arose, unknown to the Vedic Aryans, who did not believe that at death they passed from one body to another. This was a strong reason against the use of meat. A man's grandmother might become a sheep, and if killed, he might eat her.

Animal worship, which sprang up, was another influence. The old Aryans worshipped chiefly the heavenly bodies; they did not look upon cows as sacred, but killed and ate them freely. For a people to eat their gods, seemed as wicked as to eat their parents.

The chief leader in the movement against sacrifices and the use of soma beer, was Gautama Buddha, the son of an Indian Raja, who lived about 2,400 years ago. His first command was, "Thou shalt not take any life." This referred to life of any kind. His priests were forbidden even to pluck up any vegetable, which was supposed to have life like animals, and into which a person might pass in another birth. The following was one argument used by the Buddhists against sacrifices. The Vedic hymns say that animals sacrificed went to heaven. A man should therefore sacrifice his father, because he would go to heaven!

Another command of Buddha was, "Thou shalt not taste any intoxicating drink." The evils of drunkenness began to be felt, and though the Rig-Veda has 114 hymns in praise of the soma beer, its use was given up by the great body of the Hindus, though some tribes have retained their drinking habits.

The changes which Buddha advocated were largely carried out by the influence of Asoka, the powerful king of Magadha, whose empire extended from Bengal to the borders of Afghanistan. He reigned from about B. C. 260 to 220. There are rock inscriptions which he caused to be made in different parts of India. One of them is as follows: "This is the edict of the beloved of the gods, the

Raja Piyadasi. The putting to death of animals is to be entirely discontinued."

The reaction can be gradually traced. Panini, the grammarian, says that there are old and new Brahmanas. The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda, supposed to be the oldest, refers to sacrifices as really offered. The Satapatha Brahmana in some cases attempts to spiritualize them away. Animals and men were let loose after being tied to the sacrificial posts. Some of the leading doctrines of Buddha were adopted by the Brahmans, and the slaying of animals, even in sacrifice, became revolting to them. When Manu's Code was compiled, things were partly in a transition stage, and it is inconsistent. It says:

"22. The prescribed beasts and birds are to be slain by Brahmans for the sacrifice, and also for the support of dependents; for Agastya did (so) formerly.

23. There were, indeed, offerings of eatable beasts and birds in the ancient sacrifices and in the oblations of Brahmans and Kshatriyas." Bk. V.

On the other hand it says:

"46. He who desires not to cause confinement, death, and pain to living beings, (but is) desirous of the good of all, gets endless happiness." V.

The superiority of not eating flesh to sacrifices is thus shown:—

"53. He who for a hundred years sacrifices every year with a horse-sacrifice, and he who eats not flesh, the fruit of the virtue of both is equal." V.

Animal sacrifices are declared to have passed away, and others are substituted:

"84. All the Vedic rites, oblatinal (and) sacrificial, pass away; but this imperishable syllable *Om* is to be known to be Brahma and also Prajapati."

"85. The sacrifice of muttering (this word, &c.) is said to be better by tenfold than the regular sacrifice; if inaudible, it is a hundredfold (better); and a thousandfold, if mental." II.

The "five great sacrifices ordered for householders every day by the great seers" were:

"70. Teaching the Veda, the Veda sacrifice; offering cakes and water, the sacrifice to the manes; an offering to fire, the sacrifice to the gods; offering of food, to all beings; honour to guests, the sacrifice to men." III.

The Vaishnava worship has had a considerable influence in putting a stop to animal sacrifices. It has been mentioned that within the last five or six centuries they have replaced the sacrifice

of goats and buffaloes, even to Chandika, by pumpkins and sugar-cane.

Goats and buffaloes are still offered to Kali, but the image of a man, after the ceremony of *pranpratishta*, is substituted for a human being.

THE PRAYERS OF THE VEDAS.

Prayer is an essential part of religion. Belief in God leads a man to ask Him for such blessings as he thinks himself to need.

Prayer is an index both to a man's own character and to the supposed nature of the deity he worships. Most people are worldly, and their prayers are only for temporal blessings, for wealth, for sons, recovery from sickness, deliverance from earthly enemies, &c. Only a few are spiritually minded, and seek for pardon of sin, holiness, and communion with God.

The Vedic Aryans had a firm belief in the virtue of prayer. One hymn says, "May he (Indra) hear us, for he has ears to hear. He is asked for riches; will he despise our prayers?" At the consecration of a house the guardian spirit is thus addressed: "Lord of the dwelling! bid us welcome hither; freedom from harm grant us, and happy entrance; as we approach with prayer, accept it of us; propitious be to bipeds and quadrupeds." The Vedas are largely a collection of prayers.

The hymns usually begin by praising the gods for their supposed excellencies, their great deeds, sometimes even their personal beauty. The following are some examples:

"I offer especial praise to the most bountiful, the excellent, the opulent, the verily powerful and stately Indra."

Indra is praised for his exploits:—

"Thou hast slain Karanja and Parnaya with thy bright gleaming spear, in the cause of Athigwa: unaided, thou didst demolish the hundred cities of Vangrida, when besieged by Rijiswan."

Agni is thus celebrated:

"The immortal and resplendent Agni, the bearer of oblations, honoured by the Rudras and Vasus, the invoker of the gods, who presides over oblations, and is the distributor of riches, praised by his worshippers, and admired like a chariot amongst mankind, accepts the oblations that are successively presented."

"Agni, the head of heaven, the navel of earth, became the ruler over both earth and heaven: all the gods engendered thee, Vaiswanara, in the form of light for the venerable sage."

In another hymn supreme power is ascribed to Varuna :

"Thou, O wise god (Varuna), art lord of all, of heaven and earth, listen on thy way."

The Maruts are thus addressed :

"Ho Maruts, leaders (of rites), be propitious to us, you who are infinitely opulent, immortal, shedders of rain, renowned for truth, wise, young, greatly glorified, and worshipped with copious oblations."

The gods are sometimes praised for their beauty. "Good-looking" is a common epithet. The aborigines had small noses : hence the Aryans called them "goat-nosed," "noseless." On the other hand, Indra is thus addressed.

"Indra, with the handsome nose, be pleased with these animating praises."

"Offer the oblation to that Sinivali (the Moon), the protectress of mankind, who has beautiful arms, beautiful fingers, who is the parent of many children."

Blessings asked.

Wealth.—The ancient Aryans were largely a pastoral people. Professor Bhattacharyya infers this from "cows, the recovery of cows, the plunder of cows, the increase of cows, and gifts of cows being described in the Rig Veda in such permutations and combinations."* Prayers for cows form a frequent petition, but wealth in every form is desired. The following are some examples :—

"Grant us, Indra, wealth beyond measure or calculation, inexhaustible, the source of cattle, of food, of all life."

"Agni, procure for us the food that is in heaven and mid-air, and grant us the wealth that is on earth."

"Indra, of boundless wealth, enrich us with thousands of excellent cows and horses."

"We solicit, Indra, for a thousand well-trained, swift-going horses, for a hundred jars of Soma juice. We seek to bring down from thee thousands and hundreds of cattle ; may riches come to us from thee."

"We solicit the good-looking (Pushan) for riches."

"Affluent Ushas, bestow upon these (thy) devout adorers, food and posterity, so that, being opulent, they may, without stint, bestow riches upon us : bright born goddess (who art) sincerely praised for (the gift of) horses."

Rain.—Indra is often invoked for this blessing :

"Indra, by thee is food (rendered) everywhere abundant, easy of attainment, and assuredly perfect : wielder of the thunderbolt, set open the cow pastures, and provide (ample) wealth."

* Tagore Law Lectures, p. 119.

"Heaven and earth are unable to sustain thee when destroying thine enemies : thou mayest command the waters of heaven : send us liberally kine."

Children.—These form a frequent petition :—

"Agni, confer upon me vigour, progeny, and life."

"Borne in your car that traverses the three worlds, bring to us, Ashwins, present affluence, attended by (male) progeny."

"Wide-hipped Sinivali (the Moon), who art the sister of the gods, accept the offered oblations, and grant us, goddess, progeny."

Debt.—Getting into debt has been common in India from the earliest times. The following prayer refers to it :—

"Discharge Varuna, the debts (contracted) by my progenitors, and those now (contracted) by me ; and may I not, royal Varuna, be dependent (on the debts contracted) by another."

Preservation from Danger.—Amidst constant wars with the aborigines, this request frequently occurs in the hymns :—

"Indra, who art the object of praises, let not men do injury to our persons : thou art mighty, keep off violence."

"Invincible Indra, protect us in battles abounding in spoil, with insuperable defences."

"Youthful and most resplendent Agni, protect us against evil spirits, and from the malevolent (man) who gives no gifts : protect us from noxious (animals), and from those who seek to kill us."

Destruction of Enemies.—Some prayers include all who are unfriendly :—

"Resplendent Agni, invoked by oblations of clarified butter, consume our adversaries who are defended by evil spirits."

"Indra, destroy every one that reviles us ; slay every one that does us injury."

"Indra, destroy this ass, (our adversary), praising thee with such discordant speech."

"Do ye, O lord of the virtuous, slay our Aryan enemies, slay our Dasya enemies, destroy all those that hate us."

The Rishis who wrote the hymns were not always friendly with one another. "Especially prominent," says Weber, "is the enmity between the families of Vasishtha and Visvamitra, which runs through all Vedic antiquity, continues to play an important part in the epic, and is kept up to the latest times ; so that, for example, a commentator of the Veda who claims to be descended from Vasishtha, leaves passages unexpounded in which the latter is stated to have had a curse imprecated upon him. This implacable hatred owes its origin to the trifling circumstance of Vasishtha having been

once appointed chief sacrificial priest instead of Visvamitra by one of the petty kings of those early times.”*

In the Markandeya Purana, Vasishtha curses Visvamitra and turns him into a crane, while Vasishtha is changed into a starling. The two fought so furiously that the course of the universe was disturbed, and many creatures perished.

The Rishis showed their hatred of the niggard who gave no gifts, who presented no offerings :—

“When will Indra crush the illiberal man like a bush with his foot?”

“Indra consorts not with the man who offers no libation, however flourishing; but overwhelms and at once destroys such a person, whilst he gives the godly man a herd of kine as his portion.”

“Hurl thy burning bolt against the hater of devotion, O wise deity; pierce the hearts of the niggards with a probe; and then subject them to us.”

But the fiercest indignation is reserved for the aborigines who are looked upon as demons :—

“Indra and Soma, burn the Rakshasas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness, throw down the madmen, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together, against the cursing demon! May he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain who hates the Brahman, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable.”

“Hurl upon them thy hottest bolt, cut them up from beneath, shatter them, overpower them; kill and subdue the Rakshasas, O Maghavan! Tear up the Rakshasas by the roots, Indra, cut him in the midst, destroy him at the extremities. How long dost thou delay? Hurl thy burning shaft against the enemy of the priest.”

Pardon of Sin.—Petitions for this are comparatively very rare. They occur chiefly in two or three hymns to Varuna which will hereafter be quoted in full. The following are other examples :—

“Waters, take away whatever sin has been (found) in me, whether I have (knowingly) done wrong, or have pronounced imprecations (against holy men), or have spoken untruth.”

“Aditi, Mitra, and also Varuna, forgive, if we have committed any sin against you! May not the long darkness come over us! May Aditi grant us sinlessness.

“May our sin, Agni, be repented of; manifest riches to us; may our sin be repented of.”

Prayer a Bargain.—The praises and offerings of worshippers are supposed to increase the power of the gods :—

“May these our praises augment the power of thee (Indra), who

* *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 37, 38.

art long-lived, and being agreeable to thee, may they yield delight (to us.)

“Depart (Indra); take the reins in your hands; the effused and exciting juices have exhilarated thee; wielder of the thunderbolt; thus filled with nutriment, rejoice with thy spouse.

“They, Indra, who present to thee oblations, augment thy vast strength and thy manly vigour.”

There is little love or gratitude expressed in the hymns. The gods and their worshippers are like traders in a bargain. “I give this for that.” Barth, a great Sanskrit scholar, sums up the prayers of the Vedas in the words, “Here is butter; give us cows.” The following are examples:—

“Agni and Soma, give ample (recompense) to him who presents to you both this clarified butter.” I. 93.

“Agni, thou art praised by us for the sake of wealth.” I. 31.

“Indra, propitiated by these offerings, by these oblations, dispel poverty with cattle and horses.” I. 53.

“What suitable praise may bring the son of strength, Indra, before us to give us wealth?” III. 24, 1.

“Indra bestows wealth upon him who offers a libation to him.” III. 24, 6.

The god Rudra is entreated not to “take advantage, like a trader, of his worshippers.”

The Rev. K. S. Macdonald says: “Canon Rawlinson points out the relation as almost the very opposite to what one would expect—the worshipper being the lord and master, the worshipped being the servant, if not the slave: ‘The offerings of praise and sacrifice, and especially the offering of the Soma juice, were considered not merely to please the god who was the object of them, but to lay him under a binding obligation, and almost to compel him to grant the request of the worshippers.’ ‘Who buys this—*may* Indra,’ says Vamadeva, a Vedic poet, ‘with ten milch kine? When he shall have slain his foes, then let the purchaser give him back to me again;’ which the commentator explains, as follows: ‘Vamadeva, *having by much praise got Indra into his possession or subjugation*, proposes to make a bargain when about to dispose of him;’ and so he offers for ten milch kine to hand him over temporarily, apparently to any person who will pay the price, with the proviso that when Indra has subdued the person’s foes, he is to be returned to the vendor!”*

In later times this idea was still more strongly developed. The performance of austerities for a continued period was supposed to constrain the gods to grant the desired boon, although fraught with peril and even destruction to themselves.

* *The Vedic Religion*, p. 137.

SPECIMENS OF THE RIG-VEDA HYMNS.

Verses have already been quoted from a number of the Vedic hymns. To give a better idea of their character, some are given entire. The translations are chiefly from Professor Wilson, based on the Commentary of Sayana, regarded as the greatest commentator on the Vedas. Only a few hymns can be extracted, but all are very much alike.

Hymns to Agni.

Of these there is a very large number. The following is the first in the Rig-Veda :—

1. "I glorify Agni, the purohit of the sacrifice, the divine, the ministrant, who presents the oblation (to the gods), and is the possessor of great wealth.

2. May that Agni who is celebrated both by ancient and modern sages, conduct the gods hither.

3. Through Agni the worshipper obtains that affluence which increases day by day, which is the source of fame and the multiplier of mankind.

4. Agni, the unobstructed sacrifice of which thou art on every side the protector, assuredly reaches the gods.

5. May Agni, the presenter of oblations, the attainer of knowledge, he who is true, renowned and divine, come hither with the gods.

6. Whatever good thou mayest, Agni, bestow upon the giver (of the oblation), that verily, Angiras, shall revert to thee.

7. We approach thee, Agni, with reverential homage in our thoughts, daily, both morning and evening.

8. Thee, the radiant, the protector of sacrifices, the constant illuminator of truth, increasing in thine own dwelling.

9. Agni, be unto us easy of access, as is a father to his son; be ever present with us for our good."

The following, addressed to the same deity, is from Ashtaka I, 67.

"1. Born in the woods, the friend of man, Agni protects his worshipper, as a Raja favours an able man; kind as a defender, prosperous as a performer of (good) works, may he, the invoker of the gods, the bearer of oblations, be propitious.

2. Holding in his hand all (sacrificial) wealth, and hiding in the hollows (of the waters), he filled the gods with alarm; the leaders (the gods), the upholders of acts, then recognize Agni when they have recited the prayers conceived in the heart.

3. Like the unborn (sun) he sustains the earth and the firmament, and props up the heaven with true prayers; Agni, in whom is all sus-

tenance, cherish the places that are grateful to animals ; repair (to the spots) where there is no pasturage.

4. He who knows Agni hidden in the hollows ; he who approaches him as the maintainer of truth ; those who performing worship, repeat his praises, to them assuredly he promises affluence.

5. The wise (first) honouring Agni, as they do a dwelling, worship him who implants their (peculiar) virtues in herbs, as progeny in their parents, and who, the source of knowledge and of all sustenance, (abides) in the domicile of the waters."

The next translation is from Max Müller, II. 6.

1. Agni, accept this log which I offer to thee, accept this my service ; listen well to these my songs.

2. With this log, O Agni, may we worship thee, thou son of strength, conqueror of horses ! and with this hymn, thou high-born !

3. May we thy servants serve thee with songs, O granter of riches, thou who lovest songs and delightest in riches.

4. Thou lord of wealth and giver of wealth, be thou wise and powerful ; drive away from us our enemies !

5. He gives us rain from heaven, he gives us inviolable strength, he gives us food a thousandfold.

6. Youngest of the gods, their messenger, their invoker, most deserving of worship, come, at our praise, to him who worships thee and longs for thy help.

7. For thou, O sage, goest wisely between these two creations (heaven and earth, gods and men), like a friendly messenger between two hamlets.

8. Thou art wise, and thou hast been pleased, perform thou, intelligent Agni, the sacrifice without interruption, sit down on this sacred grass !*

Hymns to Indra.

As already mentioned, more hymns are addressed to this god in the Rig-Veda than to any other. He is especially supplicated for rain and the destruction of enemies. To strengthen him for battle, he is encouraged to quaff abundantly the Soma juice. The following are examples from Wilson's translation :

1. Voracious (Indra) has risen up (as ardently) as a horse (approaches) a mare, to partake of the copious libations contained in the ladles ; having stayed his well-horsed, golden and splendid chariot, he flies himself, capable of heroic (actions, with the beverage).

2. His adorers, bearing oblations, are thronging round (him), as (merchants) covetous of gain crowd the ocean (in vessels) on a voyage : ascend quickly, with a hymn to the powerful Indra, the protector of the solemn sacrifice, as women (climb) a mountain.

3. He is quick in action and mighty; his faultless and destructive prowess shines in manly (conflict) like the peak of a mountain (afar), with which clothed in iron (armour), he, the suppressor of the malignant, when exhilarated (by the Soma juice), cast the wily Sushna into prison and bonds.

4. Divine strength waits, like the sun upon the dawn, upon that Indra who is made more powerful for protection by thee, (his worshipper), who with resolute vigour resists the gloom, and inflicts severe castigation upon his enemies, making them cry aloud (with pain).

5. When thou, destroying Indra, didst distribute the (previously) hidden life-sustaining, undecaying waters through the different quarters of the heaven, then, animated (by the Soma juice), thou didst engage in battle, and with exulting (prowess) slewest Vritra, and didst send down an ocean of waters.

6. Thou, mighty Indra, sendest down from heaven by thy power, upon the realms of earth, the (world) sustaining ruin; exhilarated (by the Soma juice), thou hast expelled the waters (from the clouds), and hast crushed Vritra by a solid rock. I. 4. 6.

1. The sages have formerly been possessed of this thy supreme power, Indra, as if it were present with them, one light of whom shines upon the earth, the other in heaven, and both are in combination with each other, as banner (mingles with banner) in battle.

2. He upholds, and has spread out, the earth; having struck (the clouds), he has extricated the waters; he has slain Ahi, he has pierced Rauhina, he has destroyed, by his prowess, the mutilated (Vritra).

3. Armed with the thunderbolt, and confident in his strength, he has gone on destroying the cities of the Dasyus. Thunderer, acknowledging (the praises of thy worshipper), cast, for his sake, thy shaft against the Dasyu, and augment the strength and glory of the Arya.

4. Maghavan, possessing a name that is to be glorified, offers to him who celebrates it these (revolving) ages of man; the thunderer, the scatterer (of his foes), sallying forth to destroy the Dasyus, has obtained, a name (renowned for victorious) prowess.

5. Behold this, the vast and extensive (might of Indra); have confidence in his prowess; he has recovered the cattle, he has recovered the horses, the plants, the waters, the woods.

6. We offer the Soma libation to him who is the performer of many exploits, the best (of the gods), the showerer (of benefits), the possessor of true strength, the hero who, holding respect for wealth, takes it from him who performs no sacrifice, like a foot pad (from a traveller), and proceeds (to give it) to the sacrificer.

7. Thou didst perform Indra, a glorious deed, when thou didst awaken the sleeping Ahi with thy thunderbolt; then the wives (of the gods), the Maruts, and all the gods, imitated thy exultation.

8. Inasmuch, Indra, as thou hast slain Sushna, Pipru, Kuyava, and Vritra, and destroyed the cities of Sambara, therefore may Mitra, Varuna, Aditi,—ocean, earth, and heaven, grant us that (which we desire).

The Maruts.

The Maruts, the storm-gods, often associated with Indra, have many hymns addressed to them. The following is an example :

1. Annihilators (of adversaries), endowed with great strength, loud-shouting, unbending, inseparable partakers of the evening oblation, constantly worshipped, and leaders (of the clouds), (the Maruts), by their personal decorations, are conspicuous (in the sky), like certain rays of the sun.

2. When, Maruts, flying like birds along a certain path, (of the sky), you collect the moving passing (clouds) in the nearest portions (of the firmament), then, coming into collision with your cars, they pour forth (the waters) ; therefore, do you shower upon your worshipper the honey-coloured rain.

3. When they assemble (the clouds) for the good work, earth trembles at their impetuous movements, like a wife (whose husband is away) : sportive, capricious, armed with bright weapons, and agitating (the solid rocks), they manifest their inherent might.

4. The troop of Maruts is self-moving, deer-borne, ever young, lord of this (earth), and invested with vigour : you, who are sincere liberators from debt, irreproachable, and shedders of rain, are the protectors of this our rite.

5. We declare by our birth from our ancient sire, that the tongue (of praise) accompanies the manifesting (invocation of the Maruts) at the libations of the Soma ; for, inasmuch as they stood by, encouraging Indra in the conflict, they have acquired names that are to be recited at sacrifices.

6. Combining with the solar rays, they have willingly poured down (rain) for the welfare (of mankind), and hymned by the priests, have been pleased partakers of the (sacrificial food) ; addressed with praises, moving swiftly, and exempt from fear, they have become possessed of a station agreeable and suitable to the Maruts. I. 6. 3.

Parjanya.

Parjanya has three hymns addressed to him as the rain-god. In later times the name is applied to Indra. The following, says Max Müller, is a very fair specimen of Vedic hymns :

1. Invoke the strong god with these songs ! praise Parjanya, worship him with veneration ! for he, the roaring bull, scattering drops, gives seed-fruit to plants.

2. He cuts the trees asunder, he kills evil spirits ; the whole world trembles before his mighty weapon. Even the guiltless flees before the powerful, when Parjanya thundering strikes down the evil-doers.

3. Like a charioteer, striking his horses with a whip, he puts forth his messengers of rain. From afar arise the roarings of the lion, when Parjanya makes the sky full of rain.

4. The winds blow, the lightnings fly, plants spring up, the sky pours. Food is produced for the whole world, when Parjanya blesses the earth with his seed.

5. O Parjanya, thou at whose work the earth bows down, thou at whose work hooped animals are scattered, thou at whose work the plants assume all forms, grant to us thy great protection!

6. O Maruts, give us the rain of heaven, make the streams of the strong horse run down! And come hither with thy thunder, pouring out water, for thou (O Parjanya) art the living god, thou art our father.

7. Do thou roar, and thunder, and give fruitfulness! Fly around us with thy chariot full of water! Draw forth thy water skin, when it has been opened and turned downward, and let the high and the low places become level!

8. Draw up the large bucket, and pour it out; let the streams pour forth freely! Soak heaven and earth with fatness! and let there be a good draught for the cows!

9. O Parjanya, when roaring and thundering thou killest the evildoers, then everything rejoices, whatever lives on earth.

10. Thou hast sent rain, stop now! Thou hast made the deserts passable, thou hast made plants grow for food, and thou hast obtained praise from men.* V. 83.

Surya.

Surya, the sun, is one of the chief Vedic deities. The following hymn is addressed to him:—

1. The wonderful host of rays has risen; the eye of Mitra, Varuna, and Agni; the sun, the soul of all that moves or is immoveable, has filled (with his glory) the heaven, the earth, and the firmament.

2. The Sun follows the divine and brilliant Ushas, as a man (follows a young and elegant) woman; at which season pious men perform (the ceremonies established for) ages, worshipping the auspicious (Sun) for the sake of good (reward).

3. The auspicious, swift horses of the Sun, well-limbed, road-traversing, who merit to be pleased with praise, revered by us, have ascended to the summit of the sky, and quickly circumbulate earth and heaven.

5. Such is the divinity, such is the majesty of the Sun, that when he has set, he has withdrawn (into himself) the diffused (light which had been shed) upon the unfinished task; when he has unyoked his coursers from his car, then night extends the veiling darkness over all.

5. The Sun, in the sight of Mitra and Varuna, displays his form (of brightness) in the middle of the heavens, and his rays extend, on one hand, his infinite and brilliant power, or, on the other (by their departure), bring on the blackness of night.

6. This day, Gods, with the rising of the Sun, deliver us from heinous sin; and may Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, —ocean, earth, and heaven, be favourable to this our prayer. I. 8. 10.

* *India, What can it Teach us?* pp. 186, 187.

Ushas.

The following hymn is addressed to Ushas, the Dawn, the daughter of heaven and sister of the Adityas :—

1. She shines upon us, like a young wife, rousing every living being to go to his work. When the fire had to be kindled by men, she made the light by striking down darkness.

2. She rose up, spreading far and wide, and moving everywhere. She grew in brightness, wearing her brilliant garment. The mother of the cows (the mornings), the leader of the days, she shone gold-coloured, lovely to behold.

3. She, the fortunate, who brings the eye of the gods, who leads the white and lovely steed (of the sun), the Dawn was seen revealed by her rays, with brilliant treasures, following every one.

4. Thou who art a blessing when thou art near, drive far away the unfriendly ; make the pasture wide, give us safety ! Scatter the enemy, bring us riches ! Raise up wealth to the worshipper, thou mighty Dawn.

5. Shine for us with thy best rays, thou bright Dawn, thou who lengthenest our life, thou the love of all, who givest us food, who givest us wealth in cows, horses, and chariots.

6. Thou daughter of the sky, thou high-born Dawn, whom the Vasishthas magnify with songs, give us riches, high and wide ; all ye gods protect us always with your blessings.* VII. 77.

The Aswins.

The Aswins (see page 30) have several hymns addressed to them. The following is a specimen :—

1. We invoke Aswins, to-day, your rapid car, the associator of the solar ray : the banked car which bears Surya, vast, wealthy, and laden with praises.

2. Aswins, grandsons of heaven, divinities, you enjoy that glory by your actions, that (sacrificial) food is administered to your persons, and powerful horses draw you in your chariot.

3. What offerer of oblations addresses you to-day with hymns for the sake (of obtaining) protection, for the drinking of the Soma, or for the ancient fulfilment of the sacrifice ? what offerer of adoration may bring you Aswins (to this rite.)?

4. Nasatyas, who are manifold, come with your golden chariot to this sacrifice ; drink of the sweet Soma beverage, and give precious things to the man who celebrates (your worship).

5. Come to our presence, whether from heaven or earth, with your well-constructed golden chariot : let not other devout worshippers detain you, for a prior attraction awaits you (here).

6. Dasras, mete out for us both great opulence, comprising many descendants, since the leaders of the rite (the *Purumilhas*), have addressed

to you, Aswins, their praise, and the *Ajamīlhas* have united with it their laudation.

7. May the earnest praise wherewith, distributors of food. I associate you both like-minded at this sacrifice, be (beneficial) to us; do you protect your worshipper; my desire *Nasatyas*, directed towards you is gratified.
III. 7. 12.

Soma.

•It has been mentioned that nearly the whole of one Mandala of the Rig-Veda is devoted to the praise of Soma, and most of the hymns contain allusions to the juice. The following hymn is too long to be given entire. The opening and closing verses will give an idea of the whole :—

1. Thou Soma, art thoroughly apprehended by our understanding; thou, ledest us along a straight path; by thy guidance, Indra, our righteous fathers obtained wealth among the gods.

2. Thon, Soma, art the doer of good by holy acts; thou art powerful by thine energies, and knowest all things; thou art the showerer (of benefits) by thy bounties, and (art great) by thy greatness; thou, the guide of men, hast been well nourished by sacrificial offerings.

20. To him who presents (offerings), Soma gives a milch cow, a swift horse, and a son who is able in affairs, skilful in domestic concerns, assiduous in worship, eminent in society, and who is an honour to his father.

21. We rejoice, Soma, contemplating thee, invincible in battle, triumphant amongst hosts, the granter of heaven, the giver of rain, the preserver of strength, born amidst sacrifices, occupying a brilliant dwelling, renowned and victorious.

22. Thon, Soma, hast generated all these herbs, the water, and the kine; thou hast spread out the spacious firmament; thou hast scattered darkness with light.

23. Divine and potent Soma, bestow upon us, with thy brilliant mind, a portion of wealth; may no (adversary) annoy thee; thou art supreme over the valour of (any) two (mutual) opponents; defend us (from enemies) in battle. I. 6. 7.

Miscellaneous Hymns.

Some hymns are addressed to several deities.

1. May Varuna and the wise Mitra lead us by straight paths (to our desires), and Aryaman rejoicing with the gods.

2. For they are the distributors of wealth (over the world); and, never heedless, discharge their functions every day.

3. May they, who are immortal, bestow upon us mortals, happiness, annihilating our foe.

4. May the adorable Indra, the Maruts, Pushan, and Bhaga, so direct our paths, (that they may lead) to the attainment of good gifts.

5. Pushan, Vishnu, Maruts, make our rites restorative of our cattle ; make us prosperous.

6. The winds bring sweet (rewards) to the sacrificer ; the rivers bring sweet (waters) ; may the herbs yield sweetness to us.

7. May night and morn be sweet ; may the region of the earth be full of sweetness ; may the protecting heaven be sweet to us.

8. May Vanaspati be possessed of sweetness towards us ; may the sun be imbued with sweetness ; may the cattle be sweet to us.

9. May Mitra be propitious to us ; may Varuna, may Aryaman, be propitious to us ; may Indra and Brihaspati be propitious to us ; may the wide-stepping Vishnu be propitious to us. I. 6. 6.

On the other hand, Max Müller regards the following hymn of a late date as expressing monotheism :—

In the beginning there arose the Hiranyagarbha (the golden germ)—He was the one born lord of all this. He established the earth, and this sky :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

He who gives breath, He who gives strength ; whose command all the bright gods revere ; whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death :—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

He who through His power became the sole King of the breathing and slumbering world ;—He who governs all, man and beast :—Who is the God whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

He through whose power these snowy mountains are, whose power the sea proclaims : with the distant river :—He of whom these regions are the two arms ;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm—He through whom the heaven was established—nay, the highest heaven ; He who measured the space in the sky :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice !

He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by his will, look up, trembling inwardly ; He over whom the rising sun shines forth :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

Wherever the mighty water-clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the sole life of the bright gods :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

He who by His might looked even over on the water-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrificial fire ; He who alone is God above all gods :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

May He not destroy us,—He the Creator of the earth ; or He, the righteous, who created the heaven ; He who also created the bright and mighty waters :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ? X. 121.

The 129th hymn of the Tenth Mandala of the Rig-Veda, thus attempts to describe the mystery of creation.

1. There was then neither nonentity nor entity ; there was no atmosphere, nor sky above. What enveloped (all) ? Where, in the receptacle of what (was it contained) ? Was it water, the profound abyss ?

2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night. That One breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from, or above, it.

3. In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. All this was undistinguishable water. That One which lay void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour.

4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond which connects entity with nonentity.

5. The ray (or cord) which stretched across these (worlds), was it below or was it above? There were there impregnating powers and mighty forces, a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.

6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the development of this (universe); who then knows whence it arose?

7. From what this creation arose, and whether (any one) made it or not,—he who in the highest heaven is its ruler, he verily knows, or (even) he does not know.*

Brahmanaspati, or Brihaspati, is in one hymn styled the father of the gods (*devanam pitaram*) and to have *blown forth the births of the gods like a blacksmith*.

1. Let us, in chanted hymns, with praise, declare the births of the gods,—any of us who in (this) latter age may behold them.

2. Brahmanaspati blew forth these births like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent.

3. In the first age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions sprang, thereafter, from Uttanapad.

4. The earth sprang from Uttanapad, from the earth sprang the regions: Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.

5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter O Daksha. After her the gods were born, happy, partakers of immortality.

6. When, gods, ye moved, agitated upon those waters, then a violent dust issued from you, as from dancers.

7. When, gods, ye, like strenuous men, replenished the world, then ye drew forth the sun which was hidden in the (aerial?) ocean.

8. Of the eight sons of Aditi who were born from her body, she approached the gods with seven, and cast out Marttanda (the eighth).

9. With seven sons Aditi approached the former generation (of gods): she again produced Marttanda for birth as well as for death. X. 72 †

As Dr. Muir remarks, the “share which Aditi took in the process of creation is not very intelligibly set forth.” How could Daksha spring from Aditi and Aditi from Daksha?

* Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, pp. 356, 357.

† Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V. pp. 48, 49.

One of the most recent and celebrated hymns of the Rig-Veda is the Purusha-sukta. As Sir Monier Williams remarks, it serves "to illustrate the gradual sliding of Hindu monotheism into pantheism, and the first foreshadowing of the idea of sacrifice. It is also the only hymn in the Rig-Veda which alludes to the distinction of caste, which, for so many centuries, has held India in bondage."

1. Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he overpassed (it) by a space of ten fingers.

2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been, and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or when) by food he expands.

3. Such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky.

4. With three-quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat.

5. From him was born Viraj, and from Viraj, Purusha. When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before.

6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering.

7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sadhyas,* and the rishis sacrificed.

8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial (creatures) and animals both wild and tame.

9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the Rich and Saman verses, the Metres and the Yajush.

10. From it sprang horses and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep.

11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What arms (had he)? What (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet?

12. The Brahman was his mouth; the Rajanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs; the Sudra sprang from his feet.

13. The moon sprang from his soul (*manas*), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vayu from his breath."

14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters; in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds.

* Inferior deities or the personified rites and prayers of the Vedas.

15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it (around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made.

16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sadhyas, gods?*

It has been mentioned that very few of the hymns of the Rig-Veda contain any petitions for the pardon of sin. Only two or three, like the following, are generally quoted :—

1. Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

2. If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

3. Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone wrong; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

4. Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

5. Whenever we men, O Varuna commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness; punish us not, O god, for that offence.† VII. 89.

The following is the 86th Hymn of the same Mandala :—

1. Wise and mighty are the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments (heaven and earth). He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven; he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth.

2. Do I say this to my own self? How can I get unto Varuna? Will he accept my offering without displeasure? When shall I, with a quiet mind, see him propitiated?

3. I ask, O Varuna, wishing to know this my sin. I go to ask the wise. The sages all tell me the same: Varuna it is who is angry with thee.

4. Was it an old sin, O Varuna, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, who always praises thee? Tell me, thou unconquerable lord, and I will quickly turn to thee with praise, freed from sin.

5. Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we have committed with our own bodies. Release Vasishtha, O king, like a thief who has feasted on stolen oxen; release him like a calf from the rope.

6. It was not our doing, O Varuna, it was necessity, (or temptation) an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness. The old is there to mislead the young; even sleep brings unrighteousness.

7. Let me without sin give satisfaction to the angry god, like a slave to his bounteous lord. The lord god enlighteneth the foolish; he, the wisest, leads his worshipper to wealth.

*Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. pp. 9—11.

† *Chips*, Vol. I.

8. O lord Varuna, may this song go well to thy heart! May we prosper in keeping and acquiring! Protect us, O gods, always with your blessings!*

It will be seen that the second hymn, in the conclusion, refers to wealth.

THE BRAHMANAS.

The Brahmanas, as already explained, are that part of the Veda which is intended to guide the Brahmans in Vedic ceremonies. Like the hymns, they are held to be *Sruti*.

Max Müller thus estimates their character :

"The Brahmanas represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves as literary productions, they are most disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a *torso*,† like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of those works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition. It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen. They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations. But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that human language, and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes."‡

The estimate of the Brahmanas by Professor Eggeling, the translator of the Satapatha Brahmana, is much in the same terms. He says in the Introduction :

"The translator of the Satapatha Brahmana can be under no illusion as to the reception his production is likely to meet with at the hand of the general reader. In the whole range of literature few works are probably less calculated to excite the interest of any outside the very limited number of specialists than the ancient theological writings of the Hindus, known by the name of Brahmanas. For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterised by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, their works are perhaps not equalled anywhere."

* *Chips*. Vol. I.

† The trunk of a statue deprived of head and limbs.

‡ *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 389, 390.

Specimens will be given from two of the principal Brahmanas.

The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig-Veda contains "the earliest speculations of the Brahmanas on the meaning of the sacrificial prayers, and on the origin, performance, and sense of the Rites of the Vedic Religion." The Sanskrit text, with an English translation, was published by the late Dr. Haug, Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in the Poona College.

• The work, as translated by Dr. Haug, begins as follows :

"Agni, among the gods, has the lowest, Vishnu the highest place; between them stand all the other deities.

They offer the Agni-Vishnu rice-cake (*purodasa*) which belongs to the *Dikshaniya ishti* (and put its several parts) on eleven potsherds (*kapala*). They offer it (the rice-cake) really to all the deities of this (*ishti*) without foregoing any one. For Agni is all the deities, and Vishnu is all the deities. For these two (divine) bodies, Agni and Vishnu, are the two ends of the sacrifice. Thus when they portion out the Agni-Vishnu rice-cake, they indeed make at the end (after the ceremony is over) prosper (all) the gods of this (ceremony).

Here they say : if there be 11 potsherds on which portions of the rice-cake are put, and (only) two deities, Agni and Vishnu, what arrangement is there for the two, or what division ?

(The answer is) the rice-cake portions on 8 portions belong to Agni ; for the *Gayatri* verse consists of 8 syllables, and the *Gayatri* is Agni's metre. The rice-cake portions on the 3 potsherds belong to Vishnu ; for Vishnu (the sun) strode thrice through the universe. This the arrangement (to be made) for them ; this is the division.

He who might think himself to have no position (not to be highly respected by others) should portion out (for being offered) *Charu* (boiled rice) over which ghee is poured. For on this earth no one has a firm footing who does not enjoy a certain (high) position. The ghee (poured over this *Charu*) is the milk of the woman ; the husked rice grains (of which *Charu* consists) belong to the male ; both are a pair. Thus the *Charu* on account of its consisting of a pair (of female and male parts) blesses him with the production of progeny and cattle, for his propagation (in his descendants and their property). He who has such knowledge propagates his progeny and cattle.

He who brings the New and Full Moon oblations, has already made a beginning with the sacrifice, and made also a beginning with (the sacrificial worship of the) deities. After having brought the New or Full Moon oblations, he may be inaugurated in consequence of the offering made at these (oblations) and the sacrificial grass (having been spread) at these (oblations, at the time of making them). This (might be regarded) as one *Diksha* (initiatory rite).

The Hotar must recite 17 verses for the wooden sticks to be thrown into the fire (to feed it). For Prajapati (the Lord of all creatures) is seventeen-fold, the months are twelve, and the seasons five by putting *Hemanta* (winter) and, *Sisira* (between winter and spring) as one. So

much is the year. The year is Prajapati. He who has such a knowledge prospers by these verses (just mentioned) which reside in Prajapati."

Vol. II. pp. 1—6.

According to the foregoing, the offering of boiled rice on which ghee has been poured, secures to the worshipper children and cattle.

The Satapatha Brahmana is called the Brahmana "of a hundred paths," because it consists of a hundred lectures (Adhyayas).

The first Kanda treats of New and Full Moon Sacrifices.

The first 11 verses show how purification is to be obtained the day before the sacrifice begins. The remainder of the first Brahmana is as follows:

"12. By way of his first act on the following morning he (Adhvaryu priest) betakes himself to the water, and brings water forward: for water is (one of the means of) sacrifice. Hence by this his first act he approaches (engages in) the sacrifice; and by bringing (water) forward, he spreads out (prepares) the sacrifice.

13. He brings it forward with those mysterious words: 'Who (or Prajapati) joins (or yokes) thee (to this fire)? He joins thee. For what (or, for Prajapati) does he join thee? For that (or him) he joins thee!' For Prajapati is mysterious; Prajapati is the sacrifice; hence he thereby yokes (gets ready for the performance) Prajapati, his sacrifice.

14. The reason why he brings forward water is, that all this (universe) is pervaded by water; hence by this his first act he pervades (or gains) all this (universe).

15. And whatever here in this (sacrifice) the Hotri or the Adhvaryu, or the Brahman or the Agnidhra, or the sacrificer himself, does not succeed in accomplishing, all that is thereby obtained (or made good).

16. Another reason why he brings forward water is this: whilst the gods were engaged in performing sacrifice, the Asuras and Rakshas forbade (*raksh*) them saying, 'Ye shall not sacrifice!' and because they forbade (*raksh*), they are called Rakshas.

17. The gods then perceived this thunderbolt, to wit, the water: the water is a thunderbolt, for the water is indeed a thunderbolt; hence wherever it goes, it produces a hollow, (or depression of ground); and whatever it comes near, it burns up. Therefore they took up that thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter they spread (performed) the sacrifice. And thus he (the Adhvaryu priest) likewise takes up this thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter spreads the sacrifice. This is the reason why he brings forward water.

18. After pouring out some of it (into the jug) he puts it down north of the Garhapatya fire. For water (*ap*) is female and fire (*agni*) is male; and the Garhapatya is a house: hence a copulative production of offspring is thereby effected in this house. Now he who brings forward the water takes up a thunderbolt; but when he takes up the thunderbolt, he cannot do so unless he is firmly placed; for otherwise it destroys him.

19. The reason then why he places it near the Garhapatya fire is, that the Garhapatya is a house, and a house is a safe resting-place; so that he thereby stands firmly in a house, and therefore in a safe resting-place; in this way that thunderbolt does not destroy him,—for this reason he places it near the Garhapatya fire.

20. He then carries it north of the Ahavaniya fire. For water is female and fire is male: hence a copulative production of offspring is thereby effected. And in this way alone a regular copulation can take place, since the woman lies on the left (or north) side of the man.

21. Let nobody pass between the water (the fire), lest by passing between them he should disturb the copulation which is taking place. Let him set the water down without carrying it beyond (the north side of the fire, *i.e.*, not on the eastern side); nor should he put it down before reaching (the north side, *i.e.*, not on the western side). For, if he were to put the water down after carrying it beyond,—there being, as it were, a great rivalry between fire and water,—he would cause this rivalry to break forth on the part of the fire; and when they (the priests and the sacrificer) touch the water of this (vessel), he would, by carrying it and setting it down beyond (the northern side), cause the enemy to spirt in the fire. If, on the other hand, he were to put it down before gaining (the northern side), he would not gain by it the fulfilment of the work for which it had been brought forward. Let him therefore put it down exactly north of the Ahavaniya fire.

22. He now strews sacrificial grass all round (the fires), and fetches the utensils, taking two at a time, *viz.*, the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle, the wooden sword and the potsherds, the wedge and the black antelope skin, the mortar and the pestle, the large and the small millstones. These are ten in number; for of ten syllables consists the Viraj (metre) and radiant (*Viraj*) also is the sacrifice: so that he thereby makes the sacrifice resemble the Viraj. The reason why he takes two at a time is, because a pair means strength; for when two undertake anything, there is strength in it. Moreover, a pair represents a productive copulation, so that a productive copulation (of these respective objects) is thereby effected.”*

The directions for the New and Full Moon Sacrifices occupy 273 pages. Even the specimen given shows that they abound with wearisome repetitions; while the logic is absurd, as in 14, 16, 18, &c. The Second Kanda treats of the establishment of Sacred Fires, the Worship of Fires, &c. The directions about the Agnihotra, or Morning and Evening Milk Offerings, are quoted below:

Fourth Brahmana.

II. *The Agnihotra or Morning and Evening Libations; and the Agny-Upasthāna or Homage to the Fires.*

1. Prajapati alone, indeed, existed here in the beginning. He con-

* *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 7-11.

sidered, 'How may I be reproduced?' He toiled and performed acts of penance. He generated Agni from his mouth; and because he generated him from his mouth, therefore Agni is a consumer of food: and, verily, he who thus knows Agni to be a consumer of food, becomes himself a consumer of food.

2. He thus generated him first (Agre) of the gods; and therefore (he is called) Agni, for Agni (they say) is the same as Agre. He, being generated, went forth as the first (pūrva); for of him who goes first, they say that he goes at the head (Agre). Such, then, is the origin and nature of that Agni.

3. Prajāpati then considered, 'In that Agni I have generated a food-eater for myself; but, indeed, there is no other food here but myself, whom, surely, he would not eat.' At that time this earth had, indeed, been rendered quite bald; there were neither plants nor trees. This, then, weighed on his mind.

4. Thereupon Agni turned towards him with open mouth; and he (Prajāpati) being terrified, his own greatness departed from him. Now his own greatness is his speech: that speech of his departed from him. He desired an offering in his own self, and rubbed (his hands); and because he rubbed (his hands), therefore both this and this (palin) are hairless. He then obtained either a butter-offering or a milk-offering;—but, indeed, they are both milk.

5. This (offering), however, did not satisfy him, because it had hairs mixed with it. He poured it away (into the fire), saying, 'Drink, while burning (osham dhaya)!' From it plants sprang: hence their name 'plants (oshadhayah).' He rubbed (his hands) a second time, and thereby obtained another offering, either a butter-offering or a milk-offering;—but, indeed, they are both milk.

6. This (offering) then satisfied him. He hesitated: 'Shall I offer it up? Shall I not offer it up?' he thought. His own greatness said to him, 'Offer it up!' Prajāpati was aware that it was his own (Sva) greatness that had spoken (āha) to him; and offered it up with 'Svâha!' This is why offerings are made with 'Svâha!' Thereupon that burning one (viz., the sun) rose; and then that blowing one (viz., the wind) sprang up; whereupon, indeed, Agni turned away.

7. And Prajāpati, having performed offering, reproduced himself, and saved himself from Agni, death, as he was about to devour him. And, verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, reproduces himself by offspring even as Prajāpati reproduced himself; and saves himself from Agni, Death, when he is about to devour him.

8. And when he dies and when they place him on the fire, then he is born (again) out of the fire, and the fire only consumes his body. Even as he is born from his father and mother, so is he born from the fire. But he who offers not the Agnihotra, verily, he does not come into life at all: therefore the Agnihotra should by all means be offered.

9. And as to that same birth from out of doubt;—when Prajāpati doubted he, while doubting, remained steadfast on the better (side), inasmuch that he reproduced himself and saved himself from Agni, Death,

when he was about to devour him : so he also who knows that birth from out of doubt, when he doubts about anything, still remains on the better (side).

10. Having offered, he rubbed his (hands). Thence a Vikankata tree sprung forth; and therefore that tree is suitable for the sacrifice, and proper for sacrificial vessels. Thereupon those (three) heroes among the gods were born; viz., Agni, that blower (Vāyu), and Sūrya: and, verily, whosoever thus knows those heroes among the gods, to him a hero is born.

11. They then said, 'We come after our father Prajāpati: let us then create what shall come after us!' Having enclosed (a piece of ground), they sang praises with the gāyatri stanza without the 'Hin:' and that (with) which they enclosed was the ocean; and this earth was the praise ground (Astāva).

12. When they had sung praises, they went out towards the east, saying: 'We (will) go back thither!' The gods came upon a cow which had sprung into existence. Looking up at them, she uttered the sound 'hin.' The gods perceived that this was the 'Hin' of the Sāman (melodious sacrificial chant); for heretofore (their song was) without the 'Hin,' but after it was the (real) Sāman. And as this same sound 'Hin' of the Sāman was in the cow, therefore the latter affords the means of subsistence; and so does he afford the means of subsistence whosoever thus knows that 'Hin' of the Sāman in the cow.

13. They said, 'Auspicious, indeed, is what we have produced here, who have produced the cow: for, truly, she is the sacrifice, and without her no sacrifice is performed; she is also the food, for the cow, indeed is all food.'

14. This (word 'go'), then, is a name of those (cows), and so it is of the sacrifice: let him, therefore, repeat it, (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' and verily, whosoever, knowing this, repeats it, (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' and, verily whosoever, knowing this, repeats it (as it were) saying, 'Good, excellent!' with him those (cows) multiply, and the sacrifice will incline to him.

15. Now, Agni coveted her. 'May I pair with her,' he thought. He united with her, and his seed became that milk of hers: hence, while the cow is raw, that milk in her is cooked (warm): for it is Agni's seed, and therefore also, whether it be in a black or in a red (cow) it is ever white, and shining like fire, it being Agni's seed. Hence it is warm when first milked, for it is Agni's seed.

16. They (the men) said, 'Come, let us offer this up!' 'To whom of us shall they first offer this?' (said those gods).—'To me!' said Agni; 'To me!' said that blower (Vāyu),—'To me!' said Surya. They did not come to an agreement; and not being agreed, they said, 'Let us go to our father Prajāpati; and to whichever of us he says it shall be offered first, to him they shall first offer this.' They went to their father Prajāpati, and said, 'To whom of us shall they offer this first?'

17. He replied, 'To Agni: Agni will forthwith cause his own seed to be reproduced, and so you will be reproduced.' 'Then to thee,' he

said to Sûrya; and what of the offered (milk) he then is still possessed of, that shall belong to that blower (Vayu)! And, accordingly, they in the same way offer this (milk) to them till this day: in the Evening to Agni, and in the Morning to Sûrya; and what of the offered (milk) he then is still possessed of, that, indeed, belongs to that blower.

18. By offering, those gods were produced in the way in which they were produced, by it they gained that victory which they did gain: Agni conquered this world, Vâyu the air, and Sûrya the sky, and whosoever knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, he, indeed, is produced in the same way, in which they were then produced, he gains that same victory which they then gained;—indeed, he shares the same world with them, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra. Therefore the Agnihotra should certainly be performed.

Every intelligent reader of the foregoing must admit that the severe criticism of Professors Max Müller and Eggeling is deserved.

THE ARYA SAMAJ.

The great bulk of the Hindus, pandits as well as the common people, in addition to the Vedas properly so called, accept as sacred the Brahmanas, Upanishads, the Laws of Manu, the Itihasas, Puranas, &c., and understand them in the sense in which they have been explained in the commentaries for many centuries.

Western knowledge, in different degrees, is spreading in India. Some Hindus get only a glimmering of it through the vernaculars or through an imperfect knowledge of English. Such men sometimes attempt to jumble together Hindu and Western ideas. The two in many respects, are absolutely contradictory. Agreement is sought by torturing and twisting the Hindu books, so as to give them an entirely different meaning from the true one. Of men of this class, the late Dayanand Sarasvati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, was a striking example.

A short account will first be given of his life.

Dayanand was born at Morvi, in Kathiawar, about 60 years ago. His father was a zealous Saivite. Dayanand, at an early age, studied Sanskrit grammar, and learnt the Vedas by heart. Afterwards his father wished to initiate him in the worship of the Linga; for which purpose he was to fast a whole night in the temple of Siva. When he was left alone he began to meditate. He says:—

“Is it possible, I asked myself, that this idol I see bestriding his bull before me, and who, according to all accounts, walks about, eats, sleeps, drinks, holds a trident in his hand, beats the drum, and can pronounce curses on men, can be the great deity, the

Mahadeva, the Supreme Being? Unable to resist such thoughts any longer I roused my father, asking him to tell me whether this hideous idol was the great god of the scriptures. 'Why do you ask?' said my father. 'Because,' I answered, 'I feel it impossible to reconcile the idea of an omnipotent living God with this idol, which allows the mice to run over his body, and thus suffers himself to be polluted without the slightest protest.' Then my father tried to explain to me that this stone image of the Mahadeva, having been consecrated by the holy Brahmanas, became, in consequence, the god himself, adding that as Siva cannot be perceived personally in this Kali-Yuga, we have the idol in which the Mahadeva is imagined by his votaries." This explanation, however, was not satisfactory.

When Dayanand was 21 years of age his father wished him to be married against his will; so he left home secretly. Afterwards he was found and brought back, but again he ran away. For years he wandered about, for a time becoming a Sannyasi. Even when ten years of age he saw the folly of idolatry. When he grew older, he rejected all the Hindu sacred books as inspired except the four Vedas and the Isa Upanishad which is found in the Yajur Veda.*

In 1881, a large convocation of 300 Pandits from Gauda, Navadipa, and Kasi, was held to discuss with Dayanand his opinions. The following resolutions were carried against him :

(1.) That the Brahmanas are as valid and authoritative as the Mantras, and that the other Smritis or law-books are as valid and authoritative as Manu.

(2.) That the worship of Vishnu, Siva, Durga, and other Hindu deities, the performance of the Shraddha ceremonies after death, and bathing in the Ganges, are sanctioned in the Shastras.

(3.) That in the first hymn of the Rig-Veda, addressed to Agni, the primary meaning of Agni is fire, and its secondary meaning is God.

(4.) That sacrifices are performed to secure salvation.

Besides lecturing, Dayanand devoted some of the later years of his life to the publication of books. Before his death he had completed a translation into Hindi of one-half of the Vedas. The principal points of his teaching are embodied in his *Rig-Vedadi Bhashya Bhumiika*, 'A Prefatory Exposition of the Rig-Veda and others.' His *Satyarth Prakash*, 'Manifestation of True Meanings,' gives his teaching as to religious and social customs.

Latterly Dayanand became very corpulent. He died at Ajmere in 1883 at the age of 59.†

Dayanand accepted and rejected what he pleased of the Hindu sacred books, and put his own meaning upon them. All who

* See his letter to Raja Sivaprasad, *Athenæum*, Feb. 5, 1881.

† Chiefly abridged from *Biographical Essays*, by Max Müller.

differed from him were denounced as ignorant. All the translations, commentaries, and dictionaries prepared by pandits during the last 2,500 years were wrong; he alone was right. It was his plan in discussions to have a company of admirers who would join him in loud derisive laughter at his opponents. He tried this when arguing with pandits at Benares. On the second day of the debate, they gathered together a larger number of men, who hooted and laughed at whatever Dayanand said, so that the tables were turned, and he was completely defeated.

Numerous Societies have been formed in North India and the Punjab, called Arya Samajes, professing to follow Dayanand's interpretation of the Vedas. An Anglo-Vedic College has been established at Lahore, and a weekly newspaper in English, called the *Arya Patrika*, is issued.

The following are the principal opinions of Dayanand :—

1. **The Eternity of the Vedas.**—Mr. Forman says:

“The pundits are content with putting the origin of these books back near the beginning of the world when Brahm taught Brahma, and Brahma issued each of the four Vedas out of each of his four mouths in turn, teaching them to the holy Rishis who wrote them down. Dayanand laughs at all this. He says Brahma was not a god, but only a great Raja, and that he could not possibly have been the author of the Vedas for he himself was a student of them. He says the Vedas are eternal absolutely; that they are the knowledge of God, and hence as eternal as God himself, that they have been given in just their present form to this world and to other worlds through all eternity, in their long passages from formation to destruction, each occupying hundreds of billions of years. That the edition for the present world was taught by God to the first four men created 100,960,852,975 years ago. These four men were named Agni, Vaiyu, Suraj and Angira. They, having learned the Vedas from God, each wrote one of the four books.”*

Calculations differ as to the exact period of creation. The *Aryan Magazine*, published in 1884, makes the Aryan era 196 crores, 8 lakhs 52,984 years. A writer in the same periodical makes the time yet to pass as 235 crores, 91 lakhs, 47,015 years. Upon this claim to antiquity, the *Indian Spectator* remarks :—

“AGE WITHOUT WISDOM OR PROGRESS. The Hindu Aryas do not count their existence by centuries but by millions of years. This is their 1,961st million. What a contrast to our miserable 19th century! But alas and alas! These millions and billions of years have left the Hindus no wiser than the mushroom Europeans in the Dark Ages. Far better is the 19th century of Europe than the 1,961st millionth year of Aryan India.”

Dayanand argues that the Vedas are eternal from the eternity of sound. “Thus take the word *gau*, a cow: he says the sound *g*

* *The Arya Samaj*, p. 13.

has always existed, so also the sound *au* ; the Four (Agni, Vayn, &c.) only combined these, and in writing gave the word *gau*. He further explains that all space is filled with these sounds ; that when a man speaks he simply chooses whichever of the sounds he wants, and taking them in, arranges them in whatever order he wishes, and so forms words and sentences. That as soon as each sound has performed its duty, it separates from those to which it has been temporarily joined and goes again to its own place in space, ready to be used again when wanted." Dayanand adopted this opinion from the Purva Mimansa of Jaimini. On the above reasoning, every book may be proved to be eternal.

It has been shown that Dayanand's theory of the Vedas being eternal is contradicted by the hymns themselves. Some of the hymns are said to be quite new ; others old. The names of the writers are given. It has also been already explained that internal evidence shows that the hymns were composed when the Aryans were entering India, and had frequent wars with the aborigines.

Raja Siva Prasad, of Benares, asked Dayanand why he regarded the Samhita as inspired and not the Brahmanas. The reply was, "Samhita is *per se* (of itself) visible, proved by perception." Dayanand was next asked his reply to, "The disputant says that the Brahmanas, are *per se* visible, and proved by perception ;" to which no answer was given.

Like the rest of Hindus, Dayanand considered the inspiration of the Vedas to be self-evident, and not to require any proof. The *Arja Patrika* says of them : "They are engraved in the starry heavens. They are kneaded into the mould of the earth. They are written in the beams of the sun. They are seen in the light of the moon. They are in the flashes of lightning. In short, they are always with God who fills all in all." (*Jan. 16, 1886*).

2. **A Belief in One God.**—Dayanand rejected the 33 crores of Hindu gods and goddesses, and claimed the Vedas to be monotheistic. It has been shown that the Vedas teach polytheism. The deities are again and again said to be thrice-eleven in number. They have different names, parents, wives, and children, and live in different places. If they are all one, it might as well be said that 33 persons now living are all one. In later times pantheism was developed. The well known phrase *Ekam evadvitiam*, "One only without a second," does not mean that there is no second God, but that there is no second anything.

Monotheism was learned from Christianity.

3. **The Eternity of Souls and Prakriti.**—It has been mentioned that Dayanand mixed up his old ideas as a Hindu with the slight western knowledge he had acquired through the vernaculars. He learned the eternity of souls and his ideas about Prakriti from the Sankhya-Darsana of Kapila, of which they are the chief doctrines.

Kapila's system is known among Hindus as the Niriswara Sankhya, or the *Sankhya without the Lord*, its founder being accused of atheism.

The *Arya Patrika* reasons thus :—

"If the soul is immortal, how it can be regarded as a created essence is what completely passes our comprehension. The assumption of the immortality of the soul necessitates the assumption of its eternity. If the soul is to exist for ever, it must have been existing from time indefinite. In fact whatever exists at the present time has existed always and shall always exist. Not a single particle of what the universe at present contains can be blotted out of existence. Every thing in the universe is eternal and unperishable. The existence of anything at the present time presupposes its existence in the past, and necessitates its existence in the future." *Jan.* 31, 1888.

The above is a clear statement of the Sankhya doctrine. It is a fixed Hindu dogma, *navastuno vastusiddhik*, nothing can be produced out of nothing.

The fundamental error of Hinduism is that expressed in the words of the Bible on the title page: "Thou thoughtest that I (God) was altogether such an one as thyself." Because a carpenter cannot work without materials, the Almighty God cannot do it. "Ye do err, not knowing the power of God." He does not require, like weak and imperfect man, to stop for materials, but can call them into existence by the mere fiat of His will.

If souls are eternal, we are all little gods. But not only men are such, so is every reptile that crawls on the ground, and every insect that flutters in the air. Souls, according to Hinduism, may also pass into plants and even into inanimate objects. Who then can estimate the number of these eternal *svayambhu* essences!

Whether is it more rational to suppose the existence of one Being, infinite in power and wisdom, or to imagine that countless unintelligent atoms and spirits have existed from all eternity?

The reasoning that if the soul is to live for ever, it must have had an eternal pre-existence, is equally unfounded. This is also a denial of God's power. He can give a future eternal existence to any creature He has called into being.

For further remarks on this point, see *Philosophic Hinduism*, pp. 29-31 and 38, 39.

4. **Transmigration.**—This doctrine is held by the followers of the Arya Samaj, although Max Müller says that the Vedas do not contain a "trace" of it. As one error often requires another to support it, so the false belief in the eternal existence of the soul, required to be accounted for by transmigration.

This dogma is considered in *Popular Hinduism*, (pp. 61—63). Only a few remarks can be made here on the subject.

1. *It is contrary to the course of nature, in which like always produces like.* Every animal and plant produces animals and plants exactly like itself. According to transmigration, a man in his next birth may be a tiger, a pig, a fly, or a pumpkin.

2. *No one has the slightest recollection of any previous birth.* If the soul is eternal, why does it not recollect anything that happened previous to its present life?

3. *By transmigration persons virtually become new beings, so that they are in reality punished for the actions of others.* It is said that at every new birth something takes place by which the remembrance of former things is destroyed. In this case the person on whom it is wrought is no longer the same person. One man is really punished for the faults of another of which he is quite ignorant.

The world is not a place where we are rewarded or punished for actions in imaginary former births; but one where our conduct is tried. We are like the servants of a great King, who has allotted to us different duties, and according as we discharge them, we shall be dealt with at death.

5. **The Rejection of Sacrifice.**—Dayanand professed the greatest reverence for the Vedas, but his teaching is in direct opposition to their whole tenor. The remark of Mr. Kunte has been quoted: "No matter what hymn is read, it directly or indirectly cannot but refer to a sacrifice." As Dr. Clark says: "In life or in death, sacrifice was the pivot on which the whole religion of the Arya turned. It met him in every phase of life, in every state of being,—it was his all in all."

One great object of sacrifice in the Vedas is the forgiveness of sin. It is repeated again and again that sacrifice is the "annulment of sin." Dayanand looks upon this idea as absurd. Sin cannot be pardoned; its punishment must be endured. He says that the Vedas prescribe things to be burned to make an excellent smoke which purifies the air; also rising, it mixes with and forms clouds and comes down as rain; the rain thus also being purified by its presence. The object and effect of sacrifices, as ordered in the Vedas, is the purifying of air and water, and hence the destroying of disease.

Dayanand, when asked why there is a platform prescribed for sacrifice, an excavation, &c. replies: A platform is ordered to be made round, square, three-cornered, &c., in order that it may be an object-lesson in geometry for the people; a hole is made that it may be lined with brick and thus the people in calculating the number of bricks needed for a hole of given dimensions may have an exercise in arithmetic!

6. **Caste.**—"Caste," says Mr. Forman, "as held by the Hindus, Dayanand repeatedly denounces as the creation of Brahmins and

as a great evil. Of *eating from the hands of others*, he says that the Hindu is free to eat from the hand of any, excepting only Christians and Muhammadans—and these are excepted because in the composition of their bodies there are mixed bad-smelling particles! Not only *may* a Hindu eat from the hands of a low-caste man, but men of the higher castes (in his sense of the word) should not cook their own food, but should eat only food cooked by *Shudras* or low-caste men. For, says he, working over the fire in cooking, heats the head and thus injures the brain; and the lower people ought to do this for the higher."

7. **Education of Children.**—After five years of age the sexes are to be kept strictly apart. The teachers and servants in boys' schools are to be only men, and in girls' schools only women. The school is to be at least 8 miles from the nearest village. So long as the children are pupils their parents are not to see them. Non-are there any letters to pass between children and parents.

The subject of study in these schools is to be only and always the Vedas, for in them alone is truth and only truth.

The study of the Vedas should be prosecuted at the very least 24 years—i.e., from 8 until 32 years of age—better until 50, and better still 56 years of age. The benefits to be derived from these courses of study are as follows:—By the first course, studying each of the first two Vedas 12 years, one attains to freedom from disease and a lengthening of life to 70 or 80 years of age; by the second course, giving 12 years to each of the first 3 Vedas and 8 years to the last, the life, members, heart and spirit being joined in strength, one becomes a man who causes all enemies to weep, and who nourishes all good men; by the third course, from 8 to 56 years of age, or "48 years of study as there are 48 letters in the alphabet," giving 12 years to each of the Vedas, one gets his life in his power. And now the men and women thus educated may go forth well-fitted for life; let them marry and settle down as householders. When one complies with these conditions, he gains such a hold on life, that he may live on to be 400 years of age. It is rather hard for this theory that Dayanand who studied the Vedas throughout his life died at the age of 59.

8. **Marriage.**—Child marriage is denounced. The allowable ages for marriage are for men from 25 to 48, and for women from 16 to 25.

The *Satyarth Prakash*, (pp. 80-83) gives the following directions about marriage. The photographs of all pupils in the boys' school who are old enough to be married, are to be sent to and kept by the Principal of the girls' school, and photographs of the marriageable girls to be in possession of the Principal of the boys' school. When either Principal thinks that one of the pupils should be married, let him, or her, choose from among the photos in hand the one, the

original of which would seem by appearance best suited for the match. Then let this photograph be sent to the Principal of the other school, accompanied by a description of age, height, character, family, property, &c. If both Principals agree that the marriage is desirable, the photograph and description of the young man are presented to the young woman, and the photograph of the young woman is presented to the young man. If all is favourable, the parents are to be notified, and the marriage is to take place. The parents may carry on these negotiations if they wish to do so.

Second Marriage is forbidden, but what he calls *Niyog* (rejoined) is allowed. Widowers and widow may live together for a time for the sake of producing children. This compact is to last only until the birth of two children, to be given to whichever of the parents desired to have it for the sake of children. If both parents desire children, the compact is to last until the birth of four—two to be taken by each parent. The compact must then end. Dayanand further declares that should any man or woman break this law, as to the limit of *Niyog*, they are to be cast out from among the Aryas.

Niyog is also allowed in certain cases to men and women whose wives and husbands are living.

9. **Ideas of Geography.**—The following is an example: In the *Satyarth Prakash*, "Concerning Travel," Dayanand says that Munis and Rishis and other excellent people used to go to other countries. Viyash Muni and his son Sukhdeo and their disciples went to Pátál, *i. e.*, America (!) and dwelt there. One day, while living in America, Sukhdeo asked his father, Viyash Ji, some question concerning knowledge. Viyash Ji told him to go to Janakpur in Hindustan, and ask the Raja there. We then have an account of the countries Sukhdeo passed through on his journey. Going on and on he arrived at Hariwarsh, *i. e.*, *Hari* a monkey, and *Varsh*, country,—*i. e.*, the country of monkeys—*i. e.*, the country of people who are like monkeys, or those who have red mouths and light coloured hair—*Europe*. From Europe he went on to Hundish, the country of the Jews; thence he came into China and thence to India. Dayanand probably knew scarcely enough of geography to be aware that an explanation of Sukhdeo's choosing so circuitous a route in passing from Europe to Hindustan would have been in place.

Again it is related that Krishna went to America in a ship, and called from there Udalak Muni, and brought him to the sacrifice prepared by Raja Yudhistir. . At one time Arjuna, an Indian Raja of the same date, went to America, and fought with the Raja of America. When the Raja of America was conquered, he gave his daughter, Ulupi by name, to Arjuna! .

10. Modern Inventions supposed to be found in the Vedas.—
Max Müller says of Dayanand :—

“To him not only was everything contained in the Vedas perfect truth, but he went a step further, and by the most incredible interpretations succeeded in persuading himself and others that everything worth knowing, even the most recent inventions of modern science, were alluded to in the Vedas. Steam-engines, railways, and steam-boats, all were shown to have been known, at least in their germs, to the poets of the Vedas, for Veda, he argued, means Divine Knowledge, and how could anything have been hid from that?”*

The following is the mode in which Dayanand finds railways in the Vedas :—

Pandits explain *Shwetam Ashwam* to mean the white horse. “But Dayanand sees more in it; the meaning is the steam horse or steam. In *Ashwi* then (meaning here fire and water, and hence steam) we find the motive power for these vehicles. Again, *Karashwa*, i. e., *chhak ghore* (six horses), so the pandits, but Dayanand says the meaning is, that the vehicles are to contain six compartments for fire and water.”†

By similar reasoning, balloons, guns, &c., are discovered in the Vedas.

Dayanand's teachings concerning the sciences and the arts are but a crude combination of the ideas he had imbibed from Hinduism with the most primary and incorrect ideas of the sciences and arts introduced by the English.

It has been shown that in Vedic times cows were killed and their flesh eaten. Modern Hindus worship the cow, and accordingly think it very wrong to eat one of their gods. Dayanand thus argues against the use of animal food :

“He calculates that a cow will give on an average 8 or 8½ maunds of milk in a month, or in a year 99 maunds, in a life time 1,201 maunds, enough with a proper admixture of ghee and sugar to furnish food for a day to 25,740 men. How trivial, in comparison with this, the number that could be fed for a day on that cow's meat. But when you add to this the produce of even the immediate progeny of this cow, how much stronger the comparison and the conclusion from it ! Supposing this cow to have 13 calves and allowing for the early death of one, there remain as producers 6 cows and 6 oxen. The milk given by these cows would feed 1,54,440 men, while the grain produced by the labor of the oxen during their life time would feed once, on a ration of 3 paos to a man, an army of 2,56,000 men. Thus as the result of one spared cow, you have food sufficient to satisfy the hunger of 4,10,440 men. He then carries out a similar calculation with regard to goats and sheep.”

* *Biographical Essays*, p. 170.

† Rev. H. Forman, *The Arya Samaj*, pp. 52, 53.

The absurdity of this reasoning is easily apparent. Dayanand balances the number of men that could be fed for one day on the flesh of a cow, with the number that could be fed by a number of cows and oxen for several years requiring large quantities of land. On the same principle a much larger number could be fed by eating the cow. Suppose the flesh of the cow to be equal in nourishment to 30 seers of wheat, and that each seer that is sown produces 10 seers. The increase by eating the cow and sowing the wheat would be as follows :

| Sown | 30 seers. |
|----------|--------------|
| 1st Crop | 300 " |
| 2nd " | 3,000 " |
| 3rd " | 30,000 " |
| 4th " | 300,000 " |
| 5th " | 3,000,000 " |
| 6th " | 30,000,000 " |
| | <hr/> |
| | 3,33,33,300 |

Allowing one seer a day, 6 crops would yield sufficient grain to feed, not merely four lakhs of men, but upwards of three crores, and all this from eating one cow !

Dayanand's Criticisms on the Bible.—If Dayanand twists and tortures the Vedas, giving them quite a different meaning from the true one, it is not surprising that he should do the same with the Bible. One or two examples may be given.

The Sabbath, or Sunday, was to be kept holy, and it is said God blessed it. Upon this Dayanand remarks, "When He blessed the Sunday, what did He do to Monday and the other days? He must have cursed them. Such is not the conduct of a wise man; how can it be the work of God?"

"Not only are baseless inference drawn from texts, but the passages quoted are sometimes represented as saying something very different from what they do say. In Gen. xxxi. 30, we find Laban asking Jacob, 'Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?' But the verse is so quoted as to make it appear that God is the speaker, and not Laban. Then comes the objection, that the 'Christian's God also acknowledges gods of stone, or why should he speak of stealing the gods?'"*

The hostility of Dayanand to Christianity is inherited by his followers. There is a class of vulgar, half-educated men in England, called Secularists. They are the same as the Indian Charvakas. They do not believe in God or in any life after this world. They scoff at all religion, but they especially try to caricature Christianity and to attack it with low abuse. The Arya Samajists, in their

* Rev. J. Gray, in *Indian Evangelical Review* for October, 1886. See the paper for many other examples.

ignorance, suppose the Secularist tracts against Christianity to be "unanswerable," and have translated some of them into the vernaculars. Their objections have been known for nearly eighteen centuries; but, as a rule, they are misrepresentations of Christianity and without weight. In general they are treated with contempt in Europe. A very wise man long ago said, "A scorner seeketh wisdom and findeth it not." Sanskrit writers, before entering upon a subject, usually consider who are "competent" to enter upon the study. Vishvanath Bhattacharyya in the *Nyaya Sutra Vritti*, justly says: "They who desire to know the truth are competent for discussion." Unless there is this desire, all discussion is useless.

Although the Arya Samajists are glad to use Secularist attacks upon Christianity, their own belief in God is ridiculed nearly as much as belief in the Bible.

The Future of the Arya Samaj.—The Hindus are very open to flattery. Even an ordinary man is often addressed as Maharaj! National vanity is pleased with the thought that their sacred books are eternal, and contain the germs of all knowledge. Dayanand also gave up some of the grosser forms of Hindu superstition. The forecast of Max Müller will doubtless prove correct: "For a time this kind of liberal orthodoxy started by Dayanand may last; but the mere contact with Western thought, and more particularly with Western scholarship, will most likely extinguish it."*

The Vedas themselves only require to be known to show the absurdity of Dayanand's interpretation of them. His ignorance of Geography is simply ridiculous. His want of common sense is shown by his proposed scheme of education. But worst of all is his disgusting doctrine of *niyog*. It alone is sufficient to disprove his claims to be regarded as a true teacher.

The foregoing remarks are chiefly compiled from a pamphlet by the Rev. H. Forman, entitled, "The Arya Samaj, its Teachings and an Estimate of it." It is published by the North India Tract Society, Allahabad, price 1 anna.†

REVIEW.

Before giving a summary of the conclusions which seem to follow from the foregoing review, some remarks may be made on the false patriotism, or love of country, now very prevalent, and which is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of India in enlightenment and true civilization.

* *Biographical Essays*, p. 182.

† It may also be obtained from the Tract Depot, Madras.

False and true patriotism may be illustrated by an example from family life.

One father is very proud of his children. He thinks them so clever that they do not require to be taught by any one; he does not allow them to mix with other children, so that they grow up full of conceit; he looks upon them as far wiser than himself, and in his ignorance, boasts of their childish sayings as the utterances of Rishis.

Another parent loves his children, but acts in a different way. He provides them with teachers; he allows them to study with other children that they may learn that there are others as clever as themselves. While he is pleased to hear their talk, he knows that he cannot expect them to be very wise, and feels that they should rather learn from him than the reverse.

Both these parents might love their children equally, but the love of the one would have a mischievous, and that of the other a good, influence. In like manner there is a false and true patriotism.

An error has prevailed in all countries and in all ages to regard persons who lived long ago as the ancients—very old and very wise, while people now living are looked upon as children. The very opposite is the case. *We are the ancients*; those who lived long ago are the children. The world is thousands of years older now than it was then.

In Vedic times there were no books, and printing was unknown. All the valuable knowledge which has been gained in any quarter of the globe during the last twenty-five centuries is now at command. During these many years, lakhs of learned men have been adding to our stores. Every fresh discovery is now flashed by the electric telegraph, and by means of newspapers is at once made known to the whole civilised world.

An adult deserves no credit for being wiser than when a young child. The present generation should be,

“The heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time.”

A false patriotism leads some Hindus to defend every thing belonging to their country. Sir Madhava Rao is one of the most distinguished Indians of modern times, and deeply interested in the welfare of the people. He enunciates the right principle, “*What is NOT TRUE cannot be PATRIOTIC.*” One of the worst enemies of his country is the man who stands up for what is false because it is national.

The reader is no doubt aware that, according to Hinduism, eclipses are caused by the Asurs Rahu and Ketu trying to seize the sun and moon; that there is an immense mountain, called Meru, in the centre of our system, surrounded by seven seas of salt water, sugar-cane juice, ghee, milk, &c. . He probably feels that it would be

absurd to defend these ideas because they are national : it is equally wrong and far more dangerous to attempt to justify false beliefs because they are national. There is no more a national religion than there is a national science. The family motto of the Maharaja of Benares is a noble one, "*There is no religion higher than truth.*" This is what should be sought. In the end it will prove the best.

Estimates of the Vedas.—Two classes of persons entertain the most exalted notions of the Vedas. First those who *know nothing of them*. This includes the great mass of the people of India, educated and uneducated. According to the Latin proverb, "Everything of which we are ignorant is taken for something magnificent." The other class consists of these who *know nothing else*. Such are the pandits, frogs in a well, and men like Dayanand Sarasvati. The latter held that whatever was not to be found in the Vedas was false or useless ; whatever was found in the Vedas was beyond the reach of controversy.

Max Müller thus describes the conclusion arrived at by intelligent Indians :

"The friends of Rammohan Roy, honest and fearless as they have always proved themselves to be, sent some young scholars to Benares to study the Vedas and to report on their contents. As soon as their report was received, Debendranath Tagore, the head of the Brahma-Samaj, said at once that, venerable as the Vedas might be as relics of a former age, they contained so much that was childish, erroneous, and impossible as to make their descent from a divine source utterly untenable."*

Mr. K. K. Bhattacharyya, late Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta, in his Tagore Law Lectures, describes the thousand hymns of the Rig-Veda as a "dreary wilderness, at but distant intervals redeemed by slight flashes of satire or quaint flights of fancy." (p. 119).

• Professor Max Müller has spent many years, in editing the Rig-Veda, with the commentary of Sayana. He is not likely to undervalue it—rather the reverse. He himself makes the following confession in his "Preface to the Sacred Books of the East" :—

"Scholars also who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them. I do not blame them for this, perhaps I should feel that I was open to the same blame myself, for it is but natural that scholars in their joy at finding one or two fragrant fruits or flowers should gladly forget the brambles and thorns that had to be thrown aside in the course of their search." Page x.

In his Lecture on the Vedas he expresses the following opinion of the hymns :

"The historical importance of the Veda can hardly be exaggerated, but its intrinsic merit, and particularly the beauty or elevation of its sentiments, have by many been rated far too high. Large numbers of the Vedic hymns are childish in the extreme: tedious, low, common-place. The gods are constantly invoked to protect their worshippers, to grant them food, large flocks, large families, and a long life; for all which Benefits they are to be rewarded by the praises and sacrifices offered day after day, or at certain seasons of the year. But hidden in this rubbish there are precious stones."

"I remind you again that the Veda contains a great deal of what is childish and foolish, though very little of what is bad and objectionable. Some of its poets ascribe to the gods sentiments and passions unworthy of the deity, such as anger, revenge, delight in material sacrifices; they likewise represent human nature on a low level of selfishness and worldliness. Many hymns are utterly unmeaning and insipid, and we must search patiently before we meet, here and there, with sentiments that come from the depth of the soul, and with prayers in which we could join ourselves."

The hymns which have been quoted in full are some of the most interesting, and scarcely give a fair general idea of the contents. The repetitions are endless, the same epithets and images are applied first to one and then to another of the gods. *Give us wealth* is the request that runs through nearly the whole of them.

The following are some of the reasons why the Vedas cannot be accepted as a revelation from the mouth of Brahma, given crores of years ago :

1. *The writers of the hymns, in many cases, claim to be their authors, and internal evidence shows that they were composed when the Aryans were entering India.*

These points have been already noticed so fully (see pp. 12, 13) that it is unnecessary to recapitulate what has been said.

2. *The low conceptions given of God show that the writers were not inspired.*

The Vedas unquestionably teach polytheism; but as every intelligent man is now a monotheist, attempts are made to show that the "thrice eleven" deities mean only one God.

The Aryans framed their gods after themselves. They bargained with their gods just as they did with one another; they flattered them; they offered them sweet things and told them to be good. They themselves were fond of Soma-beer; so they thought it was so with Indra. Just as the smell of liquor attracts the drunkard, so as soon as Indra knew of some one preparing Soma-beer, he mounted his chariot and drove to the place. Grant that Indra was fond of Soma-beer, is it to be supposed that the king of heaven could not

get it except by coming to some Aryan peasant's home. One hymn says that (the worshipper) brings Indra to drink the Soma by a rapid seizure, like a loaded horse (by a halter).

3. *The worldly character of the hymns shows their origin.*

Bishop Caldwell justly says : " If any person reads the hymns of the Vedas for the first time, he will be struck with surprise at the utterly worldly, unethical, unspiritual tone by which they are generally pervaded." The Rev. K. S. Macdonald, expresses the same opinion :

" In the Veda, man is generally looked upon as essentially of this world. He is constantly represented as taken up with the things of this world, what he sees, hears, tastes, and feels in it,—the glowing of the fire, the flashing of the lightning, the howling of the storm, the rushing of the wind, the splash of the rain, the rising and setting of the sun, the dawning and gloaming of the day, the number of his cows, camels, sons, and horses, the burning of his enemies' towns and the carrying off booty, the slaughter of the Dasyus and Rakshasas, the offering of *ghi* and Soma to Indra and Agni in the hope of receiving more sons and cattle and slaughtering more enemies. These and such like things seem to constitute the whole duty of man as he is represented in the hymns of the Rig-Veda. As a matter of fact, there is no attempt in the Vedas, or indeed in modern Hinduism, to give a correct conception of man's duties."*

The Rishis, from whom better things might have been expected, were as worldly as the common people. Many of their hymns solicit wealth. A few examples may be given :—

" The Rishi Panavatsa prays : " When Maruts will you repair with joy-bestowing riches to the sage thus adoring you, and soliciting (you for wealth) ?"

The Rishi Vatsa prays : " Give, Nasatyas, food of many kinds dripping with butter to him, the Rishi Vatsa, who has magnified you both with hymns. Give, Aswins, invigorating food, dripping with butter, to him who praises you, the lords of liberality to obtain happiness ; who desires affluence.

The Rishis did not live in huts or hovels. One of them prays thus : " We solicit of the divine protector of the Maruts, of the Aswins, of Mitra, and of Varuna, a spacious dwelling for our welfare. Mitra, Aryaman, Varuna, and Maruts, grant us a secure, excellent, and well-peopled dwelling, a three-fold shelter."

Another thus reasons : " If, Indra, I were as thou art, sole lord over wealth, then should my eulogist be possessed of cattle."

One Rishi prays not only that Pushan should protect him in all his doings, but should also " provide him with a supply of damsels." ix. 67.

Besides praying directly for wealth, the Rishis sought to gain it

* *The Vedic Religion*, p. 229.

by invoking blessings on those who bestowed gifts, and by cursing those who offered no oblations :—

“May the opulent prince who bestows on me speckled cows with golden housings never perish, O gods.”

“Let this man now multiply; may he shoot up like a sprout, he who at once lavishes a thousand hundred horses for a gift.”

“Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no oblations.”

Some of the Rishis either told great lies or received immense gifts. The Rishi Brahmatithi says :

“Become apprised, Aswins, of my recent gifts, how that Kasu, the son of Chidi, has presented me with a hundred camels and ten thousand cows. The son of Chidi, who has given me for servants ten Rajas, bright as gold, for all men are beneath his feet. (Having taken these Rajas prisoners in battle, he gives them to me in servitude).” VIII. 5.

The Rishi Devatithi says :

“I, the Rishi, have received subsequently the complete donation, the 60,000 head of pure cattle merited by the devotions of the pious son of Kanwa, and by the illustrious Priyamedhas. Upon the acceptance of this donation to me, the very trees have exclaimed, (see these Rishis) have acquired excellent cows!” viii. 4.

4. *The “Brotherhood of Man” is not taught in the Vedas.*

“The horizon of the Rishi,” says the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, “is confined almost invariably to himself. He prays for the happiness of neither wife nor child, not for the good of his village or his clan, nor yet for his nation or people. His eye is shut to the sufferings of his fellows. He manifests no common joys, any more than common sorrows.”

But there is much that is worse than this negative side. Christianity teaches, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” We should forgive and pray for our enemies. Jesus Christ says: “Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.”

The Aryans not only did not regard the non-Aryan races, and even some Aryans, as brothers; they simply wished their destruction and to obtain their wealth.

“Do ye, O lord of the virtuous, slay our Aryan enemies, slay our Dasya enemies, destroy all those who hate us.”

“Kill all those who make no oblations, though difficult to destroy, and who cause thee no gladness; give us their wealth: the worshipper expects it.”

“Root up like an ancient tree overgrown by a creeping plant, subdue the might of the Dasya; may we share with Indra his collected wealth.”

Numerous other passages of similar import might be quoted.

5. *The Vedas do not contain any satisfactory statement as to the way of salvation.*

The Rev. K. S. Macdonald says: "No Rishi, so far as I am aware, has ever claimed to be commissioned by God or by the gods, or by any of the gods, to enlighten men in regard to his will concerning men, or men's duties to God, or to one another. No one claimed to have any authoritative announcement to make as to whence man came, or whether he is going, what is his chief end here or hereafter."

Libations of the Soma juice and the offering of sacrifices are the chief means prescribed for the attainment of blessings. No intelligent man of the present time will be satisfied with such recommendations.

Truths in the Vedas.—But while the foregoing prove that the Vedas are not a Divine revelation, it is acknowledged that, along with error, they contain some great truths, either plainly expressed or dimly shadowed forth. The following may be mentioned:

1. *Prayer.*—The Aryans were, in their way, a religious people. They daily acknowledged their dependence upon the gods, and sought every blessing from them. In this they set us an example.

2. *Praise.* The gods are praised for what they are, and for what they have done for man. This feeling of thankfulness is highly to be commended.

3. *An acknowledgment of God's Omniscience.*—Scoffers have said, "How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the Most High?" On the contrary, in the Vedas, even the windings of men are said to be known to Varuna.

4. *A confession of Sinfulness.*—It is true that these are not very numerous, but they occur, especially in hymns to Varuna.

5. *Mediation.*—There are few doctrines in the Christian religion to which Hindus more object than to mediation, but it is distinctly found in the Vedas. Max Müller calls Agni "the messenger and mediator between God and men." Agni, it is said "goes wisely between these two creations (heaven and earth, gods and men) like a friendly messenger between two hamlets." He announces to the gods the hymns, and conveys to them the oblations of their worshippers.

But mediation is not found merely in the Vedas. In every-day life it is universally acted upon. When any one has offended another, it is a common thing to seek reconciliation through a friend; a favour, such as an office, is often sought through the intervention of a person known to both.

6. *Sacrifice.*—One of the chief doctrines of Christianity is that the Son of God, for man's redemption, became incarnate, and suffered death upon the cross as a sacrifice for sin. The late

Rev. Dr. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, for many years one of the Sanskrit Examiners of the Calcutta University, thus shows how this doctrine is shadowed forth in Vedic Hinduism :

The two propositions* which he enunciates are :—

1st. • That the fundamental principles of Christian doctrine in relation to the salvation of the world find a remarkable counterpart in the Vedic principles of primitive Hinduism in relation to the destruction of sin, and the redemption of the sinner by the efficacy of Sacrifice, itself a figure of *Prajápati*, the Lord and Saviour of the Creation, who had given himself up as an offering for that purpose.

2ndly. That the meaning of "*Prajápati*," an appellative, variously described as a *Purusha*, begotten in the beginning, as *Viswakarma* the creator of all, singularly coincides with the meaning of the name and offices of the historical reality JESUS CHRIST, and that no other person than JESUS of Nazareth has ever appeared in the world claiming the character and position of the self-sacrificing *Prajápati*, at the same time both mortal and immortal.

The proofs of these propositions are next submitted :—

The first and foremost rites of religion which the Indo-Aryans regularly celebrated, and on which they most firmly relied as the great cure for all the evils of life, and the secret of all success in the world, were *sacrificial rites*. Not idolatrous worship, not observances of caste, not any popular ceremony of our days, but *yajna* (sacrifice) and its connectives were the religious rites cherished by them.

The authorship of the institution is attributed to "Creation's Lord" himself. The world was called into being by virtue of sacrifice and is still upheld by its force, being indeed its "navel." Rig Veda i. 164. 35.

Sacrifice offered according to the true way—the right path—has been held in the Rik, Yajus, and Saman to be the good ferrying boat or raft by which we may escape from sin. It was expressly declared to be the authorised means both for remission and annulment of sin.

The sacrificer offered the victim in place of himself. The Taittiriya Brahmana says, "The sacrificer is the victim; it takes the sacrificer to the blessed place." Sacrifice was regarded as the way of deliverance from sin. The Rig Veda x. 133, 6, says, "Do thou, by means of sacrifice, take away from us all sin." The Tandya Maha Brahmana of the Saman Veda says of sacrifice : "Whatever sins we have committed by day or by night, thou art the annulment thereof. Whatever sins we have committed, knowingly or unknowingly, thou art the annulment thereof. Thou art the annulment of sin—of sin."

Sacrifice was regarded as the destroyer of Death. In the Taittiriya Aranyaka it is said, "O Death! the thousand myriads of thy bands for the destruction of mortals we annul them all by the mysterious power of sacrifice." Sacrifice opens the way to heaven. "Whosoever desires the felicity of heaven, let him perform sacrifices in the right way."

* * These are given fully in his *Aryan Witness to Christianity*.

The secret of this extreme importance attached to sacrifice, and the key to the proper understanding of the whole subject was the self-sacrifice of *Prajápati*, the Lord or Supporter of the Creation, the "*Purusha*, begotten before the world," "the *Viswakarma*, the author of the universe." The idea is found in all the three great Vedas—*Rik*, *Yajus*, and *Saman*—in *Sanhitas*, *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads*. The Divine *Purusha* who gave himself up as a sacrifice for the *Devas*, i. e., emancipated mortals, had, it is said, desired and got a mortal body fit for sacrifice, and himself became half mortal and half immortal.

The *Yajus* puts into the mouth of the Divine Self-sacrificer the words: "Let me offer myself in all creatures, and all creatures in myself." The *Satapatha Brahmana* says, "The Lord of creatures gave Himself for them for He became their sacrifice." The *Taittiriya Aranyaka* contains the following: "They slew *Purusha* the victim—*Purusha* who was born from the beginning." The *Rig Veda* styles him, "the giver of himself, the giver of strength, whose shadow, whose death, is immortality."

The world was condemned and offered for sacrifice, that is to say, was devoted to destruction, for sin; and the Divine Saviour then offered Himself for its deliverance. The Bible says, "If one died for all, then were all dead." The *Veda* says conversely: *Because all were devoted to destruction, therefore one died for all.*

All that has just been shown appertaining to the sacrifice of *Prajápati* curiously resembles the Biblical description of CHRIST as God and man, our very Emmanuel (God with us), mortal and immortal, who "hath given Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour," of whom all previous sacrifices were but figures and reflections, who by His sacrifice or death hath "vanquished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

The Vedic ideal of *Prajápati*, as we have seen, singularly approximates to the above description of our Lord, and therefore remarkably confirms the saving mysteries of Christianity.

Christian evangelists when they draw our attention to the claims of Gospel truth do not utter things which can be called *strange* to Indian ears. Salvation from sin by the death of a Saviour, who was God and man himself, was a conception which had administered consolation to our ancient *Rishis*, and may yet, in a higher form, and to a greater degree, do the same for all India.

I proceed now to discuss the second proposition. The name *Prajápati* not only means "the Lord of creatures," but also "the supporter, feeder, and deliverer of his creatures." The great Vedic commentator *Sayana* interprets it in that wider sense. The Lord and Master has to feed and maintain his servants and subjects. The name *Jesus*, in the Hebrew, means the same. The radical term stands for *help, deliverance, salvation*. And that name was given Him because He would save His people from their sins. In the prophecy cited by St. Matthew, He is described as a leader or ruler, who "shall feed my people Israel." He is therefore to His people what a shepherd is to his flock—both leader, ruler, and feeder. The same is the import of *pati*; the name *Prajápati*, therefore, singularly corresponds to the name *Jesus*.

Not a single character in the Hindu pantheon, or in the pantheon of

any other nation, has claimed the position of one who offered himself as a sacrifice for the benefit of humanity. There is, as all educated persons must know, only one historical person, Jesus of Nazareth, whose name and position correspond to that of the Vedic ideal—one mortal and immortal who sacrificed himself for mankind. By the process of exhaustion you may conclude that Jesus is the true *Prajapati*, the true Saviour of the world, "the only name given among men whereby we must be saved."

I think I may therefore declare our second proposition to be also demonstrated. Christ is the true *Prajapati*—the true Purusha begotten in the beginning before all worlds, and Himself both God and man. The doctrines of saving sacrifice, the "primary religious rites" of the Rig-Veda,—of the double character, priest and victim, variously called *Prajapati*, *Purusha* and *Visvakarma*,—of the Ark by which we escape the waves of this sinful world—these doctrines I say, which had appeared in our Vedas amid much rubbish, and things worse than rubbish, may be viewed as fragments of diamonds sparkling amid dust and mud, testifying to some invisible fabric of which they were component parts, and bearing witness like planets over a dark horizon to the absent sun of whom their refulgence was but a feeble reflection.

The Christian, with the wide sympathy which incites him to invite all nations to the faith of Christ, can only rejoice that the Jesus of the Gospels responds to the self-sacrificing *Prajapati* of the Vedas, and that the evangelist's chief work will be to exhibit before his neighbours and fellow-subjects the true Ark of salvation—that true "vessel of sacrifice by which we may escape all sin." He will only have to exhibit for the faith of the Hindus, the real personality of the true Purusha, "begotten before the worlds," mortal and yet divine, "whose shadow, whose death is immortality itself."

The Veda tells us of the ark of Salvation by which sin may be escaped, and repeatedly exhorts us to embark in it. The ark of Salvation, with the *Purusha* begotten in the beginning at its head, can be no other than the Church of Christ. In addition then to the exhortations of Christian evangelists, you have your own Veda calling on you to embark on that very Ark, if you desire to be delivered from the waves of sin.

A RETURN TO VEDIC HINDUISM IMPOSSIBLE.

Vedic Hinduism is, in some respects, greatly superior to modern Hinduism with its 33 crores of divinities. As already mentioned, the system of caste is not found in the Vedas; infant marriages were unknown; women were not secluded as they are now. Still, no educated man of the present day can return to the creed and rites of the Vedas. Some profess to do this, but it is only by giving the hymns a meaning directly the opposite to the sense in which they were understood by their authors.

1. *You cannot go back to the gods of the Vedas.*—You cannot believe in "thrice eleven" deities. Heaven and earth, sun and moon,

the clouds, the dawn, can never be endowed in your minds with intelligence, with wrath or mercy. No imagination can make them anything else to you than what they are :—varied, beautiful forms of matter, but matter still. You feel that you should adore the great Creator Himself, and not the objects He has made.

2. *You cannot offer the PRAYERS of the Vedas.*—You need something more than cows and horses, health and wealth, the destruction of public and domestic enemies.

3. *You cannot make the OFFERINGS of the Vedas.*—You cannot invite Indra to drink the Soma juice “like a thirsty stag ;” you cannot sacrifice buffaloes, bullocks, cows and sheep ; you cannot perform the *ashvamedah*. These were but shadows of the true sacrifice.

Follow the course urged upon you by your learned countryman, Dr. K. M. Banerjia, who now, as it were, addresses you from the tomb :

If it were possible for the hoary Rishis to reappear in the world, they themselves would exhort you, nay, beseech you, implore you, perhaps also constrain you not to neglect so great a salvation ; not to waver in your duty to acknowledge and embrace the true Prajapati, the true Purusha begotten before the world, who died that you might live, who by death hath vanquished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel. Denying CHRIST, whether actively or passively, you virtually repudiate everything that is good. Embracing CHRIST, you will find in Him a strength and comfort which your ancient Rishis would have regarded as a most valuable treasure had they lived in these days. You will find in Him everything worthy of your lineage, worthy of your antiquity, worthy of your traditions, and worthy of your education, and at the same time just to your children and to your successors in life.

For further information about Christian doctrine, see some of the publications mentioned in the lists which are given ; but, above all, study the New Testament, with earnest prayer to God to show you the truth.

PUBLICATIONS FOR INDIAN READERS.

PICTORIAL TOUR ROUND INDIA,

WITH

Remarks on India, Past and Present; Alleged and True Causes of Indian Poverty—Supposed or Real; Twelve Means available for promoting the Wealth of the Country; the Religious History of India, and Indian Statistics.

In an imaginary tour round India, with visits to Nepal and Cashmere, the principal cities and other objects of interest are described.


The Frontispiece contains a Map of India; on the Title Page there is a beautiful coloured picture of the Queen-Empress.

The following is a list of the other Illustrations:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Taj Mahal, Agra. | Temple in the Himalayas. | Himalayan Pass. |
| The Hugli. | Hill Station do. | Srinagar, Cashmere. |
| Calcutta. | Glaciers on the Himalayas. | Sindians. |
| Bengali Village. | The Fort, Agra. | Bolan Pass. |
| Nagas, Assam. | Pearl Mosque, Agra. | Bombay Harbour. |
| Jagannath. | Panch Mahal, Fatehpur | Street in Bombay. |
| Festival at Puri. | Sikri. | Parsi Children. |
| The Himalayas from Darjiling. | Port Gate, Bhutpore. | Entrance to Cave, Elephanta. |
| Gurkhas. | Rajputs. | Interior of Cave, Elephanta. |
| Khatmandu. | Tomb at Ulwar. | Mahratta Woman. |
| Praying Windmills. | Rajput Chiefs. | Bhore Ghat Railway. |
| Tracking Boat up the Ganges. | Alexander and Porus. | Madras Catamaran. |
| View in Rajmahal Hills. | Kutab Minar near Delhi. | Madras, landing in the Surf. |
| Image of Buddha. | Iron Pillar, Delhi. | Sivite Temple, Tanjore. |
| Dasasamedh (Ghat), Benares. | Great Mosque, Delhi. | Trichinopoly Rock. |
| Mosque of Aurangzob do. | Nadir Shah viewing the Massacre at Delhi. | Gateway, Madura Temple. |
| Temples do. | Chandni Chauk, Delhi. | Tauk do. |
| Allahabad or Prayag. | Humayun's Tomb. | Srirangam Temple. |
| Tombs at Allahabad. | Ascent to Simla. | Weighting Raja against Gold. |
| Drowning in the Ganges. | Simla. | Burmese Temple. |
| Bridge over the Ganges. | Sikhs. | Burmese Priests. |
| Palace, Lucknow. | The Golden Temple, Amrit-Lahore. | Queen-Empress. |
| Gateway, Lucknow. | Palace, Lahore. | Lord Dufferin. |
| Sir Henry Havelock. | Attock. | Chinese Money. |
| Famine Group. | Peshawar. | Burmese Temple. |
| Hardwar. | Ali Masjid, Khyber Pass. | Language Map of India. |

The pictures, in general, give a good idea of the places represented. They are well adapted to be shown to women and others unable to travel.

Royal Quarto, 60 pp. Price 6 Annas; Post free, 7½ Annas.

 See next page.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INDIAN STUDENT'S MANUAL. 12mo. 352 pp. 8 As.

Hints on Studies, Examinations, Moral Conduct, Religious Duties, and Success in Life.

TRAVELLING BY LAND, ON SEA, AND THROUGH THE AIR. 4to. 18 pp. 1½ As.

Various modes of travelling in different parts of the world, with numerous illustrative woodcuts.

PICTURE FABLES. 64 pp. 1 Anna.

Interesting fables, with numerous illustrations.

THE GODS OF THE NATIONS AND THEIR WORSHIP. 4to. 40 pp. 1½ As.

The Worship of the Heavenly Bodies, the Elements, Plants, Animals; Ancestral and Demon Worship; the four principal Religions of the World; with 38 woodcuts.

STORIES FROM EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY. 4to. 28 pp. 1½ As.

State of the world at the beginning of the Christian era; how the Gospel was first brought to Europe; persecutions of the Roman Emperors; Constantine the first Christian Emperor; with several illustrations.

STORIES FROM EARLY BRITISH HISTORY. 4to. 40 pp. 1½ As.

An account of the progress of civilization in early Britain, and how the people became Christians.

SHORT PAPERS FOR SEEKERS AFTER TRUTH. 12mo. 112 pp. 1 Anna.

A guide to religious inquirers, treating of the existence of God, Sin, the Need of a Revelation, the leading Doctrines of Christianity, and the Object of Life.

SHORT PAPERS FOR YOUNG MEN. 12mo. 104 pp. 1 Anna.

A Sequel to the foregoing. Hints on General Conduct, the Choice of a Profession, and Success in Life.

INDIA'S NEEDS. 8vo. 150 pp. 3 As.

Treats of important questions connected with material and political progress, social, moral, and religious reform.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. 12mo. 48 pp. 1 Anna.

An account of the heavenly bodies, with numerous pictures. The falsity of the pretended science of the Astrology is pointed out, and its evil effects are shown.

LETTERS TO INDIAN YOUTH ON THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY. 12mo. 207 pp. 6 Annas.

By the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell. External and Internal Evidences of Christianity; Examination of Popular Hinduism, Vedantism, and Muhammadanism.

ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH. 12mo. 67 pp. 1½ Annas.

Lectures by the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell delivered to Educated Hindus.

BUDDHA AND HIS RELIGION. 12mo. 58 pp. 1 Anna.

An account of his life and the three Pitakas; with an examination of his Doctrines and his Threefold Refuge.

MANUAL OF GRAMMAR. 18mo. 176 pp. 6 Annas.

Differences in the structure of English and the Indian Vernaculars pointed out, and examples given of common mistakes; questions from the Examination Papers of the three Indian Universities.

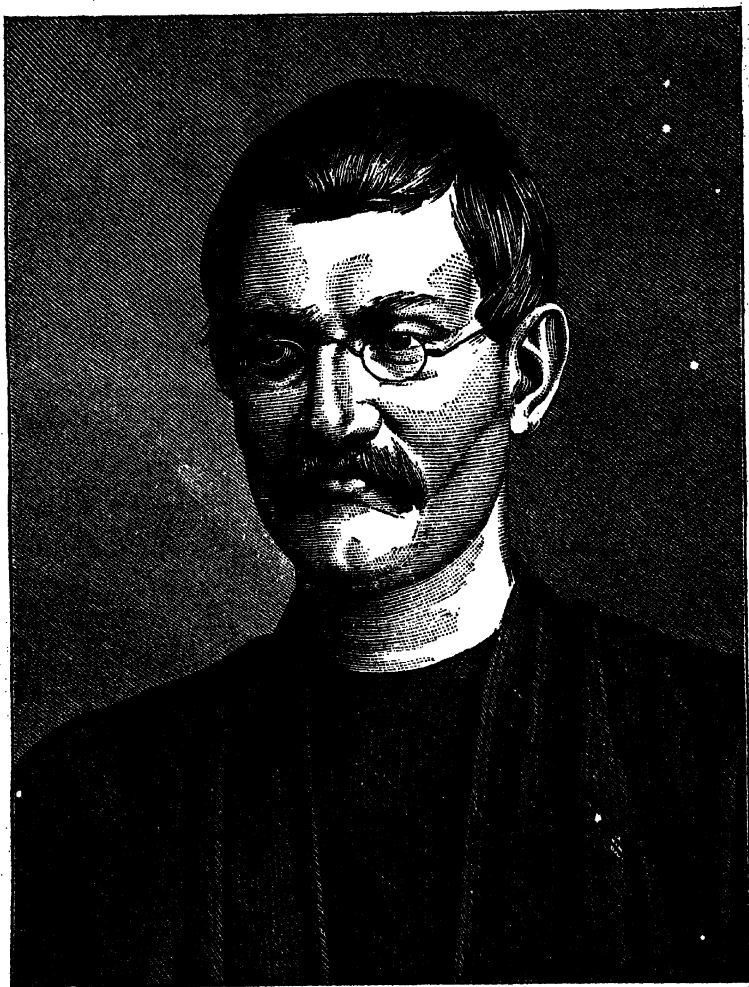
MANUAL OF GEOGRAPHY. 12mo. 300 pp. 14 Annas.

For the use of students preparing for University Examinations. A complete course of Geography, with India in detail. Illustrative woodcuts. University Examination Questions.

INDIAN TEACHER'S MANUAL. 12mo. 325 pp. 10 Annas. ½ sheep, 12 Annas.

Directions about School Management, the teaching of English and the Vernaculars, preparing for Examinations, &c. It is also shown how the teacher may aid Social Reform, and otherwise promote the welfare of the people. Full details about Religious Instruction.

Sold by Mr. A. T. SCOTT, Tract Depôt, MADRAS, and at the Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay, Bangalore, and Colombo Tract Depôts.



KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.
BORN, 1838; DIED, 1884.

PAPERS ON INDIAN REFORM.

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART IV.

THE BRAHMA SAMAJ AND OTHER MODERN ECLECTIC SYSTEMS
OF RELIGION IN INDIA.

What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own
soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

New Testament.

MADRAS:

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY.

S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPEERY.

1st. Ed.]

1888.

[2,000.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The following Paper treats of one of the most interesting movements in India. Most Hindus who have received an English education simply conform to idolatrous customs; some, from false patriotism, try by sophistry to defend irrational beliefs; but happily there are a few who are making more or less earnest efforts to arrive at religious truth.

An attempt is made in the following pages to trace the rise of the modern Theistic movement in India. The compiler is mainly indebted to the following works:

Bose, Ram Chandra, *Brahmoism*. Funk and Wagnalls.

Collet, Miss S., *Brahmo Year Books, Outlines of Brahmic History, &c.*

Day, Rev. Lal Behari, *Antidote to Brahmoism*. Calcutta, 1867.

Dyson, Rev. S. *Brahmic Intuition, Brahmic Dogmas*. Calcutta Tract Society.

Max Müller, Professor. *Biographical Essays*. Longmans.

Mozoomdar, P. C. *Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen*. Calcutta Baptist Mission Press.

Mullens, Rev. J. *Vedantism, Brahmoism and Christianity*. Calcutta T. S.

Rammohun Roy's *English Works*. 2 vols. Calcutta.

Sen, Keshub Chunder. *Lectures in India, &c.*

Sivanath Sastri, Pandit, *The New Dispensation and the Sudharan Brahmo Samaj*. Madras, 1881.

Slater, Rev. T. E. *Keshub Chunder Sen*. Madras, S. P. C. K. 1884.

Williams, Sir Monier, *Religious Thought and Life in India*. Murray.

The compiler is especially indebted to Mr. Mozoomdar's *Life of Keshub Chunder Sen*. The sketch of Keshub's history is simply an abridgment of his work.

There are numerous short extracts, for the most part slightly altered, which are not acknowledged.

Persons interested in the movement, besides consulting the above works, should watch its progress as given in its leading journals, *The Liberal and New Dispensation, The Interpreter, The Indian Messenger, The Subodha Patrika*, and *The Fellow Worker*.

It may seem that the movement has been criticised too severely, but it is highly important to remove false impressions. The most extravagant claims are made by some of the Bramhos. The birth of the *Brahma Samaj* ("THE BLESSED CHILD") is held to be "no less momentous an event than that of Jesus or Buddha—yea a grander event." (See page 67.)

Bramhos reject the doctrine of a "book revelation" in the proper sense of the term; every man claims direct revelation. They feel so little the guilt of sin, that they think they can go into God's presence without a Mediator, and work out for themselves their own deliverance. May they be guided to a faith which is more suited to fallen humanity, and which does not contradict some of the strongest religious instincts of our race!

J. MURDOCH.

MADRAS, July, 1888.

CONTENTS.

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| MODERN HINDU THEISM | 3 |
| RAMMOHUN ROY | 3 |
| DEBENDRANATH TAGORE AND THE ADI SAMAJ | 15 |
| KESHUB CHUNDER SEN | 21 |
| Early History, 21 ; Connection with the Adi Samaj, 24 ; Brahma Samaj of India, 30 ; Kuch Behar Marriage and Subsequent Proceedings, 36 ; The New Dispensation, 42 ; Last Days, 50 ; The Samaj after Keshub's Death, 51 ; Keshub's Character and Work, 53. | |
| THE SADHARAN BRAHMO SAMAJ | 60 |
| MADRAS BRAHMOISM | 68 |
| PRAETHANA SAMAJES | 73 |
| EXAMINATION OF BRAHMIST DOCTRINES | 75 |
| Good Features, 75 ; Statement of Essential Principles, 77 ; Examination in detail, 81. | |
| PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF BRAHMISM | 97 |
| NOTE : A NATIONAL RELIGION | 102 |

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

PART IV.

THE BRAHMA SAMAJ AND OTHER MODERN ECLECTIC SYSTEMS OF RELIGION IN INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

The previous Papers on Religious Reform* treated of what may be called the indigenous beliefs of Hindus. The present Paper shows the influence of Western knowledge on the Indian mind, and describes the attempts made to frame creeds more in accordance with common sense and with higher views of God's character.

Most people belong to the great religions of the world, as Christianity, Muhammadanism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. There are a few who frame for themselves what are called Eclectic systems.

The word *eclectic* means choosing from. It was applied to certain philosophers in ancient times who did not attach themselves to any particular sect, but selected from the opinions and principles of each what they thought true and good. In the West the name was given to certain schools of Greece and Alexandria. The same course has been followed by some in India. The Bhagavat says, "As the bee gathereth honey from flowers great and small, so does the really wise man gather substantial truth from the chaff of all scriptures, great and small."

The adherents of the new eclectic systems in India are far more enlightened than the greatest Hindu philosophers in former times. They have much clearer ideas of God than the authors of the Vedic hymns. "The poets of the Veda," says Max Müller, "indulged freely in theogonic speculations without being frightened by any contradictions. They knew of Indra as the greatest of gods, they knew of Agni as god of gods, they knew of Varuna as the ruler of all, but they were by no means startled at the idea that their Indra had a mother [Aditi], or that their Agni was born like a babe from the friction of two firesticks, or that Varuna and his brother Mitra were nursed in the lap of Aditi." Visvanathapanchanana, the learned author of *Muktavali*, a book on the Nyaya philosophy,

* Part I. POPULAR HINDUISM. Part II. PHILOSOPHIC HINDUISM. Part III. VEDIC HINDUISM. See last page of wrapper for details and prices.

begins his work as follows: "Salutation to that Krishna, whose appearance is like a new cloud, the stealer of the clothes of the Gopis, who is the seed of the tree of the universe." The great Sankar Acharya believed the stories about the gods in the Puranas just like his ordinary countrymen. The members of the Brahma Samaj are monotheists, and hold a pure system of morality. As protesters against idolatry and advocates of social reform, they are doing excellent service. No doubt many of them are half-hearted and show little zeal; others even maintain caste and take part in heathen rites; but among them there are some earnest "seekers after God," and true friends of their country. Their attempts to find a creed which will satisfy the needs of an enlightened conscience deserve careful examination.

Monotheism not new in India.—The remark of Max Müller has been quoted in a previous Paper:—

"There is a monotheism which precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocation of their innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the midst of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."

"The ordinary Hindu," says Sir Monier Williams, "who practises the most corrupt form of polytheism, is never found to deny the doctrine of God's unity. On the contrary, he will always maintain that God is essentially one, though he holds that the one God exhibits himself variously, and that He is to be worshipped through an endless diversity of manifestations, incarnations, and material forms." This, however, is not monotheism, but a mixture of pantheism and polytheism.

From time to time, reformers have appeared who taught the existence of one supreme personal God, distinct from the soul and the material world. Such were Ramanuja and Madhava, in the 12th and 13th centuries. But their influence was limited. Some of the Vaishnava sects of the present day are among the most idolatrous and licentious in India.

There was another monotheistic reaction under Kabir towards the close of the 15th century, due in a great measure to Muhammadanism. Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was largely influenced by Kabir, whom he frequently quotes. He endeavoured to unite Hindus and Muhammadans on the common ground of a belief in the unity of the Godhead. His tenth successor, however, made Sikhs and Muhammadans bitter enemies.

The Dadu-panthis, a small sect in Western India, were founded by Dadu, a cotton-cleaner of Ahmadabad, who flourished about 1600 A.D. They may be styled theistic Vaishnavas. The Satnāmis of Central India, are followers of Kabir, who call the one God by a peculiar name of their own—*Satnam*.

It must be confessed, however, that the monotheism of Hindu reformers was never very clear and decided. It was continually sliding into pantheism, and then again into polytheism. Not until Christian influence was brought to bear upon the Hindu mind, was the doctrine accepted by any in its purity.

MODERN HINDU THEISM.

The leaders of the movement in this direction and the Societies which they established will be noticed in turn.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Early Life.—This great religious reformer was born of a Brahman family, not very far from Calcutta, in the year 1774 A.D.* It was in the same year that Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India. Rammohun Roy's father was a small Zemindar, who had served under the Nawabs of Murshidabad. Persian was still the language of the court, and all persons desirous of Government employ for their sons had them educated in Persian and Arabic. In his ninth year Rammohun Roy was sent to Patna, the principal seat of Arabic learning in Bengal. Three years later, he was sent to Benares to study Sanskrit, where he remained till his sixteenth year.

On his return, Rammohun Roy had a rupture with his father on account of his opposition to idolatry. He therefore left the paternal home, and for four years wandered from place to place, spending, if report be true, some time in Tibet. In his twentieth year he was recalled by his father, after which he devoted himself for some time to the acquisition of English, and further studies in Sanskrit.

From 1800 to 1813, Rammohun Roy was employed in Government service, filling various posts till he was made a Sheristadar. He spent ten years of his life in Ramgurh, Bhagulpore, and Rungpore, as *dewan* or head officer of the Collectors and Judges of those districts. Hence he was commonly known as the *Dewanji* till he was made a Raja by the Emperor of Delhi. During the time he was *Dewan*, he is said to have accumulated so much money as to enable him to purchase an estate worth Rs. 1,000 a month.

State of Bengal.—In 1814 Rammohun Roy came to Calcutta, not to rest, but prepared to fight with the old superstitions and the

* Another account makes 1772 the year of his birth.

manifold evils that had darkened the face of his country. The state of things in Bengal, when he began his work, is thus described :

"In the religious world there was much excitement. The Saktis, or the worshippers of the goddess Sakti, and the Baishnabas, mostly followers of Chaitanya, were both strong, and now contending with each other for supremacy in the land. But however great might be the bigotry of the two sects, their general immorality and corruptions were simply revolting.

"The social condition of the people of Bengal was also deplorable. The rigid Caste-system of India, with its blighting influence, reigned in its full rigour. The horrible rites of Suttee and Infanticide were the order of the day. There were indeed many instances of true Suttees . . . but it should not therefore be forgotten that in a great many instances the Suttee was the victim of her greedy relatives, and in more, of rash words spoken in the first fit of grief, and of the vanity of her kindred who considered her shrinking from the first resolve an indelible disgrace. Many a horrible murder was thus committed, the cries and shrieks of the poor Suttee being drowned by the sound of tom-toms, and her struggles made powerless by her being pressed down with bamboos.

"The condition of the Hindu female in those days was truly pitiable. Education among females was unknown. Kulinism, polygamy and every day oppression made the life of the Hindu female unbearable. Hindu society with Caste, Polygamy, Kulinism, Suttee, Infanticide, and other evils was rotten to its core. Morality was at a very low ebb. Men spent their time in vice and idleness, and in social broils and party quarrels.

"As to education among the people, of what even the Muktabis could impart there was little. What little learning there was, was confined to a few Brahmans, and it was in the main a vain and useless learning. Ignorance and superstition reigned supreme over the length and breadth of the country. There was darkness over the land, and no man knew when it would be dispelled."*

Rammohun Roy took a warm interest in every thing connected with the welfare of his countrymen ; he did much for the suppression of Sati ; but religious reform was his great work, and to that remarks will chiefly be confined.

Publications.—Soon after his father's death he wrote a book in Persian, "Against the Idolatry of all Religions."

In 1816 he published his first work in English, "Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or the Resolution of all the Veds, the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being ; and that He alone is the object of Propitiation and Worship." Rammohun Roy did not study the Vedas strictly so called. As mentioned under *Vedic Hindurism*, he looked upon that as a waste of time. It was the Upanishads to which he gave his attention.

* Introduction to Rammohun Roy's English Works, Vol. I. pp. vi. vii.

The *Abridgment of the Vedant* professes to be translated from Vyasa, to whom is attributed the oldest treatise on the Vedantic philosophy, called the *Brahma Sutra*. Rammohun Roy quotes about 30 Sutras out of 518 in the original, with nearly an equal number from the Upanishads. The work expresses his own views rather than those of the books from which he makes extracts. In the Introduction he notices an excuse made by Europeans for idolatry:—

“I have observed that both in their writings and conversation many Europeans feel a wish to palliate and soften the features of Hindoo idolatry; and are inclined to inculcate, that all objects of worship are considered by their votaries as emblematical representations of the Supreme Divinity! If this were indeed the case, I might perhaps be led into some examination of the subject: but the truth is the Hindoos of the present day have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possess, in their own departments, full and independent power; and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected and ceremonies performed.”

The above was followed by translations of four of the Upanishads, according to the commentary of Sankar Acharya. He says in the preface to the Mundaka Upanishad of the Atharva Veda:

“An attentive perusal of this, as well as of the remaining books of the Vedanta, will, I trust, convince every unprejudiced mind, that they, with great consistency, inculcate the unity of God; instructing men, at the same time, in the pure mode of adoring him in spirit. It will also appear evident that the Veds, although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the invisible God of Nature, yet repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol worship, and the adoption of a purer system of religion, on the express grounds that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude. They are left to be practised by such persons only as, notwithstanding the constant teaching of spiritual guides, cannot be brought to see perspicuously the majesty of God through the works of nature.”

The “unity of God” which the books of the Vedanta are said to “inculcate with great consistency” is pantheism—not monotheism. *Ekam Evadvitiam*, One only without a second, does not mean that there is no second God, but that there is no second anything. The Mundaka Upanishad, as translated by Rammohun Roy, says: “In the same way as the cobweb is created and absorbed by the spider *independently of exterior origin*, as vegetables proceed from the earth, and hair and nails from animate creatures, so the Universe is produced by the eternal Supreme Being.”*

Polytheism is contained in the same Upanishad. It begins as

follows: "Brahma, the greatest of celestial deities, and executive creator and preserver of the world, came into form; he instructed Uthurva, his eldest son, in the knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, in which all sciences rest."

In 1817 he published "A Defence of Hindu Theism in reply to the attack of an advocate for Idolatry, at Madras," and "A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veds; in reply to an Apology for the present state of Hindu Worship." They contain trenchant exposures of popular Hinduism. The following are some extracts:

"He who pronounces 'Doorga,' though he constantly practise adultery, plunder others of their property, or commit the most heinous crimes, is freed from all sin."*

"A person pronouncing loudly 'reverence to Hari,' even involuntarily, in the state of falling down, of slipping, of labouring under illness, or of sneezing, purifies himself from the foulest crimes."†

"As to falsehood, their favourite deity Krishna‡ is more conspicuous than the rest. Krishna again persuaded Yoodhisthir, his cousin, to give false evidence—in order to accomplish the murder of Drona, their spiritual father.—See *Dron Purva*, or seventh book of the Mahabharuth."§

In 1817 he directed his thoughts to the Christian religion and never discontinued its study till the end of his life. He learned Hebrew and Greek to form his own independent opinion of the Old and New Testaments. In 1820 he published, in Bengali and English, a book called, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness," consisting chiefly of extracts from the Gospels. In the Preface he says:—

"This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate man's ideas to high and liberal notions of the One God, ... and is so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in its present form."

In a letter prefixed to one of his later works (an edition of the Kena Upanishad) he makes the following admission:—

"The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge."||

* Doorga Nam Mahatmya.

† Bhagavat.

‡ The favourite deity also of Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee, the modern Bengali novelist, who tries to whitewash him, and hold him up as a pattern of excellence!

§ The English Works of Rammohun Roy, Vol. I. pp. 146, 147.

|| Sir Monier Williams, *Religious Thought*, §c.^s, p. 483.

This publication brought upon Rammohun Roy a long controversy with the Serampore Missionaries. *The Precepts of Jesus* occupy only 74 pp. of the collected edition of his English works; his *Appeals to the Christian Public in Defence* extend over 430 pages. The contention of the Missionaries was that Rammohun Roy, after three or four years' study of the Bible, had found out that the Christian Church had misunderstood it, and that it did not contain the doctrines which were considered vital. The "Appeals" were intended to prove that he was correct. He was, however, criticised too severely.

Notwithstanding this controversy, Rammohun Roy assisted missionaries in the translation of the Scriptures, and sometimes joined in Christian worship. He provided Dr. Duff with the house in which the Scottish Missionary Institution was opened in 1830, and got pupils for him. He recommended that its daily work should be commenced with the Lord's Prayer, declaring that he had studied the Brahman's Veds, the Muslim's Koran, and the Buddhist's Tripitaka without finding anywhere any other prayer so brief, comprehensive and suitable to man's wants.

Brahma Sabha.—Not long after Rammohun Roy came to Calcutta, he formed an association of a few personal friends, called *Atmiya Sabha*, spiritual society, which met in his house periodically for discussion. The opposition of the Brahmans and pandits caused the members to drop off one by one, till by degrees the society ceased to exist.

In 1828, Mr. W. Adam, a Protestant Missionary, a friend of Rammohun Roy's, was led to adopt unitarianism. Its adherents generally accept most of the doctrines of Christianity, except the Trinity or three-one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and others closely connected with it. Adam sought to disseminate his opinions by holding meetings and giving lectures. Rammohun Roy, and a few friends, attended for a time, till at last the thought struck them that they should have a meeting house of their own.

Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosonno Kumar Tagore and others came forward with pecuniary help. Rooms were hired in the Chitpore Road, and prayer meetings held in them every Saturday evening. The service was divided into four parts—recitation of Vedic texts; reading from the Upanishads; delivering of a sermon; and singing hymns.

It was thus that the germ of the first Theistic Church was planted at Calcutta. It inaugurated a new era in the history of Indian religious thought. It ushered in the dawn of the greatest change that has ever passed over the Hindu mind. It was the first introduction of public worship and united prayer—before unknown among the Hindus. A new phase of the Hindu religion then took definite shape, a phase which differed essentially from every

other that had preceded it. For no other reformation has resulted in the same way from the influence of European education and Christian ideas.*

The increase of contributions enabled Rammohun Roy to purchase a large house in Chitpore Road, and endow it with a maintenance fund. Trustees were appointed, and the first Hindu Theistic Church was opened in Calcutta in 1830. The name given to it was the Brahma Sabha, or Brahmiya Samaj, the Society of believers in Brahma, the one self-existent god of Hinduism.

The trust-deed of the building laid down that it was to be used as a place of meeting for the worship of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe; that no graven image, statue, or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait or likeness of any thing shall be admitted within the building, that no sacrifice shall be offered there; that nothing recognised as an object of worship by other men should be spoken of contemptuously there; and that no sermon be delivered but such as would have a tendency to promote piety, morality, and charity.

Last Years of his Life.—Rammohun Roy had long wished to visit England with the view of obtaining, as he himself said, “by personal observation a more thorough insight into the manners, customs, religion, and political institutions of Europe.” He had also three special objects:—

(1.) To represent the grievances of the Emperor of Delhi, who conferred upon him the title of Raja, and sent him as his ambassador to England.

(2.) To be present at the approaching discussion in the House of Commons at the renewal of the East India Company’s Charter, upon which the future Government of India, whether for good or evil, so largely depended.

(3.) The orthodox party in Calcutta, indignant at being deprived of the privilege of roasting their mothers alive when they became widows, sought to appeal to the King in Council. Rammohun Roy wished to oppose this in person.

He arrived in England in April 1831, being the first Indian of rank and influence who had ventured to cross the “black water.” His enlightened opinions, courteous manners, and dignified bearing, attracted much attention. He was presented to the King, and a place was assigned to him at the ceremony of the coronation. The three special objects he had in view were all gained.

Unhappily Rammohun Roy was not strong enough to bear the severity of a European climate. After visiting Paris and other parts of France in 1833, his health began to decline. He had been

* Sir Monier Williams, *Religious Thought*, &c

invited to visit Bristol and to take up his residence at the house of Miss Castle,—a ward of Dr. Carpenter—in the neighbourhood of that city. He arrived there early in September, and shortly afterwards was taken with fever. Every attention was lavished upon him, and the best medical skill called in; but all in vain. On the 27th September he breathed his last in the presence of his son Raja Ram Roy, and his two Hindu servants, by whom he had all along been enabled to preserve his caste. A short time before his death his Brahman servant uttered a prayer in his master's ear, in which the frequent use of the word *Om* was alone distinguished. He also placed iron under his pillow. When Rammohun Roy's spirit passed away, his Brahmanical thread was found coiled around his person. His remains were not laid in a Christian burial ground, but in a retired spot in a shrubbery. Ten years afterwards they were removed to a cemetery near Bristol, where a tomb was raised over his grave by Dwarkanath Tagore.

Religious Opinions.—The exact nature of these has been disputed. Sir Monier Williams characterises the form of theology which he propounded as “vague, undogmatic, and comprehensive.” Throughout life he shrank from connecting himself with any particular school of thought. He seems to have felt a satisfaction in being claimed as a Vedantist by Hindus, as a Theist by Unitarians, as a Christian by Christians, and as a Muslim by Muhammadans. Shortly before he set out for Europe, he said that he belonged to none of them. Whatever was good in the Vedas, in the Christian Scriptures, in the Kuran, in the Zend Avesta, or in any book of any nation anywhere, was to be accepted and assimilated as coming from the ‘God of truth,’ and to be regarded as a revelation. ‘My view of Christianity,’ he says in a letter to a friend, ‘is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal Father, it enjoins them to love one another without making any distinction of country, caste, colour or creed.’

“In truth Rammohun Roy's attitude towards his national religion continued that of a friendly reformer even to the end of his life—a reformer who aimed at retaining all that was good and true in Brahmanism, while sweeping away all that was corrupt and false. He was, in fact, by natural character too intensely patriotic not to be swayed, even to the last, by an ardent love of old national ideas.”*

Mr. Ram Chandra Bose, in his *Brahmoism*, expresses a somewhat similar opinion. He considers it difficult to settle whether Rammohun Roy was at first a monotheist or a pantheist. He says that the beautiful songs he composed are decidedly pantheistic :

“He professed to have discovered a system of pure Theism in the

* *Religious Thought*, &c. pp. 484–487.

Upanishads, and he made these venerable documents the main if not the sole stay of the creed, under the banner of which he expected to see the diverse and clashing religions of the world reconciled. But the conclusion upheld by the Upanishads was the very antipodes of what he expressed an anxiety to bolster up by these remains of the ancient literature of the country. Nobody can read the Upanishads, even cursorily, without being driven to the conclusion that pantheism, not theism, is the creed upheld by the spirit and letter of their teaching.

"What was the result of this serious mistake? For years the religion of Raja Rammohun Roy's association was, not the monotheism he was anxious to see established, but the ancient pantheism of the country. His successors, some of whom were learned Pandits, did not play fast and loose with the Upanishads, as those do who pretend to discover pure theism in them; and they fearlessly set up the creed these documents were fitted to uphold. Nay, they went further. They added the Brahmo Sutras of Vyasa and the comments of Shankar Acharya to their sacred literature, and moved heaven and earth to resuscitate the religion of which these two persons were the most redoubtable champions in ancient India."

Mr. Bose allows that Rammohun Roy's latest published utterances in England are in favour of the assumption that he was a theist of the Unitarian school.*

On the other hand, the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, in an interesting paper read at Darjeeling, shows by numerous quotations from the writings of Rammohun Roy, that, on many points, he held the Christian faith. The following are a few extracts:

"The unity and personality of God was the first doctrine in Rammohun Roy's creed. Intimately connected with this was his belief in the separate immortality of the soul. He was not a pantheist, as many of his countrymen are. Nor did he believe in the transmigration and final absorption of the soul.

"He believed in a great day of judgment, on which the living and the dead would appear before the Judge of all, to have their case decided once for all; and the Judge on that day, he believed, would be the Lord Jesus Christ. His own words stated at page 184, *Precepts of Jesus*, are these: 'The fifth position is that His Heavenly Father had committed to Jesus the final judgment of all who have lived since the creation. I readily admit this position and consider the fact as confirming the opinion maintained by me and by numerous other followers of Christ,.....I agree also with the Reverend Editor (Dr. Marshman) in esteeming the nature of this office most important, and that nothing but the gift of supernatural wisdom can qualify a being to judge of the conduct of thousands of millions of individuals, living at different times from the beginning of the world to the day of the resurrection.'"

Further as to miracles, Rammohun expressly writes, pp. 133-4. "The wonderful works which Jesus was empowered to perform drew a

* *Brahmoism*, pp. 40-42.

great number of Jews to a belief in Jesus as the promised Messiah, and confirmed his apostles in their already acquired faith in the Saviour, and the entire union of will and design that subsisted between him and the Father, as appears from the following passages: John vi. 14. "Then those men when they had seen the miracles that Jesus did, said, 'This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.'"

At page 162 Rammohun Roy says that "Jesus was sent into this world as the long-expected Messiah intended to suffer death and difficulties like other prophets who went before him ... Jesus of Nazareth represented as 'The Son of God,' a term synonymous with that of the Messiah, the highest of all the prophets, and his life declares him to have been, as represented in the Scriptures, pure as light, innocent as a lamb, necessary for eternal life as bread for a temporal one, and great as the angels of God, or rather greater than they." The compiler in his defence of the Precepts of Jesus repeatedly acknowledged Christ as "the Redeemer, Mediator and Intercessor with God on behalf of his followers."*

It is acknowledged, however, that Rammohun Roy denied the doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement of Christ.

Defects and Excellencies.—Like some others, Rammohun Roy had the Utopian idea that he could persuade Hindus, Muhammadans, and Christians to accept a religion which each considered stripped of its most essential features. In trying to "please everybody, he pleased nobody," but a mere handful.

He twisted the sacred books of both Hindus and Christians so as to support his preconceived theories. He found "pure monotheism" in the former, while according to him, the Christian Church, from the very commencement, has misunderstood the nature of its creed.

Mr. Bose says, "That he was moved by a noble and disinterested passion in the beginning of his career, none will deny. But may it not be safely assumed that the exuberance of patronage and praise lavished upon him by not a few distinguished members of the ruling class tended to demoralize him to some extent?" His conduct latterly showed symptoms of a "supple, temporizing policy."

"He called Jesus 'the founder of truth and of true religion,' 'a being in which dwelt all truth,' 'the spiritual Lord and King of Jews and Gentiles.' He called himself 'a follower of Christ,' 'a believer in him as 'the Son of God in a sense peculiar to him alone.' And in spite of all these public acknowledgments of fealty to Christ, he set up what might justly be called a Hindu frame-work, and unscrupulously thrust the Master, whose follower he never hesitated among Unitarians and Christians to represent himself to be, into the back-ground. He constituted the Upanishads, not the New Testament, the canonical scriptures of his association, and scrupulously observed the caste system in the forms of worship he established. The sacred scriptures were read by Brahmans in a closed room, apart from the rude gaze of the worshippers of various

castes assembled in the consecrated hall, the portions of the service these might consider their own being the sermons delivered and the hymns sung. Nay, from considerations purely personal, the redoubtable Rajah simulated reverence for the caste system in public, while in private, he never scrupled to trench contemptuously upon its rules; and by death-bed directions went so far as to debar himself from the privilege of religious burial, that his fidelity to its injunctions might be known to his countrymen, and that nothing prejudicial to the interests of his legitimate heirs might occur! All this might be venial in the case of a shrewd man of business; but his conduct, when viewed in connection with his claims as a reformer, cannot but be pronounced both inconsistent and reprehensible."

The explanation given by Mr. Bose is that

"He was not thoroughly an earnest man, and his religion was more a theory of the head than a moving principle of the heart." His "religion was not based on a deep conviction of sin and an equally deep insight into the longings of the human heart. It was at best a superficial affair, and the forms it assumed in different places and under diverse circumstances were in perfect keeping with its want of coherence, depth, and earnestness."*

Rammohun Roy was not an uncompromising reformer like Luther, nor was he prepared to make sacrifices for his faith like many thousands of the early Christians who would rather suffer death than countenance idolatry in any way. Rammohun Roy denounced caste as a demoralizing institution. He says in the introduction to his translation of the *Isopanishad* :

"The chief part of the theory and practice of Hindooism, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet, the least aberration from which (even though the conduct of the offender may in other respects be pure and blameless) is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion from the society of his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of caste.

"On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of Hindoo faith is considered in so high a light as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation.

"Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace.

"A trifling present to the Brahman, commonly called *Prayaschit*, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, are held as a sufficient atonement for all these crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconveniences, as well as all dread of future retribution."

* *Brahmism*, pp. 39, 39, 42, 43.

Until the passing of the *Lex Loci* Act by Lord William Bentinck, the loss of caste entailed the loss of all property. Hence Rammohun Roy sought to remain in the eyes of the law a Brahman, and retained his Brahmanical thread to the last. His cousins tried to disinherit him by proving that he had lost caste. He was successful in maintaining his civil rights although at considerable cost. As the Rev. K. S. Macdonald remarks, "it does not look well that during the years the law-suit was on his theistic meetings were discontinued, seemingly because he was afraid their very existence would prejudice his worldly interests.... But considering his character, nationality, and the time and circumstances of his life, he reads a lesson to and sets an example before many of his countrymen, much better circumstanced than he was, to whom caste is nothing and on the keeping of which no earthly inheritance is now depending."

Rammohun Roy, nevertheless, occupies the highest place among modern Indian theistic reformers ... Max Müller says:

"He had been brought up to worship the old Aryan gods, and he lived among a people most of whom had forgotten the original intention of their ancient gods, and had sunk into idolatry of the darkest hue... Nothing is more sacred to a child than the objects which he sees his father worship, nothing dearer than the prayers which he has been taught by his mother to repeat with uplifted hands, long before he could repeat anything else. There is nothing so happy as the creed of childhood, nothing so difficult to part with, and do not suppose that idol-worship is more easily surrendered."

"There was everything to induce Rammohun Roy to retain the religion of his fathers. It was an ancient religion, a national religion, and allowed an independent thinker greater freedom than almost any other religion... Nothing would have been easier for him to do what so many of his countrymen, even the most enlightened, are still content to do,—to remain silent on doctrines which do not concern them; to shrug their shoulders at miracles and legends; and to submit to observances which, though distasteful to themselves, may be looked upon as possibly useful to others. With such an attitude towards religion he might have led a happy, quiet, respectable, useful life, and his conscience need not have smitten him more than it seems to have smitten others. But he would not. He gave up idolatry. He was banished from his father's house once or twice; he was insulted by his friends; his life was threatened, and even in the streets of Calcutta he had to walk about armed."*

Rammohun Roy was an "all-round" reformer. He did not, like some of his countrymen of the present day, confine himself to the "line of least resistance," agitate for political changes which brought popular applause instead of obloquy. He advocated the civil rights of the Hindus, and sought to improve their temporal

* Max Müller, *Biographical Essays*, pp. 11, 31, 32.

condition ; he took a leading part in securing the abolition of *sati* ; but the religious reformation of India had his chief attention.

Rammohun Roy was a diligent student of religion. As already mentioned, he acquired a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek that he might read the Christian Scriptures in their original languages. He was a voluminous writer. His English works include two octavo volumes, containing 1143 pages. Of these, 48 pages are devoted to *sati* ; 339 to material progress, English education, &c. ; and 756 to religious questions. He felt that religious reform lay at the root of all other beneficial changes.

The great defect in Rammohun Roy's religious studies was his wish to find his preconceived opinions in the different sacred books—monotheism in the Vedas and Unitarianism in the Bible. Max Müller says :

"I have no doubt that when Rammohun muttered his last prayer and drew his last breath at Stapleton Grove, he knew that, happen what may, his work would live, and idolatry would die."

"I am more doubtful about his belief in the divine origin of the Veda. It seems to me as if he chiefly used his arguments in the support of the revealed character of the Veda as an answer to his opponents, fighting them, so to say, with their own weapons. But however that may be, it is quite clear that this very dogma, this little want of honesty or thoroughness of thought, retarded more than anything else the natural growth of his work."*

Rammohun Roy, in his search after truth, seems to have trusted too much to his unaided reason. The late Dr. Kay, formerly Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, gave the following advice to Hindu religious inquirers :—

"You and all your countrymen who are worth listening to on such a subject, acknowledge that spiritual light and the knowledge of God must come from Himself, the one Supreme. The Mussalmans say the same, and we Christians, above all others, affirm it. Then if you are really in earnest, if you are honest, you see what you must do. You must go and endeavour to pray thus : *O all-wise, all-merciful God and Father, pour the bright beams of Thy light into my soul, and guide me into Thy eternal truth.*"

Although Rammohun Roy had his failings, this notice of him may conclude with the estimate of Max Müller :—

"The German name for prince is *Fürst*, in English *first*, he who is always to the fore, he who courts the place of danger, the first place in fight, the last in flight. Such a *Fürst* was Rammohun Roy, a true prince, a real *Rajah*, if *Rajah* also, like *Rex*, meant originally the steersman, the man at the helm."*

DEBENDRANATH TAGORE AND THE ADI SAMAJ.

After Rammohun Roy went to England, the Society which he founded began to languish. It was managed by pandits, and became more and more Hinduised. It would have ceased to exist had it not been supported by the Raja's wealthy friend, Dwarkanath Tagore, the same who erected the monument to his memory. Max Müller says, "I knew him well while he was staying in Paris, and living there in good royal style. He was an enlightened, liberal-minded man, but a man of this world rather than of the next. Dwarkanath Tagore, however, became a still greater benefactor of the Brahma Samaj, though indirectly through his son Debendranath Tagore"—the *second* great leader of the Brahminist movement.

Sketch of Life.—Debendranath Tagore was born in 1818. "His family, nominally Brahmanical, was practically out of the pale of Hindu communion. Some of his ancestors are said to have lost caste through involuntarily inhaling the smell of certain meat dishes cooked by Muhammadan hands." Such is the intolerance and injustice of the caste system to which the Hindus cling with tenacity.

Debendranath was educated at the Hindu College, where scepticism was openly taught and commended. Brought up in a life of profuse wealth and luxury he did not escape its demoralizing influence. According to his own account, from the sixteenth to the twentieth year of his life, he went on, "intoxicated with the pleasures of the flesh," regardless of his "spiritual interests and dead to conscience and God." He thus describes how he was awakened: "Once on the occasion of a domestic calamity, as I lay drooping and wailing in a retired spot, the God of glory suddenly revealed Himself in my heart and so entirely charmed me and sweetened my heart and soul, that for a time I continued ravished—quite immersed in a flood of light. What was it but the light of truth, the water of baptism, the message of Salvation?" "After a long struggle," he says, "the world lost its attractions, and God became my only comfort and delight in this world of sorrow and sin."

Samaj Founded.—In 1839, in his 22nd year, he founded the *Tatwabadhini Subha*, or Society for the Knowledge of Truth. Its great aim was to "make known the religion of Brahma." It proposed to ascertain what the original *Shastras* were, and trace the changes through the other sacred books down to the present time. Treatises were also to be prepared on astronomy, natural history, physiology, &c., with a view to set forth the power, wisdom, and goodness of God in creation. Lastly, a complete system of morals was to be drawn up. Some influential Hindus joined the Society, and weekly meetings were held for worship and discussion.

Debendranath found the Samaj as Rammohun Roy left it, "a mere platform, where people of different creeds used to assemble

week after week to listen to the discourses and hymns. Men by joining it pledged nothing, incurred nothing, and lost nothing. Many who attended these services were idolaters at home, and in fact, knew not what the spiritual worship of the One True God meant.* According to his own statement, Debendranath joined the Brahma Samaj in 1842, and soon put fresh life into it.

The Covenant.—In 1843 Debendranath Tagore introduced the “Brahmic Covenant” into the Tattwabodhini Sabha, which is thus given in the “Brahma Dharma:”

OM.†

To-day being the——day of the month——in the year of Sakabda——I herewith embrace the Brahmic faith.

1st Vow. I will worship, through love of Him and the performance of the works He loveth, God the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, the Giver of salvation, the omniscient, the omnipresent, the blissful, the good, the formless, the One only without a second.

2nd Vow. I will worship no created object as the Creator.

3rd Vow. Except the day of sickness or of tribulation, every day, the mind being undisturbed, I will engage it with love and veneration in God.

4th Vow. I will exert to perform righteous deeds.

5th Vow. I will be careful to abstain from vicious deeds.

6th Vow. If, through the influence of passion, I commit any vice, then, wishing redemption from it, I will make myself cautious not to do it again.

7th Vow. Every year, and on the occasion of every happy domestic event of mine, I will bestow gifts upon the Brahma Samaj.

Grant me, O God! power to observe the duties of this great faith.

OM

ONE ONLY WITHOUT A SECOND.

Debendranath, with twenty of his friends, was the first to sign the “Covenant.” The services were still essentially Hindu, consisting of the exposition of Vedic texts, and passages from the Upanishads, a sermon in Bengali by the president or some leading member, with a number of Bengali hymns sung by a choir. Notwithstanding this, the determination to give up idolatry gave rise to some persecution. Debendranath describes, in one of his lectures, “how he would wander away from his house, in sun and rain, in those days when the great goddess Durga would be worshipped by

* Pandit Sivanath Sastri, M.A. *The New Dispensations*, &c., p. 5.

† “The repetition of the word ‘Om’ is intended to bring to the mind the idea of God as the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer of the Universe.”

his parents and relations simply to avoid taking part, in the least, in any idolatrous ceremony."

The same year a monthly periodical, called the *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, was commenced, and one of the best Bengali writers of the day, Akhai Kumar Datta, was appointed its editor. A large and well-furnished hall was obtained in Calcutta, and some branch societies were established. The membership rose from 83 in 1843 to 573 in 1847, the most prosperous year.

With the accession of new members, the Samaj began to be agitated by conflicting opinions. Some urged that the Vedas had never been thoroughly examined with a view of arriving at a just estimate of their value as an authoritative guide to truth. In 1845 four young Brahmans were therefore sent to Benares, each of whom was to copy out and study one of the Vedas. After two years they returned with the copies to Calcutta. The result of a careful examination of the sacred books was that some members of the Samaj maintained their authority; but, after long discussion, it was decided by the majority that neither the Vedas nor Upanishads were to be accepted as infallible guides. Only such precepts and ideas in them were to be admitted as harmonized with pure theistic truth.

Brahma Dharma.—In 1850 Debendranath published in Sanskrit and Bengali a treatise called *Brahma Dharma*. An English translation of it was afterwards printed at the Prabakur Press, but without date. In an Appendix the "Fundamental Principles of the Brahma Faith" are given as follows:

1. The One Supreme before this was; nothing else whatever was. He it is that has created all this.
2. He is eternal, intelligent, infinite, good, blissful, formless, one only without a second, all-governing, all-knowing, and of power manifold.
3. The worship of Him alone is the sole cause of temporal and spiritual welfare.
4. Love towards Him and performing the works He loveth constituteth His worship.

The pamphlet is divided into two parts, each containing 16 chapters. The First Part treats chiefly of the attributes of the Supreme; the Second Part consists of moral precepts.

Rammohun Roy considered "The Precepts of Jesus" to be "The Guide to Peace and Happiness." Debendranath sought it in the Upanishads. Mr. Dall says, "On first visiting Debendranath Tagore, in 1855, I asked him whether he ever allowed the name of Jesus to be heard in his church. 'No, never,' he replied. 'And why not?' I said. 'Because some people call him God.'"

The religious system unfolded in the *Brahma Dharma* is that of the Upanishads, with some infusion of modern ideas. Passages,

here and there, contain some of the doctrines of popular Hinduism. The following directions are given to seekers after God :

"To know Him, one should go to the spiritual teacher. To him who is come, the pupil of entirely peaceful and well-regulated mind, he, the knower of God, should communicate the particulars of divine knowledge by which is known the Being, undecaying, perfect, and true.

"The inferior knowledge is the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharva Veda, Siksha (Intonation), Kalpa (Ritual), Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Nirukta (Glossary), Chandas (Prosody), and Jyotish (Astronomy and Astrology). The superior knowledge is that by which the undecaying is known." p. 3.

This is precisely the teaching of the Upanishads, and, to some extent, the books generally received as *Shastras* are recognized.

The unity of God is not clearly expressed. The "great watchword of the Brahma Dharma," says Mr. Bose, "'One without a second,' was the battle cry of ancient pantheism." Some passages, however, set forth the distinction between the Creator and his works.

Subordinate deities seem to be admitted. Chapter X. is as follows, and gives a good idea of Part I :—

"Om is God; all the gods to him bring offerings. Him the all-adorable seated in the midst, all the gods around do worship.

Contemplate God through Om, and let welfare attend thee, as thou crossest the darkness of ignorance.

By means of Om, the knower of God obtaineth Him who is all-tranquil, without decay, without death, without fear, the all-excellent.

We contemplate the adorable power and glory of the Being divine, who brought forth the world. He it is who sendeth us thoughts.

Let me not forsake God as God has not forsaken me. Let Him not be abandoned by me.

Know Him the perfect who should be known, that death may not afflict you.

Repeated reverence be to Him, the Being divine, who is 'in fire, who is in water, who is in plants and trees, and who pervadeth all the world.'

The moral teaching is, on the whole, fair, though some of the reasons assigned are not of a high order. Mr. Bose has the following remarks on this point :

"The motives to virtue pointed out are, some of them at least, among the weakest ever brought forward to sustain a virtuous life. There are six : a. 'All actions which are unblamed (by others) you may perform; actions which are blamed you must not perform.' b. 'Whatever virtue we practise, you may do; but don't practise anything besides.' c. 'Apply yourself to that which you consider to advance your own good.' d. 'Follow out with the greatest zeal whatever course will give satisfaction to yourself, and leave everything opposed to it.' e. 'The man who performs works of virtue obtains holy praise.' f. 'Such a man obtains

respect in this world and prosperity in the next.' Thus public opinion, the example of human teachers, self-interest, self-gratification, respect in the world are placed in the same category with 'holy praise,' supposing that to be the praise which comes from God, and with prosperity in the next!""

Sinful dispositions are mentioned and condemned, with exhortations to the readers to deliver themselves from the darkness of ignorance and learn wisdom from a fitting teacher. It is also admitted that sin is punished both in this world and in the next, and has a demoralizing influence on the sinner. But there is nothing like an adequate view of the intense malignity of sin.

Transmigration is implied :

"He, who is wise, is of mind regulated, and is always pure, gaineth that station after attaining which one is not begotten again."

"To worlds devoid of felicity, wrapped up in the blinding gloom, those go after death who are ignorant of God, and are unwise."

As already mentioned, everlasting happiness is to be obtained through a knowledge of Brahma.

The treatise concludes with the following "Morning Address to God :"

"It is through thy commandment, O Thou who art the Governor of the world, the living, the presiding Deity of the universe, all good, and all-pervading! It is solely at thy commandment, and for thy satisfaction, and for the good of mankind, that I go to engage myself in the pursuits of the world."

While the *Brahma Dharma* is a great advance upon popular Hinduism, no enlightened man can accept it as a satisfactory code either of religion or morals.

Sermons and Religious Opinions.—The Adi Samaj has been sustained largely through the personal influence of Debendranath. Mr. Mozoomdar thus describes his first sight of him : "He was tall, princely, in the full glory of his health and manhood ; he came attended by liveried servants, and surrounded by massive stalwart Brahmos, who wore long gold chains and impenetrable countenances." Pandit Sivanath Sastri says, "The house of Babu Debendranath became a general rendezvous for the Bramhos of Calcutta. Their anniversary meetings at his house, their fraternal greetings and warm exchanges of love and friendship on the occasions, and, above all, the rich hospitality of the noble host himself, will long be remembered by those who ever shared them."

But Debendranath had higher claims to respect. Mr. Mozoomdar admits that the Bengali sermons of Keshub Chunder Sen were "not to be compared one moment with the glowing transcendental

sentences that flowed from the mouth of Debendra Nath Tagore, with all his inspiration of the Himalayas still ablaze within his heart." Pandit Sivanath Sastri thus gives his own impressions of him :—

"We still vividly recollect the day, when we hung with profound respect and fond filial trust upon every word that fell from his venerable lips, and when a single sparkling glance of his eyes awakened strange emotions in our breasts, and made us feel that God was near. His deeply meditative nature, his warm and overflowing heart, his exquisitely-poetic temperament, and, above all, the saint-like purity of his life, all combined to make his Brahmoism a living reality, and to make him out, even to this day, as the highest type of a truly devout character amongst us."*

Mr. Mozoomdar thus describes the religion of Debendranath :

"Devendra's prayers were the overflow of great emotional impulses, stirred by intense meditation on the beauties and glories of nature. His utterances were grand, fervid, archaic, profound as the feelings were which gave them rise. But they seldom recognised the existence of sins and miseries in human nature, or the sinner's necessity for salvation. Devendra Nath had never received the advantage of a Christian training. His religious genius was essentially Vedic, Aryan, national, rapturous. The only element of Semitic mysticism which he ever imbibed was from the ecstatic effusions of the Persian Poet Hafiz. But the characteristic of the Hafizian, or Sufi order of poetry, is not ethical, or Christian, but sentimental, and so to say Hindu. Devendra's mind assimilated it most naturally. He believed all sinfulness and carnality to be the private concerns of each individual man, which ought to be conquered by resolute moral determination."†

In illustration of the above, one or two extracts may be given from Debendranath's sermons. In his "Second Spiritual Advice," after describing the effects upon Nature of the commencement of the wet season, he says :

"Just as the rain poured forth in thousand drops cools our body, just so the water of immortality being showered in thousand ways is cooling our souls in this house of worship. Every day displays a fresh attribute of God and His great mercy. Just as the world is awakened by being renewed by every rising of the sun, and advances in the path of progress ; just so our souls assume a renewed and improved state simultaneously with the world. In the progressive kingdom of God both are advancing at the same time. His mercy is manifested in all both in the animate and inanimate kingdoms. So with the rising of the sun. He has awakened the closed flowers of our heart, and the air of his glory being wet with the tears of His devotees are shaking those new-blown flowers ; so all these are naturally being dropped in heaps at His lotus feet. Now on this day having felt a comforting coolness both within and without we

* *The New Dispensation*, &c., p. 10.

† *Life of Keshub Chunder Sen*, p. 159.

are approaching Him. He is inviting us to receive His ambrosia. Let us all salute Him and become immortal by drinking the ambrosia so freely offered as at present from that motherly hand.

Om, One only without a second.”*

The following prayer concludes one of his sermons:—

“O Thou supreme Soul as Thou hast made us independent, do not leave us alone—our entire dependence is upon Thee. Thou art our help and wealth; Thou art our Father and Friend; we take shelter in Thee; do Thou show in Thy beautiful and complacent face Purify me with Thy love and so strengthen my will that I may be able to perform Thy good works for my whole life.”†

Pandit Sivanath Sastri gives the following account of the present condition of the Adi Samaj:

“The venerable Maharshi Debendranath Tagore has retired since last ten or twelve years from all active work, leaving the affairs of the Samaj to a committee of management, of which his esteemed friend and co-adjutor Babu Rajnarain Bose is the president, and one of his own sons, the Secretary. The weekly Divine Service of the Samaj, the establishment connected with the *Tattwabodhini* and similar works, are all kept up by his endowments. The large number of members, who at one time signed the covenant have quietly disappeared amongst the mass of idolatrous Hindus, and many of them do not now take even a faint interest in the cause they once advocated.”‡

The Rev. T. E. Slater says of the Adi Samaj: “Its history shows conclusively that the Brahminist movement is nothing if it is not a radical departure from present-day Hinduism, and an honest and persistent attempt to keep abreast of the times.”§

The sin-burdened soul will go in vain for relief to the Adi Samaj. Its future history will be described in connection with the *third* leader of the Theistic movement.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

EARLY HISTORY.

Max Müller says of Rammohun Roy:

“There is little to be said about the mere life of Rammohun Roy, and even the little we know from himself and his friends is far from trustworthy. There is no taste for history in India, still less for biography. Home life and family life are shrouded by a veil which no one ventures to lift, while public life in which a man's character shows itself in England, has no existence in the East. On the other hand, loose statements, gossip, rumour, legend, fable, myth—call them what you like—are marvellously busy in the East; and though Rammohun Roy has been

* *The Fellow Worker*, Vol. I. p. 253.

† *The Fellow Worker*, Vol. I. p. 83.

‡ *The New Dispensation*, &c., p. 13.

§ *Keshub Chandra Sen*, p. 48.

dead for fifty years only, several stories are told by his biographers which have clearly a mythological character."*

The *Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen*, by his friend and fellow-labourer, Pratab Chunder Mozoomdar, may be considered to mark a new epoch in Indian literature. It may be described as the first true biography written by an Indian. Though an ardent admirer of the reformer, the author writes impartially. Living on the most intimate terms with him during his whole life, Mr. Mozoomdar had unequalled opportunities for ascertaining the truth. His work will mainly supply the materials in the following sketch.

Family.—Keshub Chunder Sen belonged to the Vaidya or medical caste. His grandfather was Ram Canal Sen, distinguished both for his benevolent disposition and his very complete English and Bengali Dictionary. Peary Mohan Sen, the father of Keshub Chunder Sen, was the second son of Ram Canal Sen. He died when Keshub, his second son, was only ten years of age. His widow was then 25, and she still survives.

Boyhood.—Keshub was born in 1838 in Calcutta. As a boy he was fond of fine clothes, fine boxes, fine things of all sorts which he did not like any one to meddle with. He was educated in the Hindu College, where he was admitted in 1845, but he had some preliminary teaching in the Vernaculars at home. At the annual examination every year Keshub carried away a prize, and sometimes two, there being only two prizes in the class, the one for English, and the other for arithmetic, in both of which he did equally well.

Keshub's intelligence showed itself in other ways than his readiness at lessons. When thirteen years of age he so mastered the juggler's art that he gave a performance of his own. These and other things made him to his companions quite a prodigy, and he was perfectly conscious of his own importance. Nobody ventured to approach to anything like his confidence; he never made a favourite or bosom-friend of any one. He seldom, if ever, joined in an old game, or one that was started by any other boy, but watched it from a distance. If ever he consented to play, he would generally devise a new or unfamiliar game, and reserve the chief part for himself. He took great pleasure in making up *jatras*, the popular semi-theatrical performances of Bengal.

Keshub was not religious in his boyhood. He took part in Hindu ceremonies, but this was entirely for amusement, without any purpose of worship. If, however, he was not religious, as a boy he was certainly very moral. Next to his singular intelligence, the chief characteristic of his boyhood was the purity of his moral nature. But he did not seem to be a warm-hearted boy, and there was always a

* *Biographical Essays*, pp. 13, 14.

strange reserve about his manners. In after life he sometimes said that he was of a suspicious temperament, and that his rule was to judge every man bad, unless he could prove himself otherwise.

In 1852, Keshub was in the first senior class of the school department of the Hindu College. When the Metropolitan College was opened, he was sent to it, and according to the usual custom to draw pupils, he was admitted to the highest class for which he was quite unfit. This made him give up his mathematical studies. As the new college was a failure, Keshub was sent back to the Hindu College in 1854. But he did not return the same man. Henceforth his educational career was not at all brilliant. In 1856, when the mathematical questions were set for the Senior Scholarship Examination, one of the professors who was appointed to watch the examinees, found Keshub comparing papers with the young man that sat next to him. Keshub was severely handled. He was still allowed to continue as a general student, but he entirely gave up the study of mathematics, and never again went up for further examinations.

Early Manhood.—Keshub, when 18 years of age, was married to a girl of nine or ten. The marriage was, of course, not of his own making. The first years of his married life were those of an anchorite. He was moody and cheerless. He seldom laughed or even smiled. He read certain Christian sermons, notably those of Blair and Chalmers. He privately wrote morning and evening prayers which he read by himself on the terrace of the house. He composed short exhortations and words of warning for passers-by, which he caused to be stuck on the house walls in the neighbourhood. In short, he brooded on his own imperfections, and the imperfections of others, and the thoughts made him most restless.

From the first Keshub believed in the supreme necessity of prayer. "I did not know," said he, "what the right religion was, I did not know what the true church was. Why or for what I prayed I did not know, but in the first glimpse of light that came to me I heard the voice, 'Pray, pray, without prayer there is no other way.'" Among the Christian teachers he was intimate with were the Rev. T. H. Burn, Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Cotton, the Rev. J. Long, of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. Mr. Dall, the American Unitarian Missionary.

Keshub started a number of classes and societies for the benefit of his companions. The study of Shakespeare was the favourite fashion of the educated about this time. Keshub was not content to read, but desired to act. A stage was improvised, old European clothes were obtained from the bazars, and plays were performed. Keshub retained for a considerable time his theatrical propensities. He had a passion for the musical performances known as *jatras*, half dramatic, half operatic. He would sit up the whole night

with his companions to watch these performances, chewing *pan-supari*, and throwing pieces of small coin to the singers.

In 1857 Keshub established the Goodwill Faternity, which was purely religious. He sometimes read, sometimes spoke extempore in English to the members from a high pulpit-like desk. One of his readings was the discourse by Dr. Chalmers on Enthusiasm, another was Theodore Parker on Inspiration.

KESHUB'S CONNECTION WITH THE ADI SAMAJ.

In 1857 Keshub quietly entered the Brahmo Samaj by signing the printed covenant sent him for the purpose. Debendranath, on his return from the Hills, was greatly pleased to hear of this accession. "He was much struck by the earnestness and ability of young Keshub, and at once accepted him as a friend and coadjutor. A deep and almost filial attachment sprang up between them: and henceforth they jointly began to plan and adopt several important measures which further developed the reforming tendencies of the Samaj."*

In those days Keshub was a diligent student. From 11 o'clock in the morning till sunset, he read every day in the Calcutta Public Library. He read some poetry, as Shakespeare, Milton and Young; but the history of philosophy was his delight. He was an intense admirer of Sir William Hamilton, and pored over the works of Victor Cousin. He read J. D. Morell, and M'Cosh; he loved the works of Theodore Parker, Miss Cobbe, Emerson, and F. W. Newman.

Within a year after joining the Brahmo Samaj, Keshub made his first great stand against idolatry. The family *guru* was to come to the mansion, and Keshub with some other young men was expected to receive the ceremony of initiation. When Keshub's turn came he was asked if he would receive it. Calmly, but firmly he answered, "No." More than once the question was asked with increasing fierceness, but Keshub's determination gained the day.

In 1859 the Brahmo School was established. Keshub was to deliver a series of English lectures, and Debendranath a similar course in the vernacular, the former taking up the philosophy of Theism and the latter dealing with the doctrines of the Brahmo Samaj.

The same year Keshub, at the wish of his guardians, became a clerk in the Bank of Bengal, with the salary of Rs. 25 per month. So well did he do his work, that within a twelvemonth his pay was doubled.

First Publications.—In 1860, when 22 years of age, Keshub

* Pandit Sivanath Sastri, *The New Dispensation*, p. 7.

issued his first tract, "Young Bengal, This is for You." It begins with the result of a godless education :

"Often were you heard to say:—'Let the illiterate and credulous deal with religion and immortality, prayer and atonement, faith and salvation; let them devote their minds to such visionary pursuits—I feel it degrading to my high scholarship and liberal views to countenance them.'"

* So far as mere talk is concerned, a change for the better is acknowledged. Numerous societies were formed to discuss important questions of social reform. He says :

"Sometimes you witness whole bodies of young men unanimously pledging themselves with all solemnity to momentous resolutions like these:—we shall enlighten the masses—elevate the condition of females—encourage brotherly feeling. Such are the great topics which our young and intelligent countrymen are ever and anon discussing with all enthusiasm and fervor, and preaching with missionary zeal. But what is the upshot of all this? 'Mere prattle without practice.' An elaborate essay, an eloquent speech, a warm discussion is all in all."

The explanation given is that there is a "want of an active religious principle in our pseudo-patriots." The reader is to seek help from God. "Steadily and prayerfully look up to Him—our Light, and our Strength, our Father and our Friend."

The first tract was followed by about a dozen others. The principal may be noticed.

No. 4 is entitled "Basis of Brahmoism. Brahmoism stands on the Rock of Intuition, and is above the Fluctuations of Sectarian Opinions."

"Brahmoism rests on no written revelation; neither does it hang on the opinions of particular persons or communities. It depends not upon the fugitive phenomena incident to age or country. Its basis is the depths of human nature."

"Brahmoism is founded upon those principles of the mind which are above, anterior to, and independent of reflection—which the variations of opinion cannot alter or affect. It stands upon intuitions.

"Intuitions are self-evident. They are axiomatic truths which do not admit of demonstration."

No. 4 was subsequently supported by Nos. 8, 9, "Testimonies to the Validity of Intuitions," consisting of extracts from Locke, Reid, Coleridge, Cousin, Hamilton, and others.

No. 6. "Signs of the Times," is intended to show that the mind is getting emancipated "from the yoke of books and churches," "from antiquated symbols and lifeless dogmas." This is sought to be established by quotations from J. D. Morell, Foxton, Greg, Fox, Parker, and F. W. Newman.

"Revelation" is the subject of No. 11. It tries to show that "the dogma of a book revelation falls to the ground." In No. 10, it is thus summarily disposed of:

"14. Why do the Brahmos deny the possibility of book revelation?" Because revelation is subjective, not objective."

No. 12 treats of "Atonement and Salvation." "Repentance is Atonement." God is not a blood-thirsty tyrant; and atonement in the Christian sense is denied. "Salvation denotes simply deliverance from *sin*."

The foregoing series of tracts was largely the result of Keshub's reading in the Calcutta Public Library. The late American Unitarian Missionary, the late Mr. Dull, got a collection of Unitarian books presented to the Library, where they were studied by Keshub and many of their opinions adopted by him. His first "Inspiration" was derived from Theodore Parker. For a time, "Intuition" was the watchword of the party. When a Christian Missionary was preaching, a school-boy would sometimes point his finger towards him, and think he had settled him by simply saying, "Intuition"! The trenchant attacks upon it by the Rev. S. Dyson caused it eventually to be largely relegated to the tomb of "lifeless dogmas."

Trip to Ceylon, etc.—In 1859 Keshub made his first sea voyage: Debendranath and his two sons were about to leave for Ceylon, and Keshub was invited to join the party. He quietly embarked, leaving behind a little note which was discovered after the vessel left. "His little wife, who was not more than twelve or thirteen years old at the time, was dangerously ill, and not a syllable about Keshub's perilous expedition had reached her, till he had gone far on his way. We all took it to heart, and in our bitter regret accused him of cruelty, undutifulness, and all sorts of things. But Keshub, in the meanwhile, let out like a caged bird, enjoyed his trip most heartily, cracked fun with his companions, kept a lively diary, and felt he had done the most proper and natural thing in the world."*

In 1860 Keshub started a small Society, called the *Sangat Sabha*. It was mainly for religious conversation and prayer. When he resigned his post in the Bank of Bengal, several of the members, one after another, began to take leave of secular life, determined to spread the principles of Hindu theism. The following year, in conjunction with some friends, he started the *Indian Mirror*. It was at first fortnightly, then weekly, and lastly daily. In 1862 he commenced the Calcutta College, which, after five or six years, had to be given up for want of support.

For a time Debendranath and Keshub worked cordially together. Until 1862 those who hitherto officiated in services were called

* Mozoomdar's Life of Keshub Chunder Sen, p. 127.

Upacharyas, or subministers, while Debendranath himself was President of the Brahmo Somaj. In that year, after a grand ceremony, Debendranath presented Keshub with a sort of diploma, framed in gold and signed by himself, installing him as Acharya, or minister of the Brahmo Somaj. He gave him, besides, a casket, containing an ivory seal and a copy of the *Brahma Dharma*. The title of Brahmananda (Rejoicer in God) was also conferred upon him. From that time Debendranath began to be called Pradhan Acharya, or chief minister.

The same year Keshub induced his young wife to dine at the house of Debendranath, who belonged to an excommunicated race of Brahmans. This act on his part led to his temporary expulsion by his uncle from his home and family.

Reforms.—Keshub's programme of reform is thus given in his fervid "Appeal to Young India":

"Look at yourselves, enchained to customs, deprived of freedom, lorded over by an ignorant and crafty priesthood, your better sense and better feelings all smothered under the crushing weight of custom; look at your homes, scenes of indescribable misery, your wives and sisters, your mothers and daughters immured within the dungeon of the zenana, ignorant of the outside world, little better than slaves whose charter of liberty of thought and action has been ignored; look at your social constitution and customs, the mass of enervating, demoralizing and degrading causes there working. Watch your daily life, how almost at every time you meet with some demand for the sacrifice of your conscience, some temptation to hypocrisy, some obstacle to your improvement and true happiness."

The qualifications of reformers are thus given:—

"A firm sense of duty ought to be the basis of all reform movements. It is dangerous to undertake them from any other motive.

"Secondly, those who desire to reform their country must first reform themselves. Good examples are always powerful engines of conversion, while the fervid eloquence of hypocritical teaching obstructs instead.

"Lastly, the paths of reformation are thorny, and therefore they who tread these paths must be prepared for the thorns: there is no royal road to reformation.

"These, I believe, are the three essential requisites of sound and successful reformation."

The chief evils in Hindu society against which exertions should be directed are the following, given in a greatly abridged form:

"There can be no doubt that the root of all the evils which afflict Hindoo society, that which constitutes the chief cause of its degradation is Idolatry. Idolatry is the curse of Hindustan, the deadly canker that has eaten into the vitals of native society. It would be an insult to your superior education to say that you have faith in idolatry, that you still

cherish in your hearts reverence for the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, or that you believe in the thousand and one absurdities of your ancestral creed. But however repugnant to your understanding and repulsive to your good sense the idolatry of your forefathers may be, there is not a thorough appreciation of its deadly character on moral grounds. It will not do to retain in the mind a speculative and passive disbelief in its dogmas, you must practically break with it as a dangerous sin and an abomination: you must give it up altogether as an unclean thing. You must discountenance it, discourage it, oppose it, and hunt it out of your country. For the sake of your souls and for the sake of the souls of the millions of your countrymen, come away from hateful idolatry, and acknowledge the one Supreme and true God, our Maker, Preserver, and Moral Governor, not in belief only, but in the every-day concerns and avocations of your life.

"Next to idolatry and vitally connected with its huge system is caste. Kill the monster, and form a national and religious brotherhood of all your reformed countrymen.

"Thirdly, our Marriage customs involve evils of great magnitude which urgently call for reform, *e.g.*, polygamy, premature marriage, prohibition of widow re-marriage, and countless restrictions.

"Fourthly, the Zenana requires thorough reform."

At an address delivered in Bombay in 1868 he explained the true order of reformation:

"What is the programme of reforms you think, I intend to lay before you this evening? Not half measures, like the education of this section of the community or the reformation of that particular social evil. These cannot—it is my most firm conviction—these cannot lift India as a nation from the mire of idolatry, of moral and social corruption. If you wish to regenerate this country, make religion the basis of all your reform movements. Were I engaged in the work of reforming this country, I would not be busy in lopping off the branches, but I would strike the axe at the fatal root of the tree of corruption, namely—idolatry. Ninety-nine evils out of every hundred in Hindu society are, in my opinion, attributable to idolatry and superstition.

"All the social reform, I would propose for your consideration, are involved in this grand radical reformation—religious reformation. Questions of social reform will not then appear to you as matters of worldly expediency, but as questions of vital moral importance, and will come upon you with all the weight of moral obligation."

"**Bramho Samaj Vindicated.**"—In April 1863, the Rev. Lal Behari Day delivered a lecture on "The Rise and Progress of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj." He traced its changes from Rammohun Roy's attempt to find monotheism in the Upanishads, to the surrender of the Vedas, to the adoption of the opinions of Theodore Parker, and the scorn of "book revelations." He showed that the so-called intuitive truths of the Samaj were derived from the Bible,

and dwelt especially on the insufficiency of the Brahminist doctrine concerning sin.

Keshub replied to this lecture in "*The Brahmo Somaj Vindicated*," which, according to the report, was received with "thundering applause." At the commencement he professed to be animated by the religion whose very life is *love*, and whose spirit is a spirit of "charity." After a few more sentences, he illustrated this "spirit" by asserting that "the creed of the Brahmo Somaj, far from being honestly rendered and faithfully portrayed" by the lecturer, "was clothed in foul misrepresentations, miserably caricatured, and set forth crumpled and distorted." "Groundless charges," and "grossest exaggerations," were other epithets employed.

Mr. Day had said that some Brahmos gloried in the liberality of their creed; upon which he remarked that the creed of the atheist was still more liberal. In reply, Keshub made the pathetic appeal, "Rather slay us, rather put the knife to our throats than call us atheists." No such charge was brought.

Rupture with Debendranath.—By degrees the relations between Debendranath and Keshub became more strained. Debendranath was impulsive, very sensitive, conservative, autocratic and settled in his views. He wanted to establish a model Hindu Society, and revive the ancient Hinduism of the Upanishads. He had always a partiality for the sacred caste. Though discarding idolatry, he was a strict observer of the sacraments of Hindu marriage. Widow marriage was to him a disagreeable thing, and intermarriage still worse.

Keshub and the younger members of the Samaj were far in advance of Debendranath's views, and were eager to enter upon a career of bolder and more uncompromising reform. Caste and the Brahmanical thread were the first objects of their attack. Elderly members, opposed to Keshub's new measures, and jealous of the influence he had gained, tried to poison the mind of Debendranath against him. Debendranath thought that he should make a stand, and nip these ambitious reforms in the bud. He began by cancelling the arrangement by which Brahman ministers wearing the badge of their caste were no longer admissible to the ministry. This was done by beginning the service earlier than usual, while it was held temporarily in his house. Keshub and his friends protested against this course, and declared that they must decline to join such services in future. They proposed a separate day of public worship in the Samaj building apart from the usual Wednesday service, but Debendranath was inexorable. Keshub and his party, therefore, seceded from the Brahmo Somaj.

BRAHMO SOMAJ OF INDIA.

Keshub Chunder Sen seems to have retired from Debendranath's Somaj in February 1865, but a considerable time was spent in protests and negotiations which came to nothing. He got possession of the *Indian Mirror*, and issued a vernacular journal, called the *Dharma Tatwa*.

Lecture on Jesus Christ.—Keshub was first brought prominently before the European public by an address which he delivered in May, 1866, announced under the sensational title of "Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia." He began by extolling Christ as a great man and reformer; he described Him as "sent by Providence to reform and regenerate mankind": he set forth in glowing language the moral greatness of Christ, ending with the words, "was he not above ordinary humanity? Blessed Jesus, immortal child of God!" Then he dwelt on the fact that Jesus was an Asiatic. "When I reflect on this, my love for Jesus becomes a hundredfold intensified."

So high was the admiration expressed of Jesus Christ in the lecture that by some Keshub was regarded as "almost a Christian." Five months later he undeceived them and showed his true position by his lecture in the Town Hall, on "Great Men." He defined them as "men, but above ordinary humanity." All great prophets were regarded as "God-men," "Divine incarnations." Though Jesus Christ was the prince of prophets, effected greater wonders, and did infinitely more good to the world than the others, yet He was only the first among men like Luther, Knox, Mahomet, and Chaitanya. After this, says Mr. Mozoomdar, "he perhaps felt that the time of teaching about Jesus and other prophets had not yet come. So, for thirteen years, he held his peace."

Establishment of a new Somaj.—In November 1866, Keshub and his friends sent a parting address to Debendranath, and established a separate Society, called the "Brahmo Somaj of India." The members wished to make Keshub the head of the Society, but he said that "God alone was its head." He undertook to be its Secretary. Selections from the Bible, Koran, Zend Avesta, and the Hindu Shastras were compiled as the scriptures of the Brahmo Somaj. Its motto in Sanskrit, composed by Pandit Gour Roy, was that: "The wide universe is the temple of God; Wisdom is the pure land of pilgrimage; Truth is the everlasting scripture; Faith is the root of all religion; Love is the true spiritual culture, the destruction of selfishness is the true asceticism: So declare the Bramhos."

Debendranath, upon the formation of the new society, called his own the Adi (original) Brahmo Somaj.

Seven or eight of Keshub's adherents were formed into a body of

missionaries. Every one resigned his place and prospects in life and took the vow of poverty. They daily took out a few pieces of copper from the leader's writing desk to buy them necessaries, and that box never contained much; they spent the day in prayer, study, contemplation, religious conversation, and other engagements worthy of their calling. They travelled from place to place, full of zeal. Wherever they went, Samajes were formed and enthusiasm was kindled. The orthodox Hindus were so greatly alarmed that various short-lived organizations were founded to counteract the new movement.

Vaishnava Element.—Keshub began religious life with an insufficient quantity of religious feeling. About 1867 he began to hold daily Divine service in his house, and the spirit of the Vaishnava religion entered into Brahmo devotions. Vaishnava hymns, called *Sankirtan*, were introduced, with their instruments of music, the drum, cymbals, and harp of one string. The lower orders and wandering mendicants are fond of them. Vaishnava piety has two features. The hymns are sometimes sung with wild enthusiasm, with the deep noise of the drum and the clash of cymbal, and then they melt away in strains of tenderness, accompanied by the delicate notes of the harp. The Society was at this time joined by a poet, whose musical genius became a source of wonderful attraction to the public. This new kind of musical celebration began to be known by the name of *Brahma Sankirtan*, and culminated in the establishment of the *Brahma Utsab*, or Festival in God, in November, 1867. The services lasted from early morning till nine at night.

On the 24th January, 1868, the 38th anniversary of the Brahmo Somaj, the foundation stone of the Brahmo Mandir, Keshub's temple of worship, was laid with great pomp. In the evening Keshub delivered his address in the Town Hall on "Regenerating Faith." Among the audience were some of the highest English officials, from the Viceroy downwards. In March he left for an extensive missionary tour to the North-West Provinces and Bombay, after which he went, not to Calcutta, but to Monghyr.

Man-worship Agitation.—At Monghyr Keshub's prayers and sermons were listened to with enthusiasm, and the emotions of the hearers were sometimes uncontrolled. Many were moved to tears, sobs, and ejaculations that were well-nigh hysterical. They prostrated and abased themselves before Keshub, and began to talk of him as "lord," "master," and "saviour." Some professed to have seen supernatural sights concerning him, other sang hymns about him as a *Yogi*, whose heart is the abode of the perfect God. Two well-known Brahmo missionaries remonstrated repeatedly in private with Keshub against this, but without effect. They then wrote to some of the newspapers and formally brought the charge of

worshipping Keshub against his admiring disciples, and they unreservedly accused Keshub himself of conniving at, if not directly encouraging it. He said in reply, "I have never approved of the manner in which some of my friends honour me," but his biographer says, "Their manifestations of popular faith and reverence Keshub accepted as a passing phase of religious feeling." Keshub acted very differently from the Christian missionaries, Paul and Barnabas, who, when the people wished to pay them divine honours, ran in among them, crying out, "Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you."

With a band of followers Keshub left Moughyr in August, 1868, to spend a few months at Simla, to which Lord Lawrence had invited him. The main subject of consideration was a marriage bill for Brahmos, which was introduced the following month into the Governor-General's Council.

Church of the Future.—In January, 1869, Keshub gave his anniversary lecture on the "Church of the Future." It was to take truth from every prevailing system of religion. Its creed was to be "the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man." The Future Church of India must be thoroughly an Indian Church. The future religion of the world will be the common religion of all nations, but in each nation it will have an indigenous growth, and assume a peculiar or distinctive character.

The Brahma Mandir was formally opened in August, 1869. The declaration regarding it was mainly borrowed from the trust deed of the original Brahma Samaj. Some of the most prominent members of the Brahma community then accepted the Theistic covenant.

English Visit.—Suddenly towards the end of 1869, Keshub made an announcement through the *Indian Mirror* of his intention to visit England. In the January following, he made "England and India" the subject of his anniversary address. He sailed from Calcutta in February, accompanied by his devoted disciple, Prasanna Kumar Sen. His first public appearance was at a meeting to welcome him in London, where Lord Lawrence and representatives of the principal religious denominations expressed their interest in India and sympathy with him in his work. Keshub said, "I come here, my friends, to study Christianity in its living and spiritual forms. I do not come to study the doctrines of Christianity, but truly Christian life as displayed and illustrated in England."

The meeting was arranged for him by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and during the six months he spent in England he was thrown largely among Unitarians. One of his first visits was to Bristol, where Miss Carpenter founded the National Indian Association which is still active. He made a

pilgrimage to the grave of Rammohun Roy, where he knelt down and said,

"I especially offer prayer for the soul of that illustrious man who came from my country and whose remains lie here. Nourish his soul and heart with strength, and purity, and piety, that he may, O Lord, find the blessings of communion with Thee through everlasting ages."

Keshub visited 14 of the chief towns of England and Scotland, lecturing or conducting religious services. He also addressed meetings on peace, the temperance reformation, zenana education, &c. He was honoured by the Queen with an interview, and before he left England, she sent him copies of her two books, with the inscription in her own handwriting in each volume: "To Keshub Chunder Sen, from Victoria R., Sept. 1870."

The influence of Theodore Parker was still strong upon Keshub. Of few points did he declaim with greater zest than against "dogmas." "We must not allow ourselves to be enslaved by dogmas and articles of faith." "If they in England had their sectarian doctrines and dogmas about Christ, they might reserve them for their own use." "Spare me and my countrymen the infliction of antiquated and lifeless dogmas."

The divisions among Christians were another favorite topic. "I cannot but feel perplexed and even amused, amidst countless and quarrelling sects." Keshub saw comparatively little of genuine English Christianity. He was thrown, almost exclusively, among Unitarians, noted for the brevity of their creed, and their want of religious fervour. Dr. Martineau, their most distinguished English representative, makes the confession: "In devotional literature and religious thought, I find nothing of ours that does not pale before Augustine, Tauler, and Pascal. And in the poetry of the Church, it is the Latin or German hymns, or the lines of Charles Wesley or of Keble that fasten on my memory and heart, and make all else seem poor and cold."

Keshub in his farewell English address says:—

"The result of my visit to England is that as I came here an Indian, I go back a confirmed Indian. I came here a Theist, I return a confirmed Theist. I have not accepted a single new doctrine that God had not put into my mind before; I have not accepted new dogmas and doctrines but I have tried as far as possible to imbibe the blessed influence of Christian lives."

A full account of *Keshub Chunder Sen's English Visit* was edited by Miss Collett. This was reprinted in Calcutta a few years ago, with the omission of her preface and footnotes.

Indian Reform Association.—On Keshub's return to India, he immediately began to put in practice some of the hints he had gathered in England. The first thing that he did was to establish

the Indian Reform Association. It had five sections—Cheap Literature, Charity, Female Improvement, Education, and Temperance.

The influence of newspapers in England greatly struck Keshub. He started a weekly pice ($\frac{3}{4}$ d.) paper called the *Sulabh Samachar* (Cheap News) which was a great success. The *Indian Mirror* was made a daily paper, and the *Sunday Mirror* was commenced. A Normal School for Native ladies was established, supplemented by a "Society for the Benefit of Women," in connection with which ladies read papers. A department of charity, on enlightened principles, was organized, and an Industrial School was started. Temperance reform received great attention, and a Band of Hope had numerous accessions from the young.

For a time the Association was worked with great energy, but as Keshub's mystic tendencies developed themselves, it came by degrees to have little more than a nominal existence; although now and then there was a kind of spasmodic revival.

Brahmo Marriage Bill, &c.—"As the number of inter-marriages and widow-marriages according to pure theistic rites multiplied, doubts as to their validity in the eyes of the law began to trouble many minds." It has been mentioned that in 1863 Keshub was invited to Simla by Lord Lawrence to consider a proposed marriage bill to be introduced into the Governor-General's Council. It was intended to include all religious sects in India who objected to marry according to Hindu rites. This excited great opposition on all sides, on account of which it was altered and called the Brahmo Marriage Act. The Adi Samaj objected to the title, so it was changed to the Native Marriage Act. Keshub strongly condemned early marriage. In 1871 he obtained the opinions of some of the most eminent medical authorities in India with regard to the marriageable age of girls. Sixteen was unanimously declared to be the minimum, but for the present fourteen might be accepted.

The Native Marriage Act became law in 1872. It introduced for the first time civil marriage into Hindu society. It legalised marriages between different castes. It fixed the minimum age for a bridegroom at 18, and of a bride at 14, but required the written consent of parents or guardians when either party was under 21. It prohibited bigamy, and permitted the re-marriage of Indian widows.

In 1872 Keshub established the *Bharat Asram* (Indian Hermitage), a kind of religious boarding-house. About 25 families lived together, having their devotions, studies, and meals together. The unwholesome relations of the Hindu zenana life were laid aside, and the women joined the men in daily devotions and frequent companionship. In the same year the Calcutta School for Boys was affiliated to the Indian Reform Association. It prospered

under Krishna Bihari Sen, Keshub's younger brother, and developed subsequently into the present Albert College.

The Purdah System in Church.—An influential section of the Brahmo community in Calcutta strongly objected to the system of compelling the ladies to sit behind screens in the Brahmo *Mandir*, and demanded the privilege of sitting with their wives and daughters outside the screens, and among the rest of the congregation. This right was at the beginning denied by Mr. Sen and his missionaries, and the more advanced section held out in a body from the Church till their demands were met. After much correspondence and discussion, something like a compromise was effected, and seats were provided outside the screen, for the advanced families, in a corner of the *Mandir*.*

Asceticism.—Keshub belonged to a Vaishnava family, and the older he grew the more the Hindu element in his character developed itself. He had a photograph of his wife taken as seated by his side in the Himalayas, he squatting on a tiger skin as a Yogi, with the single-stringed harp in his hand, she helping him in his devotion. In 1875 he began to cook his own meals. Sometimes he would sit on a bare wooden stool for a whole day, talking very little, mending some of his old clothes. He felt, he said, that the time had come for himself and the Brahmo Missionaries to practise asceticism and accept severe discipline for the sake of purity and spiritual life. Strict poverty was enjoined on the missionaries, long hours were to be spent in devotions, every one had to cook his simple meal at least once a day, midnight vigils were begun to be kept. When they were cold and desponding, they had recourse to enthusiasm of the Vaishnava culture of *Bhakti*, or love to God, singing, violently dancing, and making up street processions. Keshub in 1876 initiated the fourfold classification of devotees into the disciples of *Yoga*, *Bhakti*, *Gyan*, and *Sheba*.†

"Our Faith and Experience."—This was the subject of Keshub's anniversary address in 1876. He sought to identify the Holy Spirit of the Bible with the Spirit God of ancient India. Parker had borrowed from Kant the three great principles, God, Immortality, and Duty. Keshub said in his lecture, "There are only three essential doctrines in Theism—the doctrine of God, the doctrine of immortality, and the doctrine of conscience." Towards the conclusion he said, "Who would stumble midway in his Godward course with the huge millstone of lifeless dogmas hanging round his neck?... Our scripture is not closed, but fresh chapters are still being

* Pandit Sivanath Sastri, *The New Dispensation*, &c. p. 22.

† *Yoga* is union with God by intense contemplation; *Bhakti* is union by intense love; *Gyan* union by deep knowledge; and *Sheba*, union by service rendered fellow-men.

written and added year after year. What the Lord will reveal to us ten years hence, who knows save He?"

A few months afterwards he bought a small garden, about 12 miles from Calcutta, to which he often retired, followed by most of the Brahmo missionaries. With shaven head, he lived amidst rigorous self-discipline.

Lily Cottage.—In 1877 a large mansion with a garden and tank, in Upper Circular Road, was offered for sale. Keshub purchased it for Rs. 20,000 and called it "Lily Cottage." Not a few Brahmos disliked the fine residence which their Minister had secured in spite of his profession of asceticism. Several of the Brahmo missionaries built cottages in the adjoining grounds. Both the men and women met every day for morning service in the house of the Minister. By the end of 1877, the number of Brahmo Samajes scattered over India had increased to 107, some following the Conservative, but the majority the Progressive pattern.

THE KUCH BEHAR MARRIAGE AND SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

Complaints.—Keshub, when associated with Debendranath, complained that he was a kind of pope, from whose decision there was no appeal. Intelligent Brahmos brought the same charge against himself. No freedom of discussion was allowed in the management of the Somaj. Keshub was the sole administrator of the affairs of the Society, and ruled it with the rod of an irresponsible dictator.

Kuch Behar Marriage.—In August, 1877, it began to be whispered that Keshub was inclined to accept an offer of marriage for his own daughter, not yet 14, from the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, not yet 16 years of age. In February, 1878, it was formally announced that the marriage had been arranged.

Strong protests immediately poured in from all sides. The objections were as follows: (1) The marriage was not to be celebrated according to the Brahmo Marriage Act. (2) The girl was under 14, and the Maharaja was not yet 16. (3) Idolatrous ceremonies were likely to be introduced. (4) The Maharaja was not a Brahmo, and should not marry the daughter of the Brahmo leader. (5) The Kuch Behar family was polygamous by custom, and the Maharaja might marry other wives.

In reply to these objections it was stated that the ceremony was only a formal betrothal, that the Maharaja had declared himself a theist, and that idolatrous rites would not be allowed. Keshub claimed to be guided in the matter by *adesh*, or commandment from God.

Keshub went with the bride to Kuch Behar; but, as had been foretold, Hindu rites, in spite of his protest, were introduced at the ceremony. He felt that he had been outwitted, and that many of

his dearest friends were most seriously offended. Some expected that he would retire for a time from the head of affairs. "But, no, he at once assumed a defiant attitude, declared the marriage as an effect of Divine command, and sternly rejected three letters of requisition successively sent by a party of influential members calling from a meeting." At last, however, Keshub agreed to summon a public meeting to elect a new minister. The proceedings were very disorderly, and Keshub's opponents went away with the idea that they had carried their point, although his friends thought differently. Next Sunday the protesters, from morning to night, tried to make themselves masters of the premises. Keshub and his friends, forewarned, obtained the assistance of the police, and those who sought to oust them were driven off. A number of the most respected Brahmins then seceded (May 15th, 1878), and formed a new Society, called the *Sadharan*, or Universal, Samaj. It will be described hereafter under a separate heading.

Keshub afterwards spoke of the secession as a great blessing: "The Church cleansed. That winning-fan, the Kuch Behar marriage, has done, and is doing immense good to the Brahmo Somaj by removing the chaff from its membership. Month after month, the sensual and the worldly, the prayerless and the vicious, have been purged off. And because of this purging the church has been greatly improved instead of declining."

In his prayer to the "Mother," in the *Dharmatattwa*, he thus characterizes the secessionists:

"These demons in human shape are attracting thy children unto themselves in the name of religion and prayer; and are cutting their throats afterwards, leading them astray from the paths of faith and devotion, making them worldly, sensual and luxurious, and spreading the poison of scepticism and unbelief throughout the land. Dear Mother, Mahomet, thy devoted child, never forgave the Kafirs. How he resolved to extirpate the enemies of God! O Mother, when these Kafirs offend us personally, we can pardon them, but when their attacks are levelled against thee, how can we bear them?"*

Relieved from the restraint of sensible men, Keshub was left more free to follow his own vagaries. He had some followers, willing to accept from him anything, however eccentric or ridiculous.

"**Am I an Inspired Prophet?**"—This was the subject of Keshub's anniversary address in January, 1879. It brings out forcibly his egotism and claims. He begins, "Again and again has India asked me, 'Art thou an inspired Prophet?' The question was said to have "gathered force year after year, like rising and swelling surges, from province to province till it assumed the formidable

*Quoted by Pandit Sivanath Sastri. *The New Dispensation*, &c., p. 36.

proportions of a natural problem." India denotes a few Bramhos. His answer to the question is, "Far from being a prophet, I am myself in need of prophetic guidance and help. Then what am I, if I am not a prophet? I am a singular man. I am not as ordinary men are, and I say this deliberately." He thus states his claims:

"Men have attempted to prove that I have been guided by my own imagination, reason, and intellect. Under this conviction they have from time to time protested against my proceedings. They should remember that to protest against the cause I uphold is to protest against the dispensations of God Almighty, the God of all Truth and Holiness."

"In doing this work, I am confident I have not done anything that is wrong. I have ever tried to do the Lord's will, not mine. Surely I am not to blame for anything which I may have done under Heaven's injunction. Dare you impeach Heaven's Majesty? Would you have me reject God and Providence, and listen to your dictates in preference to His inspiration? Keshub Chunder Sen cannot do it, will not do it. I must do the Lord's will. Man's creed, man's counsel, I will not follow, but will trust and serve the Lord."

Keshub claimed inspiration for his authority, he had not done anything wrong, and those who protested against his proceedings impeached Heaven's Majesty! He himself has given the true explanation in one of his prayers:

"A DELUSION.

"I have strangely got into the habit, O my God, of crediting Thee with all my ideas and plans. I, as Thy servant, ought to follow only Thy commandment, forsaking all that pleases me, and adopting whatsoever is agreeable to Thee. But instead of doing this, I strive to follow my own plans and schemes, and then I ascribe to Thee their authorship. Having come so far in the path of religion, I feel it a humiliation to believe that I am carrying out my own wishes. I would fain believe that in all my doings I only follow Thy leading, and I feel glad when people give me credit for obeying Thy will and sacrificing my own. But self-sacrifice is a hard thing, and I am carried away by my own ideas, feelings and tastes. All that I can do is to make myself and others believe that every thing I do is the Lord's doing, and that all my purposes are Divine purposes. Thus errors and vices in my life become sacred in my estimation, in the course of time, with the imaginary *imprimatur* of Thy seal! Lord, deliver me from this delusion." p. 51.

"Who is Christ?"—Keshub made great efforts to recover lost ground. What first brought him prominently before Europeans was his address in 1866, "Jesus Christ: Europe and Asia." "For thirteen years in India," says Mr. Mozoomdar, "he held his peace on this subject." In April 1879, he gave an address on, "India asks: Who is Christ?" He began by confessing, "I am not a

Christian," and then he claimed to know more about Jesus Christ than all the Christian nations of Europe and America :

"Gentlemen, go to the rising sun in the East, not to the setting sun in the West, if you wish to see Christ in the plenitude of his glory and in the fulness and freshness of his divine life. Why do I speak of Christ in the West as the setting sun? Because there we find apostolical Christianity almost gone; there we find the life of Christ formulated into lifeless dogmas, and antiquated symbols. But if you go to the true Christ in the East and his apostles, you are at once seized with inspiration. You find the truths of Christianity all fresh and resplendent. Recall to your minds, gentlemen, the true Asiatic Christ, divested of all western appendages, carrying on the work of redemption among his own people. . . . The outward Christ is evidently an Asiatic, and as such he comes home to us, and rivets our national sympathies." pp. 283, 284.

His biographer says, "For the first time he startled the whole theistic community by declaring the divinity of Christ :"

"Christ struck the key-note of his doctrine when he announced his divinity before an astonished and amazed world in these words: 'I and my Father are one.' I can answer you, my friends, that I love Christ and honor him more for the sake of these words than for anything else. For these memorable and imperishable words furnish an index to the mystery and glory of his real character. Were it not for this bold assertion of identity with the Godhead, I would not honor Christ so much as I do."

But Jesus Christ meant one thing, while Keshub tried to make Him express his own ideas. Of few things do Christians complain more than the use by their opponents of Christian phraseology, with a totally different meaning.

"Behold Christ cometh to us as an Asiatic in race, as a Hindu in faith, as a kinsman and a brother, and he demands your heart's affection. The devout Christ, like your Yogis and Rishis, lived a life of sweet devotion, and loved to dwell always in the Supreme Spirit. In accepting him you accept the spirit of a devout Yogi and a loving Bhakta,—the fulfilment of your national scriptures and prophets." p. 302.

The Motherhood of God.—At the same time Keshub sought more and more to conciliate orthodox Hindus. In 1876 he made a strange new acquaintance. There came to him one morning, in a rickety hack carriage, a disorderly-looking young man, insufficiently clad, and with manners less than insufficient. He was introduced as Ramkrishna, a great Vaishnava devotee. Above all things he cherished the conception of God as Mother. To him the female principle in the Hindu idea of Godhead, *Shakti*, the incarnation of force, popularly called Kali, was the supreme mother. The goddess Kali to whom he prayed made him recognize every woman as her incarnation. He bowed his head to the ground

before women, and even before little girls. Keshub, in his devotional conversations, often addressed the Deity in various forms of the word mother. And now the sympathy, friendship and example of the Paramhansa converted the motherhood of God into a subject of special culture with him. The greater part of the year 1879 witnessed this development. A half-crazed Vaishnava devotee largely acquired the influence over Keshub which Theodoro Parker had exerted in his younger days. Keshub probably thought that this dogma of the "Motherhood of God" would render his system more acceptable to the Shakti worshippers who predominate in Bengal.

The doctrine of the "Motherhood of God" was set forth to the followers of Durga and Kali as a grand discovery of the Samaj. It was heralded to the world by flags with the word "Mother" inscribed on them, it was paraded in the streets by processions, chanting newly-composed hymns, in which the word "Mother" had a prominent place. Not satisfied with this, Keshub, as an "inspired prophet," issued proclamations in the name of God. One of them ran thus :—

"Go and proclaim me Mother of India," said the Lord to his disciples gathered around him. "Many are ready to worship me as their father. But they know not that I am their mother too, tender, indulgent, forgiving, always ready to take back the penitent child. Ye shall go forth from city to city and from village to village, singing my mercies, and proclaiming to all men that I am India's Mother."...And may India, so convinced, come to me and say,—"Blessed be thy name, Sweet Goddess! We have heard and seen the Supreme Mother's apostles."

A later "proclamation" was as follows :—

"To all my Soldiers in India.

"My affectionate greetings to all. Accept this proclamation. Believe that it goeth forth from Heaven, in the name and with the love of your Mother, and carry out its behests like loyal soldiers and devoted children :"

"The British Government is my Government and the Brahma Samaj is my Church. My daughter, Queen Victoria, have I ordained and set over the country to rule its people. Be loyal to her, for the warrant of her appointment bears my signature.

"Tell all the people to come direct to me, without a mediator or intercessor, and accept me as their Mother. The influence of the earthly mother at home and of the Queen Mother at the head of the Government will raise the hearts of my Indian children to the Supreme Mother.

"India's Mother."

Miss Collet calls the above "an undisguised piece of blasphemy." Keshub thought that the Kuch Behar question had winnowed away the chaff and left him the wheat. The reverse would rather seem to have been the case. It seems impossible for any man of ordinary intelligence to have approved of such proceedings.

God-Vision.—The subject of his anniversary address in 1880 was "God-Vision in the Nineteenth Century." He begins, "I am here to-day to tell you the marvellous secrets of God-vision," "to unravel this sacred mystery."

After a long introduction, he says :—

"I have said enough concerning the Living God who reveals Himself unto us in all the ruling and active forces in nature. But does this Living God manifest Himself alone? God Almighty, art Thou alone? I have ventured to take the dial off this universe, and the wondrous things that lay concealed therein have been revealed. Now I ask Thee, O Spirit Supreme, is there any one else with Thee or art Thou alone, sitting in solitary glory? Methinks I see another being there. It is my Christ."

Keshub goes on to explain that it is *his* Christ who is there—not the Christ of the New Testament. He adds :—

"Not only is Christ there, but there are also Moses and Elias, and all the Jewish prophets of older times, and Paul and all the apostles. And Chaitanya, too, the blessed prophet of India, and the immortal Sakya Muni, and Confucius and Zoroaster too. All our masters are there assembled. Seated on smaller thrones they surround the throne of the Great Spirit, whose glory is in them and in whose glory they dwell."

This attempt to "take the dial off the universe," is much of a piece with his "proclamation of India's Mother."

Pilgrimages.—The idea of these was announced as follows in the *Sunday Mirror* :—

"It is proposed to promote communion with departed saints among the more advanced Bramhos. With a view to achieve this object successfully, ancient prophets and saints will be taken one after another on special occasions and made the subject of close study, meditation and prayer. Particular places will be assigned to which the devotees will resort as pilgrims. Then, for hours together, they will try to draw inspiration from particular saints. We believe a spiritual pilgrimage to Moses will be shortly undertaken. Only earnest devotees ought to join. Feb. 8, 1880.

"Those among our brethren who have made up their minds to converse through the Lord with the spirit of Moses are requested to go through the requisite preparation and discipline during the next week. On Sunday next they will be called upon to meet on the spiritual Sinai to hold communion with the prophet of the Jewish dispensation." Feb. 15, 1880.

The spiritual Sinai was the room used as an oratory in Keshub's house to which, on the 22nd of February, the pilgrims duly repaired.

"For eight days and nights the pilgrims dwelt with Moses in his heavenly mansion, and the Lord Jehovah continued to inspire them with the fire of the Mosaic dispensation, renewed and rekindled under the New

Dispensation. And then as the last day drew near the holy spirit of Moses thus spoke through the Law unto the assembled pilgrims."

Here follows a column of poetic exhortation, imitated from the Bible. The next pilgrimage was to Socrates. On March 7, the pilgrims "proceeded solemnly to the study, chanting a hymn," after which "the minister began the invocation thus:—This is not Calcutta, but Athens; not India, but Greece. The spirit of Socrates is with us." "On the following Sunday (March 14) there was a pilgrimage to Buddha, and on March 21, the pilgrims visited the abode of the ancient sages and saints of India "on the Himalaya heights," "and solemnly entered the Vedic sanctuary, 40 centuries old." On August 8 there was "a pilgrimage to Jesus," and on Sept. 19, "the Brahmo devotees were introduced by the Lord to Arabia's benefactor and prophet," and after the usual Sunday morning service, "they were led by the spirit of God into the heavenly mansions of Mahomet, where they spent some time in acquiring the deeper faith and wisdom of Islam. The Lord interpreted the prophet's true mission and brought it home to the pilgrims."*

In course of time, says his biographer, the list came down to Faraday, Carlyle, and Emerson.

THE NEW DISPENSATION.

In theology the word *dispensation* denotes a system of principles and rites enjoined, or God's manner of dealing with man in the work of redemption. As early as 1875, Keshub said, "The light of a New Dispensation is vouchsafed by Providence for India's salvation." He defined a Dispensation to mean "God's saving mercy adapting itself in a special manner to the requirements of special epochs in the world's history." "Keshub of late," says Mr. Mozoomdar, "had not been very fond of the name Brahmo Somaj." To distinguish his society, he resolved to characterize it as the "Church of the New Dispensation." It was formally proclaimed under that title in his anniversary address in January, 1881, "We Apostles of the New Dispensation." The following are some extracts:

"Asia, mother of many dispensations, has given birth to another child, and its birth-festival shall be celebrated amid great rejoicing.

Christ's Dispensation is said to be divine. I say that this Dispensation is equally divine. Assuredly it is the Lord of Heaven who has sent this new Gospel unto the world.

Its distinguishing feature is its immediacy, its denial of a mediator. While other dispensations have their special mediatorial agencies between

* Miss Collet's *Brahmo Year Book for 1880*, pp. 31, 35.

God and a sinful world, here we have no such thing, no intercessor, no mediator.

Besides immediacy there is another characteristic of the present dispensation which distinguishes it from all other religions. It is inclusive, while they are more or less exclusive. They exclude each other. But this includes all religions.

Such is the New Dispensation. It is the harmony of all Scriptures and prophets and dispensations.

• Before the flag of the New Dispensation bow ye nations and proclaim the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

A Paper headed, "What is the New Dispensation?" contains the following :

"Let us sing the glory of the New Dispensation, the latest Revelation of our heavenly Father unto us, His children and servants in India.

The New Dispensation is the harmony of all Scriptures and all saints and all sects.

It is an explanation of pantheism and polytheism.

It is Christ's Kingdom of heaven.

It is the dawn of the Satya Yug, or the Golden Age of universal peace.

It is Christ's Second Advent.

It is the philosophy of the Trinity.

It is the Third Testament.

It is the Advent of the promised Comforter."

The following illustrations are given of the "inclusiveness" of the New Dispensation:—

"I am all things to all men. To me says—

A Christian : Verily thou art a Christian, and not far from the Kingdom of heaven.

A Hindu : Thou art a genuine Hindu and the Rishis dwell in Thee.

A Buddhist : I look upon thee as one of us, and already Nirvana smiles on thy face.

A Jew : Thou art a pure Theist and a strict Jew, and Jehovah is thy God.

A Mahomedan : We hail thee as a believer in Islam, and a follower of our Prophet.

&c.

&c.

&c.

&c.

Thus they all claim me, they all honour me.

Blessed be the New Dispensation !"

The influence of the Vaishnava devotee, who gained such an ascendancy over Keshub, is apparent in the Song of the New Dispensation:

"Chanting the name of Hari the saints dance.

Dances my *Souyanga* (Chaitanya) in the midst of devotees, drunk with the nectar of emotion, with tears of love in his eyes, Oh ! how charming the sight."

Moses dances, Jesus dances, with hands uplifted, inebriated with love, and the great *rishi* Narad dances playing on the lyre.

The great *Yogi* Mahadeo dances with joy; with whom dances John with his disciples.

Nanak, Prahlad, and Nityanand all dance; and in their midst are Paul and Mahomed.

Behold! Hari, inebriated with his own love, dances in the company of His devotees and utters "Hari, Hari."

With the Lord Hari in the middle, the saints dance in a circle, throwing their arms round each other's necks.

Hearing the glad tidings of the New Dispensation, dance both the heaven and earth, and utter "Hari, Hari."*

There was a time when Keshub was unfavourable to the introduction of a single flower garland into a place of public worship. But now he entered with great enthusiasm upon an endless succession of symbols and celebrations. Some of the principal will be noticed.

The Flag Ceremony.—The Banner of the New Dispensation was unfurled at the anniversary festival in 1883. The following account of the ceremony is taken from *The Sunday Mirror*:

"Every faithful Brahmo and member of the New Dispensation was exhorted to vow his allegiance to the banner of regenerated and saving theism. Accordingly, on the evening of the annual festival held on Sunday last, the prominent object noticed by the congregation was a handsome crimson-silk banner, mounted upon a silver pole, fixed on the open space of marble pavement in front of the pulpit. After the *Sankirtan* at sunset, began the ceremony announced before, of unfurling the flag of the New Dispensation. A new form of evening worship called *Arati* was first gone through.... The worshippers held each a lighted candle in his hand, creating a brilliant and picturesque effect. Dozens of musical instruments, from the English bugle and gong to the traditional conch shell, were loudly and simultaneously performed upon. The varied and deafening peals issuing from these instruments, combined with the voices of scores of men who stood up and went round in a circle with the burning tapers in their hands, heartily chanting the *Arati* hymn, produced upon the immense crowd present, an effect which must be felt to be understood."†

Keshub thus proclaimed it:

"Behold the flag of the 'New Dispensation!' The silken flag is crimson with the blood of martyrs. It is the flag of the Great King of Heaven and Earth, the One Supreme Lord. At the foot of the holy standard are the Scriptures of the Hindus, Christians, Mahomedans, and Buddhists, the sacred repositories of the wisdom of ages, and the inspiration of saints, our light and our guide. Glory unto God in the highest! Honor to all prophets and saints in heaven, and to all Scriptures on earth! Unto the New Dispensation Victory!"

* *Sunday Mirror*, March 7, 1880

† Quoted by Pandit Sivanath Sastri, *The New Dispensation*, pp. 54, 55.

The Hom Ceremony.—This is essentially a Hindu observance. The Hindus worship fire as God on such occasions, but Keshub worshipped God in the fire. A large iron pan was placed in front of the pulpit; an earthen vessel, containing ghee, bundles of sticks and piles of firewood were gathered together in one place, and there was a large metal spoon. A circle of fragrant flowers and evergreens surrounded the whole. Keshub lighted the fuel and poured over it the ghee, producing a brisk fire, which he addressed thus:

“O Thou blazing Agni (fire) great, great art thou, great among the forces of creation. We shall honor thee and magnify thee because of thy greatness and majesty. Thou art not God. We do not adore thee. But in thee dwells the Lord, the Eternal Inextinguishable Flame, the Light of the Universe, the imminent Fire, Fire of fire whom fire doth reveal and glorify. O thou brilliant Agni, in thee we behold our Resplendent Lord.”

Then followed a prayer to God, after which the minister cast the six pieces of fuel into the burning fire, the congregation exclaiming together, ‘Victory to God, Victory to God, Victory to God!’*

With reference to the above, Sivanath Sastri justly says:

“It is a common remark with intelligent idolaters, that in bowing before the idol they do not worship it, but they worship God who as an Omnipresent Being resides in it. Does not Mr. Sen follow the same argument when he offers his thanksgivings to fire or water and says, ‘Thou art not God, but in thee dwells the Lord?’ Is not such practice half-way to idolatry?”†

Baptismal Ceremony.—This was thus celebrated:

“The devotees formed a procession and solemnly moved on, singing a hymn with the accompaniment of the mridanga, the conch shell and cymbals, till they reached the bathing ghat of the tank attached to the house of the minister. The place had been decorated with flowers and evergreens, and the flag of the New Dispensation was waving in the breeze. The devotees took their seats upon the steps of the ghat; the minister sat upon a piece of tiger’s skin stretched upon a wooden pulpit erected for the occasion. The minister said, ‘Verily, verily, here was the Lord Jesus baptised 1800 years ago. Behold the holy waters wherein was the Son of God immersed. See ye here the blessed Jesus and by his side John the Baptist administering the rite of Baptism. Nay, behold in the sky above the descent of the Holy Ghost. All three are here present, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, spiritually united. Pilgrim-brothers, mark their union to-day on this hollowed spot.’”

An imitation of the Lord’s Supper will not be described.

Ordination of Apostles.—Some men were set apart as apostles the same year. Their feet were washed and wiped, after which each

* Quoted by Pandit Sivanath Sastri from *The New Dispensation*.

† *The New Dispensation*, &c., p. 6.

was presented with a silver medal, followed by a stick and a scrip. Dressed as a mendicant, with head shaved, Keshub, the servant of the apostles, humbly received these and asked for alms. Thereupon rice and vegetables were put into the small bag which he held in his hand. For 30 days Keshub was pledged to live exclusively upon alms, in the shape of rice, dal, salt, oil, vegetables, fruit, &c., with which kind friends might favor him.

Compromise with Idolatry.—Keshub's fervid denunciation of idolatry at the outset of his career as a reformer has been quoted at page 27. Very different is the tone of the following extract from his organ, the *Sunday Mirror* :

THE PHILOSOPHY OF IDOL WORSHIP.

"Hindu idolatry is not to be altogether overlooked or rejected. As we explained some time ago, it represents millions of broken fragments of God. Collect them together, and you get the indivisible Divinity. When the Hindus lost sight of their great God, they contented themselves with retaining particular aspects of Him, and representing them in human shapes or images. Their idolatry is nothing but the worship of a Divine attribute materialized. If the material shape is given up, what remains is a beautiful allegory or picture of Heaven's dispensations. The Theist rejects the image, but he cannot dispense with the spirit of which that image is the form. The revival of the spirit, the destruction of the form, is the work of the New Dispensation. Cheer up, then, O Hindus, for the long lost Father from whom ye have for centuries strayed away, is coming back to you. The road is clear enough; it lies through your numerous Puranas and Epics. Never were we so struck with the divinity of the eclectic method as when we explored the gloomy regions of mythological India. The sermons now delivered in the Brahma Mandir are solely occupied with the precious truths discovered therein, and our own occupation is merely to gather the jewels as we go on. We have found out that every idol worshipped by the Hindu represents an attribute of God, and that each attribute is called by a particular name. The believer in the New Dispensation is required to worship God as the possessor of all those attributes, represented by the Hindu as innumerable or 330 millions. To believe in an undivided deity without reference to those aspects of His nature, is to believe in an abstract God, and it would lead us to practical rationalism and infidelity. Nor can we worship the same God with the same attributes investing Him. That would make our worship dull, lifeless, and insipid. Hence we should contemplate Him with His numerous attributes. We shall name one attribute Saraswati, another Lakshmi, another Mahadeva, another Jagatdhatri, &c., and worship God each day under a new name, that is to say, in a new aspect. We do not worship Him as a *Yogi* for ever, or as Father, or as Mother, or as Lakshmi, or as Saraswati. But now the one and then the other, and so on, beholding our Hari in new garb, and in new loveli-

ness for ever. How bewitching the prospect, how grand the picture!"
Aug. 1, 1880.*

The name Hari was ostentatiously used at the anniversary services, leading many Hindus to suppose that Vishnu was meant. From the Vaishnava cult, Keshub probably gathered his great faith in the efficacy of the utterance of the Divine Name. Copying the Hindu rosary, he composed what he called, "The Garland of a hundred and eight Names," which was introduced into the daily form of worship of the members of the New Dispensation.

New Dance.—The Vaishnavas have a dance in imitation of Krishna dancing with the milkmaids. Keshub, besides the dancing in song, had it in reality in his Mandir, or church. It is thus described :

"The New Dance on the occasion of our late holy festival was a success. The number of dancers doubled and trebled in no time, and exceeded all calculations, and the enthusiasm was so great that the limited space in front of the Vedi (pulpit) where the dance took place, soon became hot as a furnace. Yet the shout and the gallop, and the joyous whirl round and round went on, and it was quite a blessed sight to see so many boys and youths and men of maturer years all dancing around their invisible Mother in the centre. The three 'circles' wore *chudders* of different colours, yellow, white, and brown, and as they moved, one within another with hand upraised, keeping time according to the deep sweet sound of the sacred mridanga, the sight was both cheering and inspiring. The limited accommodation proved a source of inconvenience, and everybody felt that the New Dance required a much larger area where hundreds might join and dance merrily. There was the flag of the New Dispensation, and the usual accompaniment of native dance, the jingling *napur* (auklet) was not wanting on the occasion. Bhai Kunja Bihari led the dance."†

Jugglery.—Keshub, when young, was fond of acting as a juggler. In the year before his death he thus sought to explain "The Magic of the New Dispensation" :—

"The Juggler who appeared, on Tuesday last, in the last scene of the New Dispensation Drama, explained the deeper principles of the New Faith as they had never been explained before. There was the magician waving his magic wand, using his magical apparatus, and performing wonderful conjuring tricks amid enthusiastic cheers. He knelt before a plantain tree and humbly entreated it to reveal the autograph of its Lord and Master. And then he cut off a large leaf with a knife, and lo! the name of Hari was found inscribed thereon. The trunk of the tree then yielded, under the Juggler's bidding, the nectar of God's love, through a small pipe he attached to it, first as rose-water and then as *sherbet*. The symbols of the various religions were then exhibited, such as the

* Quoted by Miss Collet, *Brahmo Year Book* for 1880, pp. 33, 34.

† *The New Dispensation*, Sept. 10, 1882. Quoted by Miss Collet.

Christian's Cross, the Mahometan's Crescent, the Vedic *Om*, the Saiva's Trident, and the Vaishnava's *Khunti*. These stand aloof from each other in decided antagonism and never coalesce. By dexterous shuffling these symbols were in an instant made into one."*

Max Müller has given the most charitable explanation of these proceedings: "His utterances of late have shown signs, I am sorry to say, of an over-wrought brain and an over-sensitive heart. He sometimes seem to me on the verge of the very madness of faith."†

Last Annual Addresses.—"That Marvellous Mystery—the Trinity," was delivered in 1882. The following extracts will give some idea of its contents:

"It is not the dead bones of a dead doctrine, gathered from dead books, nor the antiquated and lifeless Trinity, fossilized in Western theology,—a theological cant, a dark enigma—that I am going to present to you; but the living Trinity, the infant soul has seen in the light of faith."

"While surrounding nations think and surmise, India, blessed India, sees and hears. Let India then speak, and let the world for moment listen. Europe! be silent, while an humble Asiatic discourses upon the doctrine of the Trinity. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the Creator, the Exemplar, and the Sanctifier; *Sat, Chit, Ananda*, 'Truth, Intelligence, and Joy.' You have here three conditions, three manifestations of Divinity."

Keshub's explanation of the "marvellous mystery" is akin to the doctrine of Sabellius, a Unitarian who lived 1,500 years ago, and which has ever since been rejected by the Christian Church.

Asia's Message to Europe, delivered in 1883, was Keshub's final public address. The following are a few extracts:

"Europe, I charge thee to be unsectarian. Asia's first message to Western nations is—Put the sword of sectarianism adroitly into the sheath.

* "In science there cannot be sects or divisions, schisms or enmities. Is there one astronomy for the East and another for the West? Is there an Asiatic optics as distinguished from European optics? Science is one; it is one yesterday, to-day, and for ever; the same in the East and the West. There can be but one science; it recognises neither caste nor colour nor nationality. It is God's science, the eternal verity of things. If God is one, His Church must be one.

"All India must believe that Christ is the Son of God. Nay, more than this, I will make myself bold to prophesy, all India will one day acknowledge Jesus Christ as the atonement, the universal atonement for all mankind."

"He has given his precious blood for all of us, whether we believe it or not. Whether we be Hindus or Mahometans, disciples or even enemies of Christ, he has shed his atoning blood for each one of us.

* *The New Dispensation*, 1st April, 1883. Quoted by Miss Collet.

† *Biographical Essays*, p. 92.

We have only to apply it to ourselves. He has done his work, let us do ours. Let us all believe that he has died for you and me and the atonement on our side is completed.

"Fellow countrymen, be ye reconciled through him.

"Christ's simple Gospel, the simplest indeed of all Gospels, is summed up in two words, *Bathe and Eat*. Baptism and Eucharist represent and symbolise the two grand and essential principles of his creed."

New Samhita.—Keshub had been suffering for some time from diabetes. In April, 1883, he was recommended to go to Simla, but the change did no good. He felt that his life was ebbing away, so he wished to leave behind him a kind of guide for the religious life of the Bramhos. As soon as he rallied from his first attack of illness at Simla, he began the "New Samhita (Code) or the Sacred Laws of the Aryans of the New Dispensation." It appeared by instalments in his *New Dispensation* paper.

It begins with an invocation, concluding as follows:

"6. Speak then unto us, O Thou Holy God of India, Thou God of our ancestors, and declare Thy New Samhita unto the people of the New Church."

Then follow rules about the House and the Householder. Under the second head one of the directions is as follows:—

"9. Having read the morning papers and transacted such business as is of great urgency, the householder shall take his daily bath and ablutions in a reverent spirit."

Worship in the sanctuary comes next, followed by regulations about Daily Meals, Business, &c. The different ceremonies are described, from the Birth ceremony to the Shradda ceremony after death. The concluding portion treats of Vows.

The work was dictated to his son in the early morning. For the rest of the day he could not do any head work, but occupied himself chiefly in making little articles of carpentry, very neatly executed.

Before the Code was published, Keshub wrote:—

"The New Samhita will be shortly ready, and a day ought to be appointed for its formal promulgation among our people,—a day that will close the epoch of anarchy, self-will, and lawlessness, and usher in the kingdom of law, and discipline and harmony."

How far these hopes were realised will appear hereafter.

During the latter part of his stay on the Himalayas, Keshub also wrote a series of essays, under the title of "Yoga, Subjective and Objective." Yoga is defined as "communion with God." It is realized in three ways; first in nature, secondly in the soul, and thirdly in history.

LAST DAYS.

The New Sanctuary.—In the middle of September, 1883, Keshub left Simla for Calcutta. One of the best rooms in his residence had been given up for domestic worship. He wished to have a separate building for the purpose. One day in November as he was walking feebly in the garden, he ordered some workmen to be called, and directed them to demolish one side of the extensive brick enclosures of Lily Cottage. Having thus obtained a supply of bricks and other materials, he set about the erection of the new Devalaya or Sanctuary.

As the cold weather set in, he grew worse and worse. Many doctors were called in—European, Hindu, and Muhammadan; but all in vain. A few weeks before his end he directed his cousin, Joy Krishna Sen, M. A., to write a complete report of the Brahmo Samaj of India.

In the last week of December, Keshub suffered a severe relapse. The consecration ceremony of the new Sanctuary was to take place on the 1st January, 1884. He insisted on being taken downstairs to preside on the occasion. He was carried and seated on the new marble pulpit and in an almost inaudible voice cried *Namah Sachidananda Haré*, ‘Salutation to the God of truth, wisdom, and joy.’ He then offered a prayer to the Divine Mother:—

“I have come, O Mother, into thy sanctuary. This day in Thy holy presence, and in the presence of Thy devotees here as well as in heaven, O thou Spirit Mother, this new Devalaya is consecrated. This place where I worship my Mother is my Brindaban, my Kashi, my Mecca, my Jerusalem. I am happy amidst the agonies of my disease in the presence of my Mother and may this happiness be yours also.”

Death.—The above was Keshub’s last recorded prayer, his last appearance before his adherents. The effort aggravated the disease. The pains in his loins became intolerable. At other times he had always remained silent in the torment of physical pain. Now his agonised cries of *Baba* (father) and *Ma* (mother) resounded day and night through the house and neighbourhood. The doctors gave him powerful narcotics which produced prolonged intervals of stupor, but as soon as he awoke the agony returned with increased violence. He became restless, ceaselessly turning from side to side, and piteously groaning. For the last two or three days, excepting the occasional feeble utterances of pain, he was still and outwardly insensible, yet when some of his favourite hymns were sung he seemed to listen with attention. When his end drew near, the frantic mother and wife, daughters and sons filled the house with lamentations which no one had the heart to control. And amidst each

lull of this many-voiced wretchedness, Keshub's faint dying moans were heard. They still shaped inarticulately the words, 'Father!' 'Mother.' On the morning of the 8th January, 1884, he breathed his last. His wife clung to the lifeless feet, bedewed them with tears and cried out, "I got a divine being for my husband." Keshub's mother said, "Child, in thy blessed image I see no man. It is the beauty of Mahadeva!"

Cremation.—The disciples carefully washed and robed the departed master. Wreathed with garlands of fragrant flowers, dressed in silks of the purest white, the body was laid out in state in the New Sanctuary. In the afternoon the funeral procession was made up, attended by crowds. When the body was laid on the pyre, the officiating priest chanted the usual Sanskrit verse and Keshub's eldest son applied a torch to the fuel. As the body began to burn the mourners with one voice cried out, "Glory be unto the Redeemer who is Truth, Wisdom and Joy." The ashes were collected and brought in an urn to Lily Cottage. Fifteen days afterwards the *Shradh* ceremony was performed, and the ashes were deposited in the open space in front of the New Sanctuary. The spot is now marked by an obelisk of white marble, with the symbolic device of the New Dispensation, made up of the cross, crescent, trident, and Vedic Omkar.

THE SAMAJ AFTER KESHUB'S DEATH.

In imitation of Jesus Christ, Keshub ordained apostles of the New Dispensation who were to manage the affairs of the Church after his decease. For some time before his death, Keshub's life was embittered by the dissensions among his followers. He says in the *New Dispensation* :

"The angry quarrels of those around me have pierced my heart and made it bleed profusely, and the multitudinous instances of revenge which I daily see before me torment my very bones. When will all this strife and contention in Thy household cease? Forgiveness these people will not learn; it is to them an abomination. Nay, they proudly rejoice in oppressing and tormenting and reviling their brothers for the least provocation that cometh from them, in returning evil for evil, and in persecuting their opponents." July 29th, 1882.

P. C. Mozoomdar returned from a tour round the world shortly after Keshub's death. The "Apostolic Durbar," composed of the Apostles and Missionaries, in all 21 members, at their first meeting passed the following resolution;

"We believe that our Minister existed and shall ever exist in the bosom of God as the Minister of the New Dispensation. The relation we bear to him is not transient but everlasting. To preserve, demonstrate,

and declare to the world the permanent relation of the Minister of the New Dispensation, the President's seat in the Durbar and his pulpit in the Sanctuary and Tabernacle shall remain vacant."*

One of the first points of dispute was the claim of Mr. Mozoomdar, as nominal leader of the New Dispensation, to occupy the pulpit. For four years this controversy has continued. At the whole day festival in 1888, Mr. Mozoomdar was asked to give a short address to the congregation. The *Epiphany* says:

"He ventured to seat himself upon the centre of the Vedi, in the very spot consecrated by the touch of the Minister! A violent attempt was made to drag the sacrilegious intruder from his place, but without effect. With as much dignity as the circumstances permitted, Mr. Mozoomdar sat still and prayed at his enemies until something like order was restored, when he rose from his place and suggestively proceeded to 'Peace Cottage' and there conducted Divine Service." Jan. 28, 1888.

The Vedic question was still unsettled in June, 1888. One proposal, which finds favour with *The Liberal*, is to erect "seats for the officiating ministers on each side of the seat which used to be occupied by our Minister." June 10th.

The ownership of the Mandir was another bone of contention. It was said that some of the members of Keshub's family wished to regard it as private property, but though the documents are in the Minister's name, there is no doubt that it was considered to belong to the public. After a long dispute, it was handed over to trustees in November, 1886.

Church government was a third cause of dissension. Mr. Mozoomdar contended for the rights of the Samaj as a whole in opposition to the rule of the Apostolic Durbar. In his anniversary address in 1888, he says:

"Every sect, every community, every church has its organization. We in the Brahma Somaj have also tried to organize our movement, though, I am sorry to say, with no conspicuous success. The present condition of anarchy in our section of the Brahma Somaj at all events, proves that my remark is well founded. The disgraceful party spirit, ill-feeling, the quarrels, and scandals, the utter absence of authority in all affairs of importance, show unmistakably that we stand in sad necessity of some regular constitution to guide ourselves. What is it to be? is it to be unbridled democracy, the reckless despotism of one individual, or the irresponsible power of a prelacy? All these principles have at different times clamoured for mastery in the Brahma Somaj."†

On the 7th April, Mr. Mozoomdar, in an address at the Adi Brahma Somaj, proposed a Brahma Union, mainly on the ground of a common belief in the unity of God.

* *Liberal and New Dispensation*, March 2, 1884.

† *The Interpreter*, April 1, 1888.

The scheme is not favourably regarded by the Apostolic Durbar. It virtually amounts to the formation of a new society, although this is disclaimed by Mr. Mozoomdar.

"Return to Vedanta."—The *Liberal and New Dispensation* has an article with the above heading. It begins and ends as follow :

"We need not say much upon our return to Vedanta. This is a known fact. The foundation of Brahmoism was laid upon Upanishads. Although we have advanced, the foundation remains as it was. The Vedas ended with the knowledge of Brahma. How did they end we need not mention here. In us and around us, we must see One Pervading Spirit with our mental eye; this is what Vedanta inculcates, and this is what the Vedas tend to ... It was left for the present Dispensation to bring out all the elements that worked in Vedantic period, to give a connective link to the whole. Our return to Vedanta has effected this, and we are so much the more grateful to our Lord." June 7th, 1885.

English Publications.—The Brahmo Tract Society, Office, 78 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, publishes the "Lectures, Sermons, Essays and Miscellaneous Writings of Keshub Chunder Sen, both in English and Bengali."

The leading English newspapers are the following :

The Liberal and New Dispensation. This may be regarded as the organ of the Society. The first part contains general articles and news; the second refers specially to the New Dispensation, and generally gives some extracts from "the Minister's Prayers," &c. Post-free, Rs. 10 a year.

The Interpreter, edited by Mr. Mozoomdar, was commenced as a monthly in 1885. It now appears weekly. Post-free, Rs. 3 a year.

Both the foregoing are issued in Calcutta. There are also one or two mofussil papers.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN'S CHARACTER AND WORK.

If this were not the latter half of the nineteenth century, according to the ordinary course of things in India, Keshub would in time be deified. His followers, as it is, talk of his death as his "ascension," in imitation of that of the Lord Jesus Christ; they have striven to prevent his pulpit from being ever occupied by another. The full, and apparently faithful, biography by his relative and chief fellow-labourer, P. C. Mozoomdar, will probably arrest any such movement. With some excellent traits of character, it is very evident that Keshub had his share of human frailties. The religious opinions generally held by the Bramhos will hereafter be examined in detail: at present Keshub's personal disposition, peculiarities, and work will alone be noticed.

Fair Intellectual Powers.—Though Keshub does not rank with the master-minds of the world, the great original thinkers by whom it has been influenced, he stands high among his contemporary countrymen.

Oratorical Ability.—Mr. Bose says, "As an orator he was certainly without a rival in his own country." He spoke in English with such accuracy and easy flow of language, that the Bengalis were naturally proud of him; he excited admiration even in England. But though his addresses contain some striking thoughts and eloquent passages, they are largely characterised by mere verbiage and vague declamation. This especially applies to his later efforts. As Mr. Bose remarks, "They were, moreover, marred by an egotism which, in spite of his oft-repeated confessions of sin and unworthiness, could not but be extremely repulsive."

A Strong Will.—When he made up his mind, he began at once to carry out his intentions, and no opposition would divert him.

Enthusiasm.—He possessed in a large degree this quality so essential in a reformer.

High Moral Character.—For this he was distinguished from his early years, and it marked him to the close of his career.

Religiousness.—While this is characteristic of orthodox Hindus, the very opposite is the case with the so-called educated classes. They may be said, as a rule, to be "of the earth, earthy." To enjoy the world is their sole aim in life. Keshub, on the contrary, was noted from his deep spirituality of mind.

WEAK POINTS.—There is a Latin proverb, "Let nothing but what is good be said of the dead." Though this rule holds in ordinary cases, when a man claims to be guided by *adesh*, or divine command, and to be the founder of a New Dispensation of religion which is to embrace the whole world, duty requires that his character and conduct should be carefully scanned: have Keshub's been such as to justify his pretensions? While his good qualities are cheerfully acknowledged, the interests at stake demand that any of an opposite description should be fully stated. The question is, can he be taken as a safe spiritual guide?

Love of Pre-eminence.—This was one of the most conspicuous elements of his character. It was manifested in childhood with regard to games; it was retained all through life.

Self-Confidence.—This was another prominent feature. If he and the world differed, the world was wrong. A man may be entitled to hold an opinion strongly after careful investigation, but Keshub trusted chiefly to his own judgment and impulses. In his address, "Am I an Inspired Prophet?" he says, "How can he who scarcely reads two books in 365 days be reckoned a wise or a learned man?" He said in the same address: "You speak of history, I hate dead history. I abhor those dark places where dead men's bones are

gathered." If he had read history, he would probably not have ventured to proclaim as a great discovery his explanation of the Trinity which had been condemned by the Christian Church 15 centuries before he was born.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri remarks with reference to the above : "It is a moral rule, fit to be written in gold, that whoever wilfully cuts himself off from the thought of mankind, him God dooms to darkness and confusion."

A Chameleon-like Disposition.—The chameleon is said to change its hue according to the colour of the objects by which it is surrounded. Keshub claimed that all his knowledge was derived from "My Divinity, the Theist's Divinity, and not from books." His writings plainly show that at the outset of his career his creed was largely borrowed from Theodore Parker. Latterly he gave up reading ; the most sensible members of the Society, who had hitherto restrained his vagaries, had seceded ; he fell greatly under Vaishnava influence, and became more and more a Hindu.

Extravagant Claims.—Keshub made his own self his little world. He supposed the whole of India to be absorbed by the inquiry, "Art thou an inspired prophet?"

Keshub claimed to be commissioned by God to preach certain doctrines, to be guided in every duty of life by *adesh*. He claimed exemption in his own case from the outward authority of his own laws. "To protest," he said, "against the cause I uphold, is to protest against the dispensation of God Almighty, the God of all Truth and Holiness." Mr. Mozoomdar says, "In every quarrel he had with anybody, he absolutely believed God was on his side, his enemies were absolutely wrong."

In a professed dialogue between God and the New Dispensationists, he says in the name of God ; "Leaders of congregations are ordained by Me. Therefore treat your minister as one who hath commission from Heaven. His words ye must hear with faith and cherish with reverence."

Keshub issued proclamations in the name of God. "The New Dispensation I say stands on the same level with the Jewish Dispensation, the Christian Dispensation, and the Vaishnava Dispensation through Chaitanya." Nay, he claims for it a higher place. The *Statesman* says :

"Whereas each religion of the world is a precious jewel, Brahmoism we learn is a string of jewels. The meaning of all this is tolerably clear. All prophets hitherto have had but a single idea. Christ, Mahomed, Buddha, are all one-ideal men. They and their ideas, are all summed up in Babu Keshub Chunder Sen and Brahmoism."*

*Quoted by Pandit Sivanath Sastri. *The New Dispensation*, p. 49.

Acceptance of Self-Contradictions.—Sir Monier Williams says that “Hinduism bristles on all sides with contradictions.” Inability to recognise them is said to be one feature of the Indian mind. Keshub was not exempt from this failing. His creed was a sort of phantasmagoria of incoherent opinions.

The *Sunday Mirror* contains the following :—

“Our position is not that truths are to be found in all religions, but that all the established religions of the world are true. There is a great deal of difference between the two assertions.

“The glorious Mission of the New Dispensation is to harmonise religions and revelations, to establish the truth of every particular dispensation and upon the basis of their particulars to establish the largest and broadest induction of a general and glorious proposition.” Oct. 23, 1881.

Mr. Bose remarks on the above :

“Mr. Sen not merely believed in the existence of sporadic elements of truth in one and all the religions of the world, and in the possibility of their being brought into one focus, and thus made to constitute one comprehensive scheme of faith and practice ; but he maintained that they were *all* true, and that all that was needed to effect their unification was the discovery of what he was pleased to call a string of union. Every religion, from fetichism up to pure monotheism, represents, according to his belief, a dispensation of God ; and consequently a union of all the conflicting systems of belief is not merely a possibility, but sure to be a realized certainty under the banner of the New Dispensation. An idea more wild could scarcely be entertained by a human mind, and the bare fact that he allowed it to be the master-passion of his soul is a proof of an ill-regulated and ill-balanced intellect.”*

The New Dispensation professes to be the harmony of all Scriptures, and all saints, and all sects. “It is the harmony of the Veda and the Purana, of the Old Testament and the New Testament.”

Mr. Bose says, Keshub’s “one Church represents not only a heterogeneous nondescript composed of conflicting beliefs, but an agglomeration of the varied symbols of worship and sacraments of religion associated with the varied symbols of faith prevalent in the world.”

Keshub attempted to reconcile the irreconcilable. “Immediacy” is the distinguishing feature of the New Dispensation, while mediation is the cardinal doctrine of Christianity. Union between the two is impossible.

Misuse of Christian Terms.—Mr. Bose says :

“Brahmoism has its Unity in Trinity, its Incarnation, its Atonement, its Redemption, its Regeneration, its Gospel, its Revelation, its Law and the Prophets, its Church and Sacraments. But each of these important terms expresses in Brahmo Theology a sense very different from, if not contradictory to, what is attached to it in the creed of the Christian. Its

* *Brahmoism*, pp. 146, 147.

Trinity, for instance, is not the Triune Jehovah of the Christians, but one God appearing in a Trinity of manifestations, in nature, history, and the human soul. Its Incarnation is not Emmanuel God with us, but the typical Great Man with a great deal more of divinity in him than falls to the lot of ordinary mortals."

Mr. Bose justly adds that the Brahmos, "have been imitators from beginning to end, have copied the terms and the meanings attached to them by infidel writers, without study, thought, or discrimination."

Henry Rogers condemned the practice in the *Eclipse of Faith* before Keshub was heard of. He says :

"You tell me one moment that you do not believe in historical Christianity at all, either its miracles or its dogmas,—these are fables; but in the next—why no old puritan could garnish his discourse with a more edifying use of the language of Scripture.

"Do not, unless you would have the world think you a hypocrite, willing to cajole it with the idea that you are a believer in the New Testament, while you in fact reject it—do not affect this very unctuous way of talking. Do not, I beseech you, adopt the phraseology of men who, according to your view, must have been either the most miserable fanatics or the most abominable impostors; for if they believed all that system of miracle and doctrine they professed and this were not true, they were certainly the first; and if they did not believe it, they were as certainly the second," pp. 36, 37.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri expresses the following view :—

"It is our strong and mature conviction, that the first thing necessary for the successful propagation of a new faith is a position of honest and manly independence. There is such a thing as honesty of expression which religious teachers should never forget. To make rather free use of the forms and phraseology of others, in a novel and arbitrary sense of our own, is to inflict upon them a grievous injustice, and to envelope our real ideas and doctrines in a cloud of doubt and suspicion, which cannot but be injurious to the cause of propagation."*

Mock Asceticism.—As Mr. Bose remarks, Keshub did not live as an ascetic. He had a large and well-furnished house, with a wife and children, numerous relations and friends and servants. He appeared neatly and respectably dressed, travelled first class, attended viceregal receptions, introduced his daughters by marriage into the wealthiest families, and led, on the whole, the life of a metropolitan magnate rather than that of a religious recluse. At times, however, as has been described, he burlesqued a few of the least painful austerities practised by Yogis.

* *The New Dispensation*, &c., p. 28.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri has the following remarks on this subject :

"Where is true piety to be sought? Certainly not in shaving the head in a particular fashion; in besmearing the body with ashes, in wearing the mendicant's garments, in bearing a stick or scrip, in making a mockery of poverty by begging alms in one's own house, and of his family and friends; or in cooking one's own food, but in strict and unflinching fidelity to truth, in warm and active love of mankind, in burning and enthusiastic love of justice, in natural and instinctive dread of wrong, in humble and unostentatious practice of virtue, in modest forgetfulness of self, in earnest and soul-pervading love of God, and above all in faithful obedience to His will. Briefly stated, true piety consists in loving God and doing His will, everything else besides being regarded as a matter of perfect indifference to it. Neither *sensualism* nor *asceticism* can be its aim or object. Yet when called upon by duty and the will of the Father, the truly pious man cheerfully submits to greater privations and sufferings than the best of ascetics or self-tormentors ever did.

"Besides, external asceticism, when practised as a part of spiritual exercise, just fails to attain the object it has in view. Instead of humiliating the soul, it fills with a false self-satisfaction and spiritual pride, diverts the eyes of the spirit from the internal to the external, and sets up false standards of spiritual and moral excellence;—thereby leading its votaries to neglect the principles of real morality."*

Keshub's Earlier and Later Years.—The first time the compiler heard Keshub speak was when he gave a clear, fervid address on "Religious and Social Reformation" in the Bombay Town Hall in 1868. The last address he heard was, "Am I an Inspired Prophet?" delivered in the Calcutta Town Hall in 1879. The second was in striking contrast to the former—hazy and leaving the impression that the answer was, "No, Yes."

Pandit Sivanath Sastri has the following remarks on the two great errors into which Hindus are apt to fall :—

"History will tell the intelligent reader that all the Hindu religious sects, without exception, have always tended to two great errors: First to *mysticism*, as far as the subjective side of religion was concerned; secondly, to *formalism*, as regards the objective side of it. Their mistaken conceptions of piety have produced the most baneful results. In the first place they have taught the people to regard religion as something apart from life, thereby causing a fatal separation between religion and individual moral conduct; secondly, they have diverted the attention of all real aspirants after piety, from the fields of reform and active philanthropy, to the observance of lifeless forms; thirdly, they have left the relations of life without the sanctifying influence of religious faith."

* *The New Dispensation*, &c. pp. 65, 66.

At first Keshub sought to correct these tendencies: latterly he gave way to them:

"As a matter of fact, the Brahma Samaj is almost entirely recruited from the ranks of Hindus, the devoutly disposed amongst whom, as a general rule, are deeply imbued with these mystic and ritualistic notions of piety. Consequently, no sooner did Mr. Sen assume the position of a leader, than he found himself daily surrounded by a class of men whose opinions and sentiments were deeply saturated with these conceptions of piety. Mr. Sen not having a very definite and clear conviction of his own on the subject, could not but be silently influenced by their opinions. He was naturally and unconsciously led to conform to their ideas and answer their expectations. The consequence was, that he rose in the estimation of this class as a saint and devotee, but he departed further and further every year from his original lines. The effect of this relapse into the national errors, on the Church as a whole, has been quite chilling and deadening, as regards every form of good work or reform. Read the internal history of the more than 140 Churches scattered all over India, and you observe an almost total blank with respect to acts of public usefulness or philanthropy. The few institutions of that nature we meet with in the Mofussil Samajes are, as a general rule, feebly kept up and receive but secondary attention. While near at home, the course of Mr. Sen's movement has been characterised by comparative paralysis of every form of social or philanthropic work, but by singularly marked and exuberant growth of every mystic conception or ritualistic practice. Witness the fate the 'Indian Reform Association,' which laid its hands on much really useful work, has met with; but mark the unusual development, during later years, of such things as prolonging a prayer meeting over five hours, singing and dancing with ringing anklets at the feet, making use of colored garments like mendicants, shaving in the fashion of Hindu anchorites, making imaginary pilgrimages to the spirits of prophets, and practising outward asceticism as great acts of virtue."*

The above were not the only features of declension. For some years Keshub was the determined enemy of idolatry. In the latter part of his life, he took up in his Bengali sermons Hindu gods and goddesses by name, and "explained the conceptions that underlay each." "This," says his biographer, "made him exceedingly popular with large sections of the Hindu community, but it led also to the accusation that the leader of the Brahma Samaj was dallying with popular superstition, and showing signs that he would soon merge into the gulf of the great idolatry around." "These reformed expositions have been utilised by orthodox champions to bring about a reaction on behalf of popular idolatry."†

Beneficial Results of Keshub's Labours.—Only a few can be briefly noticed:

* *The New Dispensation*, &c. pp. 60-62.

† *Life of Keshub Chunder Sen*, pp. 376, 378

Marriage Reform.—Keshub collected valuable information regarding the evils of early marriage. The Marriage Bill, passed through his efforts, is a great step in the right direction.

Promotion of Education.—The Albert and Victoria Colleges, for male and female students, are memorials of his zeal in this respect.

Impulse to Literature.—One thing that struck him in England was the large circulation of penny and halfpenny papers. As already mentioned, on his return to India, he started a weekly paper ($\frac{3}{4}$ d.) paper. *The Indian Mirror*, still the only daily native paper in India, originated with him. His numerous publications, both in English and Bengali, are other contributions to the same cause.

Moral Reforms.—Writing in 1863, Bishop Cotton says in his charge: "In the early part of this year a Government school-master electrified the Bethune Society by a lecture, giving a moral sketch of 'Young Bengal,' which recalled the picture of Young Athens drawn by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*, and complaining that while old-fashioned restraints are utterly set at naught, none of a more binding character are substituted for them, so that the boasted liberty of Bengali civilization is in danger of sinking into unprincipled license."

A pamphlet by Wooma Charn Dass was published under the title, "Drunkenness as a Phase of our Progress." What is it that young Hindus pride themselves in copying from the English? "Brandy and Buggy."

Keshub tried to stem this torrent of evil.

Increased Attention to Religion.—In the early period of English education in Bengal, there were some men, thorough sceptics, who exercised a most pernicious influence over youth. Mr. Mozoomdar says, "Infidelity, indifference to religion, and point-blank atheism were unblushingly professed." Keshub sought to remedy this state of things among all with whom he came in contact. He was deeply religious himself, and some caught his spirit.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri's Testimony.—Though compelled to sever connection with Keshub, Pandit Sivanath Sastri says of him, "Whose many sterling qualities of character we admire,—whose preachings and example have given an impetus to so many minds,—many of whose utterances have now and then actually communicated many a precious moral and spiritual truth,—to whom the present writer personally owes a debt of love and gratitude."*

THE SADHARAN BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The origin of this Society will best be described in the words of Pandit Sivanath Sastri, M. A., its leading Missionary.

* *The New Dispensation*, &c. p. 68.

During the period intervening between the passing of the Marriage Act in 1872 and the year 1878, the year of the second schism, internal dissensions of a serious character began to manifest themselves within Mr. Sen's church. Apart from the doctrine of 'Great Men,' two other doctrines of ominous import, viz., the doctrine of *Adesh* or Divine Command, and the doctrine of *Bidhan* or Dispensation, began to be preached with some degree of energy and consistency, at this time by Mr. Sen and his missionaries. A party of earnest and long-standing members of the Samaj, took serious objections to these doctrines and considered them fraught with evil tendencies. They also felt another very great want. They found the Church without constitution; the whole thing resting on the shoulders of one man, and left without all those legitimate checks on abuse or misdirection of power, which a constitutional mode of government alone can supply. They at once set themselves to counteract these tendencies, and to remove these wants. They first held many private discussions with Mr. Sen and his missionaries, tried to expose the evil tendencies of the new-doctrines, and to represent the necessity of giving the Church a regular constitution. The earnest pleadings and protests of these men were treated with marked neglect,—and in many cases with positive contempt; till at last the protesting and progressive party were compelled to adopt more formal and public measures. All these efforts only exposed this party of members to the displeasure of Mr. Sen and his missionaries. They were run down in the pages of the *Sunday Mirror*, with the most abusive epithets, and treated as a class of spiritually and morally degenerated people.

The Kuch-Behar marriage, already described, brought matters to a crisis. On the 15th May, 1878, in the Calcutta Town Hall, the chief Bramhos of the metropolis—supported by the concurrence of 29 provincial Samajes, and the written declaration of 425 Brahmos and Brahmicas, inaugurated the Sadharan (or Universal) Brahmo Samaj.

Members.—These are of two classes. The following are the conditions of ordinary membership :

1. The applicant must be above 18 years of age.
2. He must agree to sign the covenant of the Samaj containing the four principles of the Brahmo faith.
 - (1.) Its *immediacy*—freedom from all doctrines of mediation or intercession.
 - (2.) Its *independence*—or freedom from the fetters of infallible books or men.
 - (3.) Its *catholicity*—or its broad sympathy for all truth wherever found, and its warm appreciation of the great and good of every land.
 - (4.) Its *spirituality*—or freedom from all external forms and ceremonies.

3. His private character must be pure and moral, for breach of morality in private life makes a member liable to forfeiture of membership.

4. He must agree to pay at least 8 Annas in the year towards carrying on the work of the Samaj.

The foregoing conditions are a formal renunciation of one or two vital Christian doctrines, but they might be accepted by a worshipper of Vishnu or Kali and by an observer of caste.

Miss Collet says :

"It would appear at first sight that the renunciation of idolatry and polytheism must, as a matter of course, entail the cessation of all ceremonies in which idols or false gods are invoked. But such invocations are interwoven in all domestic rites, or *Anusthans* of Hindu life, from birth to death. A consistent Brahmo, therefore, must not only absent himself from Hindu temple-worship, or grand idolatrous festivals, but must also renounce the Hindu rites performed on occasions of birth, marriage, death, &c., and must have Brahmic *Anusthans* performed in their place, and one who does this is called an *Anusthanic Brahmo*.

"The *Anusthanics* are scattered very irregularly over the country,—some Brahmo villages containing many, while some far more cultivated Samajes contain but few. The organization which contains most is undoubtedly the Sadharan Samaj, whose rules require that all its preachers, office-bearers, Executive Committee, and at least 15 members of its General Committee, should be *Anusthanic*."*

Church Government.—This is described as follows by Miss Collet :—

"Determined to avoid the dangers of the 'one-man rule,' and anxious to rally as large a number for common work as possible, their first efforts were given to the establishment of a republican constitution; and this has happily proved to be of a workable kind. The office-bearers (annually elected) are four in number—a president, secretary, assistant-secretary, and treasurer. These act in conjunction with a General Committee composed of 40 persons elected at the annual general meeting of members, and of such representatives from the Provincial Samajes as the latter have previously elected or confirmed. This General Committee, in its turn, appoints 12 of its members as an Executive Committee for the year, who meet every week, and by whom all the actual work is performed, subject to revision at quarterly meetings by the General Committee, who are themselves ultimately responsible to the general body of members. By this arrangement the chief rule practically resides with the Executive Committee, who are chosen from the most active and experienced members of the Samaj, and who, while fully responsible to the general body, are yet free to act efficiently as its accredited members."

Essential Principles.—For purposes of comparison, these are

* *Outlines of Brahmic History*, p. 33.

quoted in the concluding chapter, after those of the Brahmo Samaj of India.

Duties of Missionaries.—*The Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Samaj, gives these as follows :—

(1.) The missionaries should go on preaching according to the above-mentioned principles, and should neither adopt nor preach any doctrine or system of religious culture opposed to them.

(2.) The Executive Committee should arrange matters regarding their field of work and method of preaching after consultation with them. If on any account any of them is unable to act according to the prearranged method or thinks it necessary to change it, he should inform the Committee of it by a letter as soon as possible.

(3.) They should try by all means in their power, by persuading words as well as example, to keep in view that their object is to establish the sacred worship of the one true God all over the country; to introduce in individual families and in communities unidolalous rites and ceremonies conformable to pure religion; to see that God's will be done by all with cheerful submission, that all men and women look upon faith, justice, love, and purity in their properly reverential manner; that being bound together by the sacred tie of love, all mankind be enabled to spread the loving kingdom of Heaven and secure the blessings of this life as well as of the other to come;—to see that the days of untruth, sin, superstition and tyranny, of malice and jealousy, narrowness and contention, be ended in all societies of men.

(4.) They should not in any way encourage caste distinction or priestcraft in their prayers or ceremonies, and should not accept any thing like divine honor if paid to them through blind reverence.

(5.) In preaching the truth they should not ridicule or talk lightly of any other religious sect or scripture; but still should calmly point out any error or untruth that there may be in them, remembering that they should, in all their words, try to conquer untruth by truth, malice by love, and evil by good.

(6.) They should join freely with all classes and sects of men in all good works provided their faith is not compromised by their so doing, taking care also, not to mix in such social ceremonies as tend to lower conscience or morality.

(7.) Never should they lose sight of the dignity of their position and make their sacred vocation countenance priestcraft or become the source of worldly gain or pleasure. Any present of money given to a missionary, as such, should belong to the mission-fund, and he should make it clear to the giver.

(8.) To propagate Brahmoism should be the principal work of a missionary, but he may also freely help other men by his co-operation in any work, political, social or scientific, calculated to do good to the country, provided it does not interfere with his duties as a missionary.

If necessary he may, even while engaged in his mission work, take to some honest means of earning money with the sanction of the Executive Committee.

(9.) The Executive Committee is empowered to appoint a person,

according to the rules laid down by the General Committee as a missionary or a helper in the mission work, and remove such a one from his office and also to grant pecuniary aid in cases where it would be thought necessary. But the General Committee may alter the arrangements made by the Executive Committee if necessary. The missionaries primarily follow their own conscience and as much as possible the instructions of the Executive Committee in their Mission work.

(10.) They are to forward regular reports of their work to the Committee.*

Work of the Samaj.—The first requisite was a building for public worship. This was opened at the anniversary service in January, 1881. The following have also been established :

(1.) The *Sangat Sabha*, or United Society. This is a weekly conversational meeting for spiritual progress and mutual help. It was originally started by Keshub Chunder Sen.

(2.) The Students' Weekly Service. One result has been that a number of young members have publicly discarded caste and idolatry.

(3.) The Students' Prayer Meeting. This is for younger students who meet every Wednesday evening for prayer and spiritual advancement. As a general rule, the members conduct the services themselves.

(4.) The Theological Institution for lectures followed by discussion. Its main object is "to ground its members in theology and practical piety."

(5.) Ladies' Societies. The Brahminica Somaj is exclusively for Brahmo ladies ; the Banga Mahila Somaj, or Bengal Ladies' Association, in which the same ladies are joined by non-Brahmo members. The ladies meet every week, the first and third Saturdays in each month being allotted to prayer meetings, and the intermediate Saturday to the reading of original papers, followed by discussion ; while on the fourth Saturday popular lectures are delivered on scientific, historical, or biographical subjects, and a selection of interesting news on current events is read aloud. These lectures are given by gentlemen, and the social gathering of the Society, which is held once in three months, is also open to guests of both sexes. But except on these occasions the Society's meetings are nearly always restricted to ladies, who usually conduct their own religious services, and always write the essays which are read and discussed.

(6.) The City College. The City School was opened in 1879 under Mr. Ananda M. Bose, B. A., Cantab, then President of the Samaj. In 1881 it was converted into a College.

(7.) Sunday Schools. In 1879 some of the young Brahmos started a little Sunday School for boys at the City School premises ;

* *Indian Messenger*, Oct. 31, 1886.

Library of the
ASIATIC SOCIETY
1. Park Street, Calcutta-16
Call No 301.1535/M-974.P
Accession No 37746